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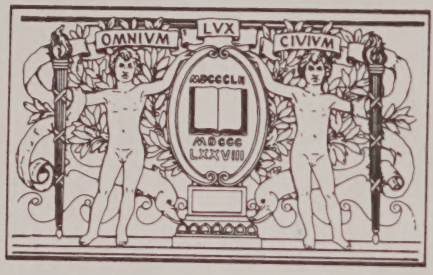

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LIV.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXIX.

JANUARY, 1827.

ART. I.—1. *Report of the Examination which has been made by the Board of Engineers, with a view to Internal Improvement, &c. February* 14, 1825. Printed by Order of the Senate.

2. *Information required by a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the* 13*th ult. in Relation to Expenditures incident or relating to Internal Improvements, for the Years* 1824 *and* 1825. Read and laid upon the Table, April 3, 1826.

3. *Report of the Board of Internal Improvement, upon the Subject of a National Road from the City of Washington to New Orleans.* April 12, 1826.

AN Act was passed by the Congress of the United States, in April, 1824, authorizing the President 'to cause the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates to be made, of such roads and canals, as he may deem of national importance in a commercial or military point of view, or necessary to the transportation of the public mail.' This act was not carried through without an elaborate discussion, nor without calling forth an animated opposition. Although it did not immediately involve the often agitated question, whether Congress has the power, independently of the States, to execute a system of internal improvement, yet it had such a reference to it, as to rouse all

the apprehensions connected with that subject, and to justify a course of argument, which ranged through the whole theory and practice of the *implied* powers of the constitution. It was a rambling and desultory debate, considering the point at issue; and many were on the affirmative side at the final vote, who would have been strenuous in the opposition, had the unqualified power been surrendered, which formed the drift of the arguments.

The internal improvement of our country, by means of canals and permanent roads, viewed apart from the power by which they may be constructed, can encounter no opposition from the wise and patriotic. The results of *canalling* are now involved in no uncertainty. The experiment has been in full operation for about half a century in England, with the most satisfactory, and even triumphant success. From good authority, it appears, that £13,205,117 sterling, affording at this time an aggregate dividend of £782,257 sterling, or about $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, have been vested in canals in England. By this extensive system of internal improvement, that country has become everywhere intersected with navigable waters; her innermost regions have become accessible to boats from almost all points of her coast, bringing out her treasures from the very bowels of her mountains, and pouring them into the lap of commerce with the same facility, as if nature had cast them upon the verge of the ocean tides. The thousand streams, which used to be running wastefully down her mountains and hills, are now carefully gathered up into reservoirs, and converted, from mere ornaments of the landscape, into powerful auxiliaries of trade. The favored inhabitants of the banks of large rivers, who were formerly accustomed to regard the less fortunate residents in the interior, as cut off from all the profits of commerce, now behold artificial streams descend from all quarters and, regardless of the laws of nature, seek out the nearest route to market, leaving these boasted rivers to flow on in idleness and inutility.

There is scarcely a town in England now, of any considerable population and business, which has not communications of this kind, connecting it with the resources essential to its prosperity and comfort, and with markets for its surplus articles of manufacture and land produce. Her mines, from these circumstances, all become available, and the agriculturist of the interior has the same excitements to industry, as the agriculturist of the coast or the navigable rivers. These canals, joined with their

auxiliary railways, and with the permanent roads, have doubtless contributed as much to the prosperity of Britain, as her external commerce; and by bringing into operation a mass of enterprise and wealth, unequalled by any other nation, have enabled her to sustain burdens, which have been the subject of falsified prophecies for the last twenty or thirty years.

It is not surprising, that the United States have heretofore turned so little of their attention to extensive internal improvements. Both population and wealth have been too much scattered for such laborious and expensive undertakings, independently of the many political causes, which have tended to discourage them. But we have now, in some degree, a dense and wealthy population, and the commercial facilities of the country bear no proportion to either its wants or its ability. Demand and consumption are no longer confined to a maritime border; a wide spread interior is claiming its supply. For many years after the emigrant to the West left the Atlantic states, he was obliged to content himself with the scanty produce of the new country around him. He had little to ask from abroad, because his means of payment were small. But the *wilderness* is now an obsolete term with us; and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, there is a well settled and active population, whose wants, and whose competency to gratify them, are nearly the same. The resident on the Ohio and its tributaries, seeks the same comforts, and almost the same luxuries, as the resident on the Hudson or the Delaware, and has nearly the same means to acquire them.

There was something formidable in the contemplation of these extensive works, and it was natural to distrust ourselves, notwithstanding that other countries had been so successful. But, fortunately, we have now an experiment in our own country, which affords every encouragement to science and to enterprise. New York has, in the very outset, completed a canal which surpasses, in some respects, any similar work in the oldest countries. It is connected with a series of lakes, part only of whose shores are at all inhabited, and runs through a country, populous and highly cultivated, it is true, but having many natural facilities for transportation, considerably improved by art; and yet it promises to be, ere many years, a source of great income to the state which achieved it, besides being of incalculable benefit to the country at large. The beneficial results of a work like this are not confined to itself. It becomes, as it were, the parent

of subsidiary works, which would otherwise never have existed; a trunk, whence numerous branches spring, which derive from it their origin and support.*

The first Report mentioned at the head of this article exhibits a preliminary fulfilment of a part of the surveys, intended by the act above cited. That our readers may have the entire plan exhibited in that act, we are induced to make large extracts from the able and comprehensive letter of Mr Calhoun, then Secretary of War, to the President, communicated by him to Congress at the beginning of the Session of 1824–5. As it will probably form the basis of the system of internal improvement, which may occupy the attention of the country for some years to come, it may well claim such permanency of record, as our columns may give it.

'The United States may be considered, in a geographical point of view, as consisting of three distinct parts; of which the portion extending along the shores of the Atlantic, and back to the Allegany mountains, constitute one; that lying on the lakes and the St Lawrence, another; and that watered by the Mississippi, including its various branches, the other. These several portions are very distinctly marked by well defined lines, and have naturally but little connexion, particularly in a commercial point of view. It is only by artificial means of communication, that this natural separation can be overcome; to effect which much has already been done. The great canal of New York firmly unites the country of the lakes with the Atlantic, through the channel of the North river; and the national road from Cumberland to Wheeling, commenced under the administration of Mr Jefferson,

* The following items relating to the New York canal, are extracted from the report of the committee on 'Roads and Canals,' presented to the House of Representatives just before its adjournment, May, 1826.

'The tolls on the New York canal, during the year 1824, amounted to $340,761.07; in 1825, to $566,221.51; and for 1826, they are estimated at $750,000, exceeding eight per cent. per annum, on its cost, at the low rate of one cent per ton per mile, on all agricultural and country produce, and three cents for merchandise; which, with the duty on salt and auctions, will give a surplus of $577,000 a year to discharge the principal, after paying the interest on the debt, and all the expenses of repairs, collections, &c. amounting to $550,000. The number of boats and rafts, which passed on the canal, from 9th of April to 12th of December last, was 13,100, carrying 219,074 tons; 185,405 bound to, and 33,669 from the city of New York; amounting to 42 boats per day; and the number of passengers exceeding 40,000.'

unites, but more imperfectly, the Western with the Atlantic states.

'But the complete union of these separate parts, which geographically constitute our country, can only be effected by the completion of the projected canal to the Ohio and Lake Erie, by means of which the country lying on the lakes will be firmly united to that on the western waters, and both with the Atlantic States, and the whole intimately connected with the centre. These considerations, of themselves, without taking into view others, fairly bring this great work within the provision of the act directing the surveys; but when we extend our views, and consider the Ohio and the Mississippi, with its great branches, but as a prolongation of the canal, it must be admitted to be not only of national importance, but of the very highest national importance, in a commercial, military, and political point of view. Thus considered, it involves the completion of the improvements of the navigation of both these rivers, which has been commenced under the appropriation of the last session of Congress; and also, canals round the Falls of Ohio at Louisville, and Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee river, both of which, it is believed, can be executed at a moderate expense. With these improvements, the projected canal would not only unite the three great sections of the country together, as has been pointed out, but would also unite, in the most intimate manner, all of the states on the lakes and the western waters among themselves, and give complete effect to whatever improvements may be made by those states individually. The advantages, in fact, from the completion of this single work, as proposed, would be so extended and ramified throughout these great divisions of our country, already containing so large a portion of our population, and destined, in a few generations, to outnumber the most populous states of Europe, as to leave in that quarter no other work for the execution of the general government, excepting only the extension of the Cumberland road from Wheeling to St Louis, which is also conceived to be of "national importance."

'The route, which is deemed next in importance in a national point of view, is the one extending through the entire tier of the Atlantic states, including those on the Gulf of Mexico. By adverting to the division of our country, through which this route must pass, it will be seen, that there is a striking difference in geographical features, between the portions which extend south and north of the seat of government, including the Chesapeake bay, with its various arms, in the latter division. In the northern part of the division, all of the great rivers terminate in deep and bold navigable estuaries, while an opposite character distinguishes the

mouths of the rivers in the other. This difference gives greater advantage to improvement, by canal, in the northern, and less in the southern division. In the former, it is conceived to be of high national importance, to unite its deep and capacious bays by a series of canals; and the Board was accordingly instructed to examine the routes for canals between the Delaware and the Raritan, between Barnstable and Buzzard's bays, and Boston harbor and Narraganset bay. The execution of the very important link in this line of communication between the Delaware and the Chesapeake, having been already commenced, was not comprehended in the order.'

'In the section lying south of this, none of these advantages for communication by canals exist. A line of inland navigation extends, it is true, along nearly the whole line of coasts, which is susceptible of improvement, and may be rendered highly serviceable, particularly in war, and on that account may be fairly considered of "national importance." The Dismal Swamp canal, from the Chesapeake to Albemarle sound, which is nearly completed, constitutes a very important link in this navigation. But it is conceived, that, for the southern division of our country, the improvement which would best effect the views of Congress, would be a durable road, extending from the seat of government to New Orleans, through the Atlantic states; and the Board will accordingly receive instructions to examine the route as soon as the next season will permit.'

'These three great works, then, the canal to Ohio and Lake Erie, with the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio, Mississippi, and the canal round Muscle Shoal; the series of canals connecting the bays north of the seat of government; and a durable road, extending from the seat of government to New Orleans, uniting the whole of the southern Atlantic states, are conceived to be the most important objects within the provisions of the act of the last session.'

There are other improvements of a secondary character, in a national view, which are comprehended in the system of surveys; namely, a connexion of the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico, by the most eligible routes through Florida; of the Susquehannah with the Allegany; of the James river with the Kenhawa; and of Lake Champlain with the St Lawrence.

With a view to execute the three primary objects embraced in the foregoing plan, a Board of Internal Improvement was formed, consisting of scientific officers of the corps of engineers, and many civil engineers of approved talents and local informa-

tion. The Report exhibits the result of their labors during the first season.

The work first presented in the Report, is the proposed *canal communication between the tide water of the Potomac and the Ohio river.* This connexion of the central states with the great streams of the West, appears to have engaged attention, ever since our adventurous population began to pass the Allegany ridge. While we were yet colonies, and the segregated inhabitants beyond that barrier could scarcely have assumed the character of *settlements*, General Washington, then an undistinguished individual, obtained an act of the Virginia legislature, to improve the navigation of the Potomac, with a view to extend a tie into those separated regions, which might bind them by interest, as well as consanguinity, to the Atlantic shores. The war of the Revolution only suspended these exertions; for in 1784, as soon as the great work of independence had been consummated, and the leisure of retirement allowed him to turn his attention to peaceful concerns, we find him at once engaged in endeavors to open this important communication. During the contest, the tide of emigration had been gradually but constantly setting from the East, into the valleys of the West; and when the government of the United States went into operation, instead of finding its sphere confined within the boundaries of the Atlantic and the Allegany mountains, it was obliged to stretch forth its arms almost to the Mississippi. If an easy communication with the West had formerly been important, when it was almost a wilderness, the territories, which were now rising up in its bosom, rendered such a facility doubly important. General Washington, therefore, exerted his influence to harmonize the various interests concerned, and happily induced a cooperation of the states of Virginia and Maryland, whose joint exertions effected the object intended, which was merely to improve the navigation of the Potomac.

But this beneficial improvement, which was probably equal to the ability, and may have answered the demands of the times, is far behind the means, and affords but a slight accommodation for the intercourse, of the present day. The Cumberland road has greatly increased the facility of communication; still, however, these channels are altogether insufficient for the great and constantly augmenting trade, which is pressing against both sides of the Allegany mountains, like contrary tides seeking to mingle their waters. The state of Ohio, bordering on Lake

Erie, which now no longer has its only outlet through Lake Ontario and the protracted St Lawrence, but finds itself gently conducted down the slope of intervening country into the Hudson, naturally turns to New York, for many or most of its external supplies. Indiana, from somewhat similar local causes, may look to the same market. But populous and growing states south of Ohio, and even a part of the state of Ohio itself, naturally seek the Atlantic states through the Allegany ridge, and must form such a connexion with them. Their trade cannot be lured down the Mississippi, merely by the *facilis descensus*, the easiness of the descent; there is a shrewdness in mercantile calculation, which takes into account the difficulties and tediousness of the return, *hoc opus, hic labor est.* Steam navigation has greatly accelerated the upward voyage; still, however, there are many months in the year, when the Ohio and its tributaries are nearly innavigable, from the lowness of their waters.

If, in estimating the importance of this central communication, we extend our views beyond the season of peace, and regard its utility under many of the vicissitudes, to which a nation is subjected, we shall find that there can be no work in our country, so absolutely essential to its welfare. We have been involved in wars, and may be involved in them again. Under such a calamity, the commerce of the Gulf of Mexico, being the most tangible, would probably be the first to suffer, and the supply of the West, by the way of New Orleans, might be in a great measure cut off. And if the hostility were with Great Britain, which shares with us the dominion over Lake Erie, even the New York chain of connexion with the West might be severed.

But the proposed canal through the Allegany ridge, running through the heart of the country, will open a secure and almost intangible avenue for commercial intercourse, not only with the states conterminous with that ridge, but with the whole western country. And as soon as the proposed canal navigation along the seaboard shall be completed, this intercourse may embrace nearly the whole maritime frontier.

There can have been little or no question, during some years past, that the trade, which naturally passes across the Allegany mountains, is sufficient to repay, in due time, the expense of constructing the proposed canal. Satisfactory calculations have been made, which show that the transportation already moving slowly and heavily to and from the West, through this course,

would yield a toll, equal to the interest of a sum quite adequate to complete such a work. And the same calculations go to prove, that the probable difference in the cost of the transportation would be as one to twenty. The only questions then appear to be, Can the means be obtained? and, Where is the most eligible route? We confidently trust, that the means, as they exist in the country, will be forthcoming, as soon as the surveys shall have definitively settled upon the best route. The *practicability* of the route has already been satisfactorily determined, and where any doubt remains, as to part of the course, it arises only from the difficulty of selecting the best out of many.

We cannot follow the Board through all the scientific and minute details of their Report. There appears to be no alternative, as to the course of the canal from tide water to the summit level, and that it must necessarily conform to the windings of the Potomac, which has sought out and followed down the only line of declivity, in that section, which runs from that elevation to the base of the mountains. In one instance, it has broken through a barrier, which the labor of man might vainly have attempted to surmount or remove. The passage of the confluent streams of the Potomac and the Shenandoah, through the Blue Ridge, so graphically described by Mr Jefferson, in his 'Notes on Virginia,' is familiar to every reader. There can be no greater triumph of science, than the calmness and certainty with which it traces up its plan through this formidable gap, unless it be the consummation of the work, when we shall behold a regulated stream, gliding imperturbably along the rugged and precipitous banks of a powerful river, which rushes over the prostrate mountains in all the wildness of the elements unchained.

On attaining the summit level, many routes to the head waters of the Monongahela present themselves, all of which, that hold out any promise, have been surveyed with skilful minuteness. The Board sum up their remarks on these various routes, with the observation, that 'the important advantages of a greater supply of water, by a length shorter by nine miles, of a tunnel shorter by two and a half miles, render the *Deep Creek* route superior to the other; though the final surveys only can settle that point, yet at this stage of our operations we would recommend that route in preference.' This route is fortyone miles and seven hundred and eighteen yards on the summit level, has

a tunnel a mile and one third in length, through a ridge two hundred and twentyseven feet high, and has a deep cutting of nearly six miles. The tunneling required on the other routes, varies from the above amount to more than five miles. It is ascertained that this route has an abundance of water.

The total length of the proposed canal, from the tide water of the Potomac to Pittsburg, is computed to be three hundred and fifty miles and a half. The total rise on the eastern side, is computed to be 2296½ feet; the total descent on the western side, at 1540½ feet; making an aggregate of rise and descent of 3837 feet, which is the total of lockage. This amount of lockage is considerably greater, it is believed, than that of any other canal extant. That of the Erie canal is small in comparison. The tunnel, however, is but little more than a third as long as the Huddersfield tunnel in England.*

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* We indulged a hope, throughout the session of 1825–6, that the Board of Engineers would be able to lay before Congress a definitive report on the subject of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal; but it appears from the report of the committee on roads and canals, presented to the House of Representatives just before its adjournment, that the Board, 'with every effort,' had not been able to prepare the estimates, &c. in time for that session. As this report of the committee furnishes some facts and details, which were not embraced in the Report of the Board of Engineers, we shall append such as throw new light upon the proposed course of the canal, and which further illustrate its commercial advantages.

It will be observed that the last report of the Board, designates the *Deep Creek* route, as being, according to existing surveys, the most eligible route by which to pass the summit level. The report of the committee says, that, 'since the report of the Board of Internal Improvement, further surveys have been made, resulting in the discovery of a *new summit level*, for the canal, between Casselman river and Well's Creek, where an ample supply of water is said to exist, and to which, should it be found necessary, the whole of the supply of the Deep Creek summit might be transferred by a feeder. This new summit is nearly four hundred feet lower than that of Deep Creek, and about twentysix miles nearer from Cumberland to the Yougheogany. This important saving of lockage and distance, gives the Casselman route a decided preference, though it will require a tunnel of greater length than the other. Another strong argument in favor of this route is derived from the consideration, that it approaches within a very short distance of the waters of the Juniatta, by which, in the opinion of an experienced engineer, who has examined the country, a connexion may be formed with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, so as to obtain the great object of uniting Pittsburg and Philadelphia.'

Our limits do not allow us to make other extracts from this valuable report, than the following, which, while it exhibits the extent of the

The next work presented in order in the Report is, the *Ohio and Erie canal.* This canal is an indispensable link in the chain of navigation which is to connect the various parts of our country together. Without it, the geographical separation of of the region of the Lakes from the heart of the country, would be almost as distinct as ever. The survey of this route was not completed in all its details; but the Board deemed themselves warranted, from the facts ascertained, to report, 'that a canal from Pittsburg to Lake Erie is not only practicable, but offers no difficulties from the nature of the soil, and will be amply provided with water for its navigation.' After ascending the Big Beaver, a tributary of the Ohio, three routes to Lake Erie present themselves, differing in length from a hundred and four to a hundred and thirteen miles, the full distance from Pittsburg to that lake. A fourth route runs up the valley of the Allegany river, a hundred and forty miles in length. The greatest height above Lake Erie, in any of them, is 470 feet, and the greatest amount of lockage, 773 feet. The harbors on the south side of Lake Erie, formed by the mouths of rivers, into one of which it is proposed to conduct this canal, are subject to the disadvan-

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trade which crosses the Allegany ridge, at the same time shows the comparative disadvantages it has to encounter.

'Some idea of the commercial advantages of this work may be formed, when the fact is stated, that the transportation of merchandise for the supply of the Western states to Pittsburg in one year, has amounted to one and a half million of dollars, and that the amount carried to Wheeling, and other towns on the Western waters, and *wagoned* on through Ohio, at dry seasons, must have exceeded this amount; most of those wagons had also return loads of agricultural produce, which, with the amount carried by farmers and others, would probably nearly equal the transportation westward, and should it amount to only half, still it would appear that the country sustains a tax for transportation, of four of five millions a year; whereas, if this merchandise were waterborne on canals, the cost would be reduced to less than half a million; the difference in cost being estimated as 10 to 1; though the usual estimate has been as 20 to 1. Besides, the construction of the canal (as in New York) would more than double the quantity of trade and commerce; thus the whole cost of the canal would be saved to the country in a few years, yielding, at the same time, on the stock invested, a profit of 6 or 8 per cent. to the government, more than the amount of interest accruing on the national debt, which the national creditors are anxious should be paid, and also returning to the people a portion of the money paid by them into the treasury, to promote and cherish industry, trade, commerce, and manufactures, and these profits and advantages, of course, increasing with the increasing growth and population of the country.'

tages of a sand bar at their outlets. But means may be devised to remove this obstruction. An experiment is already making at Erie (which has the same disadvantage, though not the mouth of a river), under the direction of an officer of the corps of engineers. This canal, with the more western canal, which is intended to connect the Sciota with Lake Erie, and which has already been begun by the state of Ohio, will open two communications between these great geographical departments of the country, from which incalculable benefits may be anticipated, of a political and commercial, as well as of a military nature. It is only necessary to call to mind the difficulties which were encountered during the late war, in sustaining the campaigns on the lake frontier, through the want of artificial facilities of this kind, in order to appreciate their extreme importance and necessity. We shall not probably much exaggerate, if we assert, that the *excess* of expenses, during the several campaigns in that quarter, which arose from this deficiency, would have defrayed the whole cost of the two canals we have been commenting on.

The next work, of a primary character, exhibited in the Report, is the *Delaware and Raritan canal.* This canal proposes to connect the waters of New York harbor with those of the Delaware river. It will be about forty miles long, and of sufficient dimensions to receive 'bay vessels,' that is, such vessels as carry on the commercial intercourse between New York, Philadelphia, and other cities. The face of the country, through which it is to run, will admit of one level, without any very deep or expensive cutting, from nearly tide water to tide water, having a series of locks at each extremity, descending into the Raritan on one side and the Delaware on the other.*

* The *Delaware and Chesapeake canal*, which forms another link in this chain of internal navigation, connecting the Delaware river with the Chesapeake Bay, having already been commenced, did not come within the operations of the Board. This important work, which was undertaken and is continued under the authorities of Delaware and Maryland, is of the same dimensions as the Delaware and Raritan canal, and extends the same commercial intercourse from Philadelphia to the more southern cities, as is intended between Philadelphia and New York. According to the statement made by a member of the Senate on the floor of Congress, one hundred pieces of cannon were, during the late war, transported across the neck of land severed by the canal, at the immoderate expense of more than $450 apiece ! This canal will be fourteen miles long, and lined with stone. During the last session of Congress, the general government was authorized to

The next work presented in the Report, is, the *Buzzard's and Barnstable bay canal.* By this canal it is proposed to sever, near the main land, the isthmus of Cape Cod, which, projecting its sandy arm far into the sea, interposes a most inconvenient barrier between the coasting of the North and the South. The deep interest, which Massachusetts and the states north of her feel in this long desired communication, induces us to enter somewhat into the details of the Board, that the nature and practicability of the work may be understood. We would first remark, that the Board, after satisfactory surveys, reject the route by Barnstable and Hyannis harbor. The Report then proceeds;

'A canal to communicate between Buzzard's and Barnstable bays, should follow successively from west to east the valleys of Monument and Scussit rivers. That route was surveyed in 1818 by Mr L. Baldwin, at the individual expense of Messrs Israel Thorndike, Thomas H. Perkins, and other gentlemen of Boston. Its total length is about eight miles.'

'At its western extremity, the tide rises in Buzzard's bay, from five feet to five feet three inches. At its eastern extremity, it rises in Barnstable bay, from ten feet to ten feet four inches, and three hours and a half later than in the other. Thus the medium of tide water in Barnstable bay, is probably about on a level with high tide water in Buzzard's bay; the level of low water in the latter, was, on the eleventh of September, 1818, eight inches and six tenths higher than in Barnstable bay.'

'As the tide ascends three or four miles in Monument river, and about two miles in Scussit river, this route extends only two or three miles from the head of one tide to the head of the other. The highest point of intervening ground is thirtythree feet and a third above low water in Barnstable bay, and twentythree and a half above high tide. Thus nature has left little to do to unite the two bays.'

The Board have determined, that sufficient harbors may be made at each extremity, by using the advantage which nature has afforded, without difficulty, or any great expense; and that the soil, through which it is to be cut, presents no insurmountable obstacles. The scarcity of water for feeders, offers, in the opinion of the Board, no choice, but to cut the canal 'on

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subscribe for 1500 shares ($300,500) in the stock of this canal, which furnishes sufficient means to complete the work with all practicable despatch.

one level from one bay to the other, to be fed by the tide of Barnstable bay, and provided with a tide lock at each end. Its bottom will be at least eight feet and a half below the neap tides, or nine and a half below the common tides in the bay.'

The Board sum up their opinion on this work, in the following encouraging terms. 'This short analysis proves, that the practicability of the Buzzard's and Barnstable canal does not admit of a doubt, and that its construction will meet with no serious obstacle. The expense will not be great, if we compare it with that of the Delaware and Chesapeake canal, which extends fourteen miles in length, and requires a deep cut of three miles, through a ridge which rises eightyfour feet above tide water, and seventysix feet above its summit level. The maximum cost of this last canal has been valued at $1,354,364.'

The last work presented in the Report, is the *Taunton and Weymouth canal.* The surveys of this route were not so complete, as to enable the Board to pronounce upon its practicability. There can be no doubt of the importance of this short and direct communication between Boston and Narraganset bay. It would be a great facility to our coasting trade in time of peace, and it would be almost indispensable to its security in time of war, as the communication by the way of the Cape Cod canal, might easily be interrupted by an enemy powerful at sea. This canal would likewise form an essential subsidiary to the maritime defences, erecting at and near Newport.

We cannot better close the foregoing remarks, than by adopting the summary, with which the distinguished members of the Board conclude their Report.

'As to the general results obtained by this expedition, they are as favorable as possible to the great object in contemplation; opening a system of communication to unite all the sections of the Republic by the bonds of commercial intercourse, and rapid mutual aid in time of danger, This system will contribute essentially to the great end of rendering the means of our government more efficient; for, by reducing the time necessary for communication, it will reduce in fact, the great distances which divide the sections of our vast empire from each other, and will enable us easily and promptly to transfer the means and produce of one climate to another; it will give a new value to the agricultural and mineral riches of our soil, and a new life and activity to our manufacturing industry, by facilitating their circulation. Without a free and constant circulation, the political, as well as human body becomes paralyzed and benumbed in its operations.'

We have made use of the title which stands second at the head of this article, merely to authorize a more general notice of the various improvements by canals, which have been finished, begun, or projected in this country within a few years, than would naturally fall within the scope of the foregoing remarks. The information connected with this interesting subject, lies scattered through so many documents, as to render any complete or satisfactory view of it almost impossible. We can hardly regret this deficiency, as more ample materials would only embarrass us with a choice of difficulties, either to lay before our readers a naked list, or to omit many important notices. We shall, therefore, content ourselves at this time, with referring to such only, as have been regarded as of national importance, and one or two others, which, although exclusively the works of individual states, nevertheless, from their probable influence on the general prosperity of large portions of the country, and from the fact of their not being fully known to the public, demand particular mention.

The Journal of the last session of Congress, exhibits the awakened and zealous spirit of improvement, which pervades nearly the whole Union. The applications for surveys, for the purpose of ascertaining the resources and natural advantages of the country, which may be rendered subservient to this great end, were presented from all quarters, and urged on the most enlightened and liberal principles. In considering these applications, the only question seemed to be, whether they referred to improvements of a national, rather than a local character; and whenever determined to be of the former, we believe the surveys were uniformly directed to be made.

Among the propositions of this kind early presented to Congress the last session, was that of making a 'survey of a route for a canal between the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico;' to which was reported an amendment, proposing to extend the survey 'from the Appalachicola or the Suwany west, through the bays of St Andrews, Santa Rosa, Pensacola, Perdido, Mobile, and Pascagoula, and through lakes Borgue and Pontchartrain, to the Mississippi, by the Iberville or the canal Carondelet.' This amendment was urged upon the alleged fact, that about three hundred and fifty miles of inland navigation may be effected between these two points, by removing small obstructions at a few points, and 'the cutting of twelve miles.' This important and extraordinary natural facility for inland navigation, along a coast,

appears to rest, at present, upon the authority of the delegate from Florida, confirmed, probably, by an inspection of the maps, which certainly present appearances the most favorable to its truth. It is undoubtedly worthy of investigation, and we hope the surveys corroborate the most sanguine anticipations; though we cannot altogether repress a doubt, whether, on such an alluvial and, as we understand, such a sandy coast, the shores of these intervening necks of land will be found so bold, and washed by inlets so deep, as to render little other labor necessary, than to excavate the dry land apparent on the maps.

But, however desirable this continuation of the inland navigation to the Mississippi may be, to considerable portions of our country; yet we conceive the original proposition, having in view merely the connexion of the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico, by severing the Peninsula of Florida, to be of incomparably greater importance. This latter project is recommended by many probable natural facilities; such as a flat country, inland waters, and a soil apparently favorable for excavation, besides the important commercial considerations which are involved in its success. The United States present a long frontier upon the Gulf of Mexico; and the Mississippi sends down into it a trade, which may increase to an incalculable degree. And most of this trade, before it can reach the Atlantic, which is the great highway of commerce, has to make a voyage, protracted, perplexed, and beset with perils. Neither can we rate too highly the political importance of such an intersection of this circuitous and hazardous navigation. The narrow channel between Cuba and the Florida cape, affording the most direct and feasible outlet of the Gulf, gives to the nation occupying that island a potential control over that part of our commerce, which should be withdrawn if possible. Nothing short of necessity, of an absolute inability to conduct it into the Atlantic by a more independent passage, should persuade us to submit to the present condition of things, which, by bringing us so immediately in contact with a foreign power, subjects the nation constantly to the liability of misunderstandings and war.

It would be useless to speculate upon the probable success of the work, until the proper surveys have been made. It is to be hoped, that our most ardent expectations may be fulfilled, and particularly that the practicability of a ship channel (less than which would not serve the great purposes of commerce) may be satisfactorily determined. Some instances of such magnificent

canals have been cited, as an encouragement to the undertaking; such as the Caledonian canal, connecting the Forth and Clyde; and the great ship canal of Holland. There can be no harm in stimulating ourselves to enterprise, by contemplating these successful exertions of other countries; and with our present confidence in the skill and investigating activity of the corps, to which is entrusted these preliminary surveys, we feel no apprehensions of being induced to commence any work, the practicability of which, founded upon actual examination, and not upon foreign examples, has been fully ascertained. While the Florida neck may possess a soil very favorable for excavation, and embrace large reservoirs of water, either already lengthened out into natural canals, or in the shape of lagoons, seemingly ready to pour their waters into such artificial channels as may be constructed near them; and is so level as scarcely to impose the necessity of a deep cutting throughout the whole distance; yet, perhaps, this very levelness, which holds out such promise to superficial observation, may be found, upon scientific and severe investigation, to present obstacles not easy to be surmounted. The Caledonian canal terminates in bold and deep estuaries, and is fed through its course by copious streams, which are lifted up, by the inequalities of the country, above the level of the canal; and are easily conducted into it. While the Helder canal, from the nature of the country,

'Where the broad ocean leans against the land,'

is amply supplied with water by the tides, which pass through its outer locks, as if regaining a part of their old dominion. The Florida canal may find a favorable *embouchure* on the Gulf side, in Vacassa bay, or elsewhere; but the Atlantic coast does not hold out such flattering promises.

Early in March the attention of Congress was called to the *Dismal Swamp canal*, which, although almost coeval with the federal government, has not heretofore attracted much notice. This canal, as it now stands, is twentytwo miles and a half in length, thirtyeight feet wide on the surface, and five feet and a half deep. It connects Hampton roads, by Elizabeth river at one end, and Pasquotank river at the other, with Albemarle and Pamplico sounds, which stretch along nearly the whole front of North Carolina, and receive many of her most important rivers. As soon as the great chain of internal navigation engaged the attention of the general government, this canal was deter-

mined to be an indispensable link; and, accordingly, when application was made to Congress to empower the general government to subscribe for stock in the company, to an amount sufficient to enable it to lengthen the canal, and give it a more perfect connexion with the Southern sounds, a bill was presented (which finally passed), granting the requisite authority. The present depth of the canal must probably be increased, to fulfil the purposes of the grant; at least so much as to render it suitable for receiving the craft common to the Southern sounds. The Dismal Swamp, through which this canal is cut, was formerly regarded as one of those Serbonian bogs, those impenetrable fastnesses of nature, which seemed to defy the encroaching power of man. But the hardy enterprise of Virginia has laid open its dark recesses, and has long been drawing from its inexhaustible stores the most valuable materials for commerce.*

It would be somewhat premature at this time to take further notice of the many surveys authorized by the last Congress. They are merely in an incipient state, and may afford subjects for more extended and interesting remarks hereafter.

Although not particularly led to it by the documents before us, we could not excuse ourselves if we were to overlook, in connexion with this subject, the *Ohio canal*, which is intended to unite, by the Scioto and Cayahoga rivers, the Ohio river with Lake Erie. This great project, like its parent enterprise, the New York canal, is the exclusive work of the state through which it runs. Ohio, whose existence can scarcely be said to reach back into the last century, now feels such confidence in her resources, as to undertake this great work, which, by connecting the noble river which washes her southern border, with the broad lake which spreads along the whole extent of her northern boundary, will offer to her inhabitants the option of seeking a market, with equal facility, through the St Lawrence, the New York canal, or the Mississippi. This transverse communication will make this great privilege, which is now but partially enjoyed, almost common and interchangeable. It was begun, with much interesting ceremony, on the fourth of July, 1825, and is already in rapid progress. It has two summit levels, is to be three hundred and six miles and a half long, forty feet wide, and four feet deep, with an ascent of six hundred

* For other particulars respecting the Dismal Swamp canal, see North American Review, Vol. XII. p. 30.

and thirtyeight feet, and a descent of five hundred and fortyseven feet; the estimate of the cost, $2,800,000.* Too much credit cannot be given to this young, but wealthy and enterprising state, whose forecast sees nothing appalling in a debt, which stands vested in substantial and permanent improvements; such as, upon every probable calculation, will in time repay itself, and leave the privileges created by it, to be used almost as cheaply as the common bounties of the earth.

The last work of internal improvement which we shall notice, is, the *national road*, from the city of Washington to New Orleans, a report upon which was presented to Congress in April, 1826. The communication from the seat of government with all the states north and east, and along the Atlantic states south, being through the old states, all populous and highly cultivated, is sufficiently free and unobstructed to serve all national, as well as local purposes. But the western states were long separated from the eastern by the Allegany ridge; over which, however, there now runs a great road, constructed by the general government. Until within a few years, it extended only to Wheeling, merely facilitating the passage of the mountains; but, agreeably to a compact with the Northwestern states, it is now in progress through Ohio, and will doubtless be carried, in due time, through Indiana and Illinois to the Mississippi. There was still another avenue, to lead from the seat of government directly to New Orleans, which having its course, for a great portion of the distance, through districts of comparatively sparse population, or entirely unsettled, but connecting a most important extremity of the Union with the common centre, had long demanded the aid of the general government. Accordingly, when the primary objects of the act of the thirtieth of April, 1824 were to be determined by the Executive, it appears, by the letter of Mr Calhoun, before cited, that this great southwestern communication was among the most prominent. No language of our own could urge the utility and necessity of this national road, with the force they assume in Mr Calhoun's letter already quoted. Indeed, there appears to be no question, as to

* For the above facts relating to this canal we are indebted to a manuscript account of the canals in the United States by an intelligent gentleman, who has been intimately connected with many of the works of internal improvement, and whose account, in a more enlarged state, we should gladly see presented to the public.

the propriety and urgency of the measure; and the difficulty seems to be only in the selection of the route.

By the Report of the Board of Engineers, we observe that three routes have been investigated, and are set forth with all their advantages and disadvantages, positive and relative, leaving Congress to determine which route is entitled to the preference. The *eastern route* passes through the capitals of the southern Atlantic states, crossing the main rivers, that flow from the Alleganies through those states, below their falls, and where the sloop navigation terminates. The probable length of this route is 1136 miles. The *middle route* crosses the same rivers as the eastern route, but above their falls, at what may be called the head of boat navigation, following the foot of the Alleganies as far as they extend. The probable length of this route is 1106 miles. The *western route* crosses the Blue Ridge, and proceeds towards the sources of the Shenandoah, intersecting the head branches of the James, Roanoke, and Great Kenhawa rivers, and afterwards striking the Tennessee and Hewassee. The probable length of this route is 1140 miles. The Report says, 'the middle route and the western route are about equally provided with materials,' having much the advantage of the eastern route in this respect. The western route requires fewer bridges and less length of causeway than the other two routes, but will be graduated with more expense. We should infer, however, from the report, that the aggregate expense of construction will be the least upon the western route. The following summary presents the principal conclusions to which the Board was led; namely,

'*Commerce.* The eastern route will enjoy the exclusive advantage of facilitating the commercial correspondence between our inland importing and exporting marts. The middle and western will contribute more than the eastern, to the development of internal commerce and industry.'

'*Accommodation of population.* The eastern and middle routes will accommodate directly more states than the western; but, taking into view, and by anticipation, the increase of population, perhaps the three routes ought to be placed upon the same footing.'

'*Political considerations.* The eastern route has the advantage to pass by the seats of government of the southern states; the western, to cross the chain of mountains which separates the western from the southern states.'

'*War.* Through the western route, greater and more efficient assistance will be afforded, in times of emergency, to the states and naval establishments upon the Gulf, than through the other routes.'

'*Transportation of the mail.* As to time, we are inclined to believe that the middle route has the advantage over the others; as to expense, it will be less upon the middle, and especially upon the western, than upon the eastern; as to horses, the service of the mail will be better and more cheaply secured upon the middle route, and especially upon the western, than upon the eastern.'

We have thus endeavored to present a rapid sketch of the more prominent projects for internal improvement, which have engaged the attention of the general government during the last few years. Some steps have been taken, with respect to all of them. Those to which the aid of the general government has been extended in the way of subscriptions, were mostly already in a state of advancement; and this aid has been granted with the understanding, that it is sufficient to complete them. In the other cases, preliminary surveys only have been authorized, which are either finished, or will be soon. All these surveys have been made, or are making, under the superintendence of persons officially responsible to the nation, of acknowledged skill and experience, and having valuable reputations to maintain; and we believe that public confidence may safely repose on their correctness. They will enable the competent authorities to determine, with the most satisfactory precision, the practicability and probable cost of each work, and to commence it with every reasonable assurance of success.

With respect to the general sentiment of the nation, we are inclined to think it is in harmony with the liberal and national spirit in which these projects have originated; and we moreover believe, that they all will ultimately be accomplished, and without disturbing the chartered rights of any state, or embarrassing the resources of the country. The age is advancing in improvements, and the United States, with their moral and intellectual attainments, cannot lag behind it. The impulse is irresistible, and must be yielded to. A nation, which regulates its own government, granting or withdrawing power according to its own free will, cannot quietly sit down under restraints, which impair its strength, comforts, and dignity.

The constitutional doctrine, to the extent laid down in Mr Monroe's Message to Congress on the third of December, 1823, when recommending to its attention the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, appears now to be settled, at least so far as repeated decisions of the general government, founded upon large and increasing majorities of Congress, can establish it. And it will be recollected that Mr Monroe, in conformity with the opinions of Mr Madison, was an advocate of only a restricted power in the general government over internal improvement. The passage to which we would call attention is the following; 'Believing, as I do, (says Mr Monroe) that Congress possess the right to appropriate money for such a national object [alluding to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal], the jurisdiction remaining with the states through which the canal would pass, I submit it to your consideration,' &c. Greater latitude of power is contended for by a respectable and growing party in Congress; but even under this qualified grant, we should anticipate no impediment to the execution of the various improvements which have been proposed. The national road to New Orleans, will doubtless be the exclusive work of the general government. There are no apparent inducements for either states or corporate companies to undertake it. It is for general and not local purposes, and naturally falls under that provision of the constitution, which relates to the transportation of the mail. The Cumberland road, so far as it extended at first, must be regarded in the same light, and although its continuation through the Northwestern states, may appear only a fulfilment of the compact with those states, yet it must likewise be considered as fulfilling the same important provision of the constitution. Until that great avenue was opened, it could not be said, that the Western states enjoyed those facilities of communication with the seat of government, which they had a right to claim under the constitution, and which the general welfare demanded. Nor can it with more reason be said, that the Southwestern states, separated as they are from the common centre by unsettled and almost impassable districts, enjoy those *mail* privileges, which they are entitled to under the constitution, and which the public interest requires should be extended to every important section of the Union.

The Chesapeake and Ohio canal has already the highest sanction of every state through which it will pass; and the aid of the general government has been invited by all of them. Subscription books have been opened by a company, the joint cor-

poration of three states, and the district of Columbia; and as soon as the surveys and estimates are completed, there will be wanting nothing but the determination of the general government as to the amount of that aid, to give a beginning to the great undertaking. Should the continuation of this canal to Lake Erie, through Ohio, be likely to encounter opposition from the interests of that state, so largely vested in its own parallel work, it is probable that an equally eligible route will be ascertained, by the surveys, to exist within the limits of Pennsylvania.

But we have not space for further enlargement on this subject; more especially for the reflections which crowd on the mind, while contemplating it. The bounties of nature are lavishly spread around us; but it is known, that the skill and industry of man can improve them a thousand fold. There is a wisdom, a grandeur, in the policy, which would give the strongest impulse, the highest direction, to this skill and industry; and we should feel the deepest regret, nay, our pride in our country would be humbled, if we believed that its institutions, instead of being compatible with this beneficent policy, had a tendency to repress and crush it. In regard to national and state rights, we believe no course of policy could produce a more just balance between them. Those measures, which efficaciously tend to make the whole thriving, powerful, and united, cannot but benefit every part.

Art. II.—*The History of New England from* 1630 *to* 1649; by John Winthrop, *first Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; from his Original Manuscripts. With Notes to illustrate the Civil and Ecclesiastical Concerns, the Geography, Settlement, and Institutions of the Country, and the Lives and Manners of the principal Planters.* By James Savage. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston. Phelps & Farnham.

Till within a few years, the history of our own country was the last object which engaged the attention of American scholars. The study of that history formed no part of our system of education either at school or at college, and the voluntary perusal of it at a subsequent period of life, was considered the business of a mere antiquary rather than of a well informed American citi-

zen. This neglect of so important a subject certainly redounded little to our credit, and has been condemned by many as a sure and strong indication of a want of patriotism. We ascribe it to a very obvious and much less censurable cause, the character of those works in which our own history is written. As these are much more remarkable for accuracy and impartiality, than for elegance of style and philosophical research, the general and undiscriminating neglect, with which they have been treated, though far from justifiable, is, on the whole, not surprising. These remarks, which are not to be understood without qualification or exception, may be applied particularly to our colonial history. The 19th of April 1775 seemed to be often considered as the birthday of our nation, not only in many, but in all respects, and our condition before that period was regarded as a state of preexistence. It is only of late, that we have learned to trace our present free and happy condition, to its remote as well as its proximate causes, to acknowledge our obligations not only to the statesmen and soldiers, who conducted the war of independence, but to those sages from whom we derived the principles, institutions, and habits, which render independence desirable.

Of all the tribes of hardy adventurers, who laid the foundation of our widely extended nation, there are none who have been alike censured and applauded with so little discrimination, as the pilgrim fathers of New England. Their characters have been sometimes held up as models of almost supernatural excellence, but they have more generally been depicted in far different colors; and there were many among us who seemed to be ignorant of almost every event which occurred in Massachusetts during the seventeenth century, except the destruction of the aborigines, the persecution of the Quakers, and the execution of the witches. Slight and vague impressions are now happily giving way to correct and circumstantial knowledge, and the early history of this state is becoming an object of great and constantly increasing interest. A complete and elegant history of Massachusetts is yet a desideratum, but the want of such a work has been supplied in no inconsiderable degree, by the ability and eloquence with which the principles and institutions of the pilgrims have been portrayed in less voluminous productions.

Those, however, who would become thoroughly acquainted with the character of our forefathers, must study their works; and we need hardly state the fact, that no men ever left behind them more accurate and impartial accounts of their own conduct.

All their actions, even those which are now most condemned and regretted, are narrated with equal unreserve and minuteness; and however we may occasionally lament their prejudice or passion, every line of their writings bears indisputable testimony to their sincerity and frankness. Among all the works of that period, there is none of a more extraordinary or interesting description than the book before us. An exact journal of the first governor of Massachusetts Bay, embracing the history of the country between the years 1630 and 1649, is manifestly a document so singularly desirable, that, in other countries, and under other circumstances, its authenticity would be subjected to no slight suspicion. In this age of literary scepticism, indeed, we know not whether it will even now be universally admitted, and should not be surprised at an elaborate argument from some humble disciple of the school which has argued so strenuously against the existence of Homer, showing that the book before us is the production not of one, but of a hundred hands, that its supposed author never existed, and that John Winthrop was not the name of an individual, but a general title of all the governors of Massachusetts during the seventeenth century. As no such question has yet been started, we may be permitted to express our gratification, at seeing the whole of this work presented to the public for the first time in a complete form, and our obligations, shared by the whole community, to its present able and learned editor. The first volume was published at Hartford, in 1790, from the manuscripts in possession of Governor Winthrop's descendants. The manner in which the remaining portion of the work was brought to light, as well as the reasons which led to a revised copy of the whole, will appear in the following extract from Mr Savage's Preface.

'Early in the spring of 1816 was discovered, in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston, the third volume of the History of New England, in the original MS. of the author, John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay. When the precious book was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, at their next meeting, 25 April, the difficulty of transcribing it for the press seemed to appal several of the most competent members, whose engagement in more important duties afforded also a sufficient excuse for leaving such labor to be undertaken by any one, at any time, who could devote to it many weeks of leisure. The task appeared inviting to me. On the same evening the MS. was taken, and the study of its chirography was begun, the next day,

by the aid of one of the former MSS. collated with the printed volume, usually called Winthrop's Journal. Of all the three MSS. and of the published Journal, a sufficient account may be seen in 2 Hist. Coll. IV. 200.

Before the collation of the former MS. with the volume printed in 1790 had proceeded through many pages, the discovery of numerous important errors seemed to make a new edition of the earlier part of the History very desirable; and when a transcript of the new found volume was completed, my resolution was fixed, that it should not be printed without a perfect revision of the Journal. Notes, explanatory, in some instances, of the text, illustrating, in some degree, the biography of many persons named in it, and referring to better accounts of others than I could furnish, were thought necessary. Several hundred notes were prepared, and a careful collation of the whole printed volume, for the second time, with the original volumes of MS. was finished on 2 June, 1819. Being then required to visit a foreign country, all my preparations were suspended until I returned. Care, however, was taken to leave the corrected copy of the printed volume, with my copy of the third part, to be kept safely. Again called abroad in 1822, I so carefully disposed of my copy of the third volume, as to leave it in a forgotten place, which afforded me the gratification of making a new one, begun 8 December, 1823, and finished 30 March, 1824. This circumstance admonished me of the propriety of adopting early measures for guarding against farther accidents of that kind. Application was made, at the next session of the General Court of this commonwealth, by the Historical Society, for encouragement of the publication. In consequence of the liberal aid of the Legislature, the volume comes thus early before the public.'

Mr Savage afterwards informs us, that the original manuscript will remain in the library of the Historical Society for his correction by any one, who doubts of the faithfulness of a single passage. Few we believe will undertake the task, and he has enabled us to form some judgment of his amendments, at a much less expense of labor. Whenever he has introduced a new reading, he has accompanied it with a note of reference to the corresponding word or sentence in the first edition, which is inserted at the bottom of the page. Internal evidence is, generally speaking, strongly in Mr Savage's favor. He has given meaning to many passages, which before bade defiance to explanation, has removed many irreconcilable contradictions, and often substituted plain sense for whimsical absurdity. Who will suppose for

example, that Governor Winthrop could say (p. 62) in speaking of a night which he was obliged to pass in the woods, in consequence of losing his way, that 'it was through God's mercy a *weary* night' instead of a '*warm* night' or (p. 80) that 'one Noddle, an honest man of Salem, was drowned while *running* wood in a canoe,' instead of '*carrying* wood,' or lastly (p. 323) that 'all *breeches* were made up, and the church saved from ruin beyond all expectation,' instead of '*breaches*.'

In bestowing due praise on the present edition, we would not be understood to speak lightly of the industry or accuracy of the former editor. Independently of the important assistance, which Mr Savage states himself in the above extract to have derived from the printed volume, it requires only a glance at the *fac simile* at the end of the present work, or at a few of the earliest pages of the Town Records of Boston, to satisfy us of the extreme difficulty of reading the handwriting of Governor Winthrop and his contemporaries. It is very different from the ancient 'Court Hand,' so much extolled by Blackstone, and bears a much nearer resemblance to the writing of scholars of the present day. To those who inspect it for the first time, it will seem less surprising that numerous errors should have been committed by the first editor, or that he should have given up many passages in despair, than that he should have decyphered so clearly the great body of the work.

We are glad to find that Mr Savage has not contented himself with improving on the verbal labors of his predecessor. He has added an Appendix, consisting of a number of authentic letters, and constituting, in our opinion, the most interesting portion of Governor Winthrop's writings, and has enriched the work with a large number of original and able notes. The good sense and impartiality of his comments form a singular contrast to the strong and undiscriminating attachment, generally shown by editors towards every part of those productions, which they have employed their time and talents in illustrating. We would more particularly recommend to the attention of our readers, his arguments against the genuineness of the celebrated Wheelwright deed of 1629. The whole train of reasoning is a specimen of acute research and powerful logic, but is too long to be inserted in this place. Mr Savage's positions have since derived ample confirmation from several manuscript documents which came into his possession a few days before the publication of his second volume, and in our opinion he has completely put the question at rest.

This work seems to be, in the strict sense of the word, a regular journal begun by Governor Winthrop on board the 'Arbella' at Cowes, March 29, 1630, and ending in the year 1649. It appears from some passages in it, that it was revised and prepared for publication by its author. Though it certainly deserves the reputation which it has so long and generally enjoyed, of being on the whole, a highly interesting work, it contains much that can afford little entertainment to the more general reader, and some passages which the author would probably have omitted had he lived at the present day.

Many will be surprised at finding such frequent and copious details of ordinary casualties and accidents, which a historian of this age would have passed over in silence. This misplaced minuteness may be ascribed in no inconsiderable degree, to the circumstances under which Governor Winthrop wrote, and the vast difference in many respects between the state of society at that period, and in our own times. At the present day, every breakfast table is loaded with fresh newspapers, and every morning brings its new accounts of accidents or casualties, or its tales of wonder or horror, to efface those of yesterday from our memory. It is only occurrences of real and great importance, that can arrest the attention of a numerous and busy community, any longer than the passing moment. In the days of Governor Winthrop, the inhabitants of Boston were a small and insulated people, and newspapers were a late invention even in England. The death of a single individual was felt, as that of a member of a social circle, and the loss of a few valuable animals was viewed, and not without reason, with the same emotions with which we now look on our most calamitous tempests or conflagrations.

The peculiar religious tenets of our forefathers combined with their desolate situation, in giving an extraordinary and solemn interest to every accident which befell any of their associates. They appear to have carried the doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments further than any religious sect of our own days, to have considered themselves as living not only under the constant, but almost under the miraculous care of Providence, and to have noted down and interpreted every casualty as a direct manifestation of divine displeasure. It may be more difficult to defend the intolerance which is frequently displayed in these volumes, and which is a melancholy indication of the degree in which the author, notwithstanding his naturally mild and benevolent disposition, partook of the reigning spirit of his companions.

The religious intolerance of our Puritan forefathers is a fault, which it would be worse than useless to deny, and we allow that their constant and manifest consciousness of their own rectitude, furnishes them with only a partial justification. Doubtless there was much of pride and of anger secretly intermingled in their zeal for the prevalence of unmingled truth, and the establishment of an immaculate church. We think, however, that in this respect, as in many others, they have been censured with much too little allowance for their peculiar condition and pursuits. It is well known, that their object was to plant a church and not an empire. They were not merely a religious, but a theological community; all their thoughts except so far as they were necessarily directed to their own subsistence and security, were absorbed by 'those duties of which God is not only the author but the object.' It was natural, therefore, that disputes on subjects which engrossed the whole intellect and feelings of the community, should be carried on with intense earnestness, and our forefathers were certainly not singular in transgressing the slight boundary, which separates earnestness from passion. In our own days we have seen how far passion and prejudice can be carried, in politics, in times of high excitement, when the vital interests of the nation are considered as depending on the success of this or that party; and what politics were twenty years ago, theology was in 1640. The disputes of parties in our own days generally produce no other injury, than the interruption of social intercourse, and the exchange of unkind looks and hard words. Person and property are protected by written constitutions and laws, which, independently of their direct operation, have, by a necessary reaction, strengthened, fortified, and extended in the public mind, those principles of justice and humanity which gave them birth. Above all, the right of trial by jury furnishes a refuge against public and individual oppression, which can never be rendered insecure, till the deepest foundations of society are broken up. Two hundred years ago, the rights of citizens were far less extensive than now, and defined with far less precision. Our colonial fathers early claimed and exercised the power of internal legislation, and though they were forbidden to make any law contrary to the law of England, yet their proceedings were for a long time unchecked and unnoticed by the mother country. They brought with them much of that undue regard to birth and rank, which is now happily effaced by our free and equal systems of government; their pe-

culiar religious feelings and opinions led them to pay to the clergy a degree of deference, of which some faint traces yet linger in the interior of New England; and during many years the government was in fact an aristocracy as despotic as that of Venice. It is no wonder that power so unlimited should have been sometimes abused.

The portion of these volumes which will be read with the most unmingled sentiments of disapprobation, is that which describes the fate of the highminded Miantunnomoh, Sachem of the Naragansetts. We certainly think, that the conduct of the Pilgrims towards their savage brethren, though occasionally blemished with cruelty, has been too strongly and indiscriminately censured. The transactions which took place between them during the period embraced in these volumes, are marked on both sides, generally speaking, with justice and kindness. That the settlement of this country, by a foreign and civilized nation, must eventually lead to the dispersion and destruction of the aborigines, was a truth which seems to have been suspected by Sassacus, the Pequod Sachem, forty years before the war of Philip. Happily for us, the savage tribes of New England were, for a long time, too simple and shortsighted in their policy to be aware of this fact in its full force, and too little united among themselves to exert their superior power in overwhelming the colonies in their infancy. It was alike unavoidable, however, that wars should at length arise between the English and Indians, and that these should be wars of extermination. Let any one read the history of those times, with an unbiassed mind, and he will be convinced that our fathers had no choice between abandoning this country to the savage hunters, who originally roamed over it, and gaining an entire and exclusive possession of it by the sword. He must be a stanch supporter of abstract theories, who can maintain that they should have adopted the former alternative.

But however misplaced we may consider the romantic compassion, which has been sometimes bestowed on Sassacus and Philip, the determined and implacable enemies of the English race and name, we know not what extenuation can be found for the execution of Miantunnomoh. That chieftain had been the early friend of the English, had repeatedly visited the governor at Boston, and when summoned there to answer for his life, on some charges of treachery brought against him from Connecticut, obeyed the mandate and pleaded his cause before the Gen-

eral Court, observing to his judges that 'though some had dissuaded him, assuring him that the English would put him to death, or keep him in prison, yet, he being innocent of any ill intention against the English, he knew them to be so just that they would do him no wrong.' He offered to meet his great adversary, the sachem Onkus, at Boston, and prove to his face his treachery against the English. 'He urged much, that those might be punished who had raised this slander, and put it to our consideration what damage it had been to him, in that he was forced to keep his men at home, and not suffer them to go hunting till he had given the English satisfaction.' These reasonable requests were disregarded, but after passing two days at Boston, he established his innocence to the satisfaction of his judges, and was dismissed in peace. The following year proved with how much foundation he had calculated on the justice and liberality of his English allies. In July, 1643, his relative, Sequasson, was attacked by Onkus. Miantunnomoh complained to the English, and requested permission to avenge his kinsman's wrongs. This permission was granted in the fullest and most unequivocal language. Miantunnomoh accordingly attacked Onkus with a superior force, but was defeated, and afterwards delivered up to his rival, by two of his officers. When brought before Onkus he preserved total silence. Onkus demanded the reason. 'Had you taken me,' said he 'I would have besought you for my life.' This the captive chieftain disdained to do. Gorton, of Rhode Island, and his associates then interfered in behalf of Miantunnomoh, their early friend and protector, and demanded his liberation. Onkus carried his captive to Hartford to take the advice of the magistrates there, and Miantunnomoh was delivered, at his own request, into their hands. What follows cannot be better related than in the words of Mr Savage.

'It cannot be doubted, I presume, that the captive, having in vain pressed the conqueror to put him to death, expected friendship from the English, to which his former services and recent deference gave him no slight claim. The Narragansetts made presents to Onkus; by one party these gifts are represented as a reward for delivering his prisoner to the English, by the other, as a ransom for the life of their sovereign. See governor Hayne's letter to Winthrop, 3 Hist. Coll. I. 229. Perhaps the conqueror was persuaded to surrender his prey at Hartford through the influence of Gorton and his associates, for it was at first reported,

that "they sent their letters in the name of the governor of Massachusetts;" but as this clause was afterwards struck out by Winthrop, it was probably a false report. Such a deception, for a benevolent purpose, might not be a heavy aggravation of the errors of ignorance, under which those heretics sank. Whatever influence, however, moved Onkus, it seems hardly possible, that he could have anticipated the joyful result of the policy of his teachers in civilization, the deliberation of pious statesmen, by which his captive was restored to his hands, with an injunction to put him to death.

'A judicial investigation of the case of this sachem should not have been undertaken; but as it was, we may look at the grounds of judgment. Trumbull, I. 130, makes part of his offence "without consulting the English according to agreement." Our author's narrative ought to have silenced such a pretence. Little importance need be attached to another allegation, "that he had promised us in the open court to send to Onkus the Pequod, who had shot him in the arm, yet in his way homeward he killed him;" nor indeed to any other part of the doubtful story about the traitorous slave of the Moheagan. By the acts of the commissioners, Haz. II. 8, we learn, that it was fully proved, from the Pequod's own mouth, that he was guilty, and therefore Miantunnomoh, if innocent, as our people, before his misfortunes, thought him, might believe his royal promise satisfactorily performed by putting to death the assassin, instead of returning him to his master. Perhaps his promise to the English, on this matter, was less distinctly understood than it might have been between contracting parties of the same language. If Onkus were, however, free from all blame, and the Narragansett chargeable with treachery, and every other vice of kings, our rulers had no cognizance of the cause, and their advice to the successful warrior was cruel; but their conduct to Miantunnomoh, who had so few years before been their ally against the Pequods, can hardly be regarded as less than a betraying of innocent blood. In the congress of the united colonies, whose doings in this behalf are briefly, but fairly, told by our author, its president, and may be seen at large in Haz. II. 11–13, it was too hastily, I think, resolved, "that it would not be safe to set him at liberty;" and as death was the alternative, in their want of counsel and confidence to come to such a shocking result, against an unarmed prisoner, who was in amity with them, advice was asked, yet of only five among fifty assembled, of the ministers of religion. The fate of Agag followed of course.'

'With profound regret I am compelled to express a suspicion, that means of sufficient influence would easily have been found

for the security of themselves, the pacifying of Onkus, and the preservation of Miantunnomoh, had he not encouraged the sale of Shaomet and Patuxet to Gorton and his heterodox associates. This idea had been unwillingly entertained years before I knew the comment of Governor Stephen Hopkins, 2 Hist. Coll. IX. 202, with which I close this unhappy subject. "The savage soul of Uncas doubted, whether he ought to take away the life of a great king, who had fallen into his hands by misfortune; and to resolve this doubt, he applied to the Christian commissioners of the four united colonies, who met at Hartford,* in September, 1644. They were less scrupulous, and ordered Uncas to carry Myantonomo out of their jurisdiction, and slay him; but kindly added, that he should not be tortured; they sent some persons to see execution done, who had the satisfaction to see the captive king murdered in cold blood. This was the end of Myantonomo, the most potent Indian prince the people of New England had ever any concern with; and this was the reward he received for assisting them seven years before, in their wars with the Pequots. Surely a Rhode Island man may be permitted to mourn his unhappy fate, and drop a tear on the ashes of Myantonomo, who, with his uncle Conanicus, were the best friends and greatest benefactors the colony ever had. They kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers of it, when they were in distress, and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else were their enemies; and by this kindness to them, drew upon themselves the resentment of the neighboring colonies, and hastened the untimely end of the young king."' Vol. II. pp. 132–134, *note*.

Every one will regret that so few accounts now exist of the domestic customs and modes of living of our ancestors; a fact which results from the obvious circumstance, that every historian writes in the first place for his contemporaries, and therefore passes over such topics, as too familiar to be noticed. There was no Espriella among our forefathers, to admit us into their dwellings, and seat us at their firesides, and give us a complete view of the routine of their daily occupations and recreations. On these subjects we must be contented with scanty and incidental hints, a few of which may be gleaned from the work before us. The houses of the first settlers of Boston were generally, as might be expected from the circumstances of the country, extremely simple and unadorned. Wooden chimneys

* 'It should be Boston, 1643, Trumbull, I. 133, hastily says, the commissioners for Plymouth are not on record this year. Their names are signed to the acts.'

were common for many years, and a wainscot of clapboards in the house of the deputy governor was considered a highly censurable piece of extravagance. The house of the 'ladye Moodye' at Salem, a person of high consideration, seems to have closely resembled one of our smallest dwellings, being nine feet high, with a chimney in the centre. The furniture of the early colonists was of a rather different quality. Much of it was brought from England and was of considerable value, forming a strong contrast in this respect to the humble sheds in which it was often deposited. In an inventory of the effects of Mrs Martha Coytemore, Governor Winthrop's fourth wife, dated in 1647, we find silk curtains, brass andirons, *cheny* plates and saucers, and Turkey carpets.

Some estimate may be formed of the ordinary expenses of living from a remark in Governor Winthrop's account, dated 1634.

'I was first chosen Governor,' he observes, 'without my seeking or expectation, there being divers other gentlemen, who for their abilities every way were far more fit. Being chosen, I furnished myself with servants, and provisions accordingly, in a far greater proportion than I would have done, had I come as a private man or as an assistant only. In this office I continued four years and near a half, although I earnestly desired at every election to have been freed. In this time I have spent above £500 per annum, *of which* 200 *per annum would have maintained my family in a private condition.*'

There seems to have been no want of luxuries for the table. The country furnished fish and game in abundance, and though, says the Governor, in a letter dated, November the twentyninth, 1630, 'we have not beef and mutton, yet, God be praised, we want them not, our Indian corn answers for all,' an opinion in which, notwithstanding our regard for that highly useful vegetable, we find it difficult to follow him. Groceries were soon brought over in abundance from England, though it will be recollected that our two most valued articles of that description, tea and coffee, were not then used in Europe. We are told that at a military muster of twelve hundred men in 1641, there was not a man drunk, though wine and strong beer abounded in Boston; and we find that in 1630 the Governor began to discourage the practice of drinking toasts at table. Had he succeeded in abolishing it, what racking of invention and rummaging of memory for

extemporaneous sentiments might have been spared the present generation.

The attempts of our ancestors to restrain luxury in dress were altogether unavailing. It is stated, September the eighteenth, 1634, that many laws were made against tobacco, and immodest fashions, and costly apparel; but though such laws were frequently made, we do not recollect that Governor Winthrop mentions any instance in which they were enforced. Our ancestors endeavored to regulate the spirit of gain, as well as of expense, and with the same eventual success. The prices of labor and of commodities were fixed repeatedly by positive laws, but experience soon proved the utter futility of the project, though not until these laws had been executed in a few instances, especially in the case of Captain Robert Keaine, who was compelled to pay eighty pounds for taking a profit of sixpence and eightpence in the shilling, and in some small instances two for one. The state of morals among our forefathers, and the degeneracy of succeeding generations, have been subjects respectively of eulogy and lamentation from their day to ours; and we recollect a sermon of Mr Stoughton, published about the middle of the seventeenth century, in which he exclaims with great vehemence, 'our wine is mixed with water.' A close examination of this Journal may satisfy a candid reader, that such remarks are dictated in some degree by that veneration for antiquity, and discontent with the world around us, which are found in all countries and generations. The first colonists of Massachusetts were unquestionably, on the whole, a highly respectable community. Many of them, like the author of this work, were men partaking, like all human beings, of the errors and defects of the age in which they lived, and the society which surrounded them, but men of whom any country would be justly proud. They were among the best specimens of what was then and is now the best class of society in Great Britain, its well educated commoners; men superior perhaps to any of their successors in deep and extensive learning, and second to none for fervent piety, for stern integrity, and disinterested patriotism. But that all the early settlers of New England were of this description, is a supposition, which, though it sometimes seems to have been taken for granted, is manifestly absurd. There were several of the same stamp with those who find a place in every new country, needy and desperate adventurers, who hoped to find in a remote settlement, the subsistence which they were unwilling to procure by

honest exertion in their native land. Crimes, even of the most shocking description, sometimes occurred, and many parts of this volume bear a close resemblance to the records of our criminal tribunals at the present day. Besides, there was, even in the more respectable classes of society, a deficiency in refinement and delicacy of manners, which proves, more than any thing else, the progress of society since the seventeenth century. What modern audience would endure disclosures like those made by the Rev. Mr Cotton, at a public lecture, in Boston?

If, however, we can claim any superiority, as an enlightened and refined community, over our forefathers, let us never forget how much of this preeminence we owe to their wisdom and liberality. The erection of the venerable Universities of Harvard and Yale; the adoption to a great degree of those statutes of descent and distribution, beautifully denominated by Judge Story, 'the only true and just Agrarian laws,' which have utterly obliterated the few vestiges of aristocracy which had found a place in our land; the provisions for the support of religion, which combine so happily the interest of the public with the liberty of the individual; and, above all, the introduction of free schools; these great sources of our freedom, our equality, our intellectual and moral power, were all established, by the founders of New England, during the first century of its existence. Our fathers were no devotees of ancient prejudices, anxious to exclude every ray of intellectual light which might disclose the defects of their own political and religious systems; no crafty tyrants, laboring to establish the power of the few by perpetuating the ignorance of the many; no wild fanatics, who thought that divine truth could be only contaminated by the admixture of human learning. They were enthusiasts, indeed, but it was a dignified and generous enthusiasm, an enthusiasm which sought noble ends by noble means; it was their great object to render their posterity a religious, by rendering them an enlightened people. We may smile at the whimsical peculiarities of the Pilgrims, or lament their graver faults, but we shall show little of the boasted liberality of the present day, if we can read their annals with no other emotions than these; if we fail to render due homage to their unwavering singleness of purpose, their unconquerable perseverance, their unquenchable zeal for the dissemination of pure truth, and the prosperity of their adopted country.

We close this article, regretting that our limits forbid our rendering more adequate justice to its venerable author, and its able

and learned editor; but the character of Governor Winthrop is too well known to need any further commemoration, and we trust that the public will duly appreciate the patriotic zeal, which could lead a gentleman, of Mr Savage's abilities and occupations, to undertake a task requiring such patient and minute industry. We hope that his success, in the present instance, will have its due effect in inducing him to continue his important and interesting researches. The field, which he has chosen for his peculiar labors, is a true New England soil, unpromising in its aspect to a careless observer, but yielding a rich reward to the skilful and laborious cultivator.

Art. III.—*The Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of Gotham.* Edited by the Author of 'John Bull in America.'

'Three Wise Men of Gotham
Went to Sea in a Bowl.
If the Bowl had been stronger,
My Tales had been longer.'

New York. 1826. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 324.

Of all the sages of antiquity, whose names have been handed down to our time, none have excited so general a notice, as the three wise men of Gotham. The short fragment of the history of these unfortunate navigators hitherto known to us, which records their lamentable fate, has not been the theme of the learned antiquary and studious scholar alone, but is in the mouths of persons of every class, and of all periods of life, from lisping infancy to tremulous old age. Whether this universal interest and sympathy, is to be attributed to the sudden exit of these venerable men; to the extraordinary character of the vessel to which they committed themselves; or to the mysterious brevity of the fragment alluded to, are questions, which, considering the numerous learned disquisitions on less important subjects, we might have expected, would before this, have exercised the ingenuity of many laborious commentators. This, however, has not been the case, and the history of these distinguished philosophers has remained involved in the most profound obscurity up to this time. The documents noticed at the head of this article purport to be the memoirs of these ancient personages. To con-

vey to our readers a just sense of their important bearing upon the present times, it is necessary to say a few words of the state of the sciences, and of public opinion, in our country at this period.

It has no doubt been remarked, that whilst all other parties among men, whether of a religious, political, literary, or any other nature, have come by the force of circumstances, from time to time, to change their character, subside, and amalgamate, the distinction between the ancients and moderns has ever remained the same, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, claiming to be the superior in acquirements and intelligence. From a very early period, however, there has been this great advantage observable on the side of the ancients, that notwithstanding the moderns had the field to themselves, and might use what arguments they pleased, without the fear of a reply from their opponents, yet sooner or later all the moderns were found to go over to the party of the ancients, whereas no ancient was ever known to become a modern. This circumstance operated so powerfully in favor of the ancients, and by degrees so greatly increased their numbers, that the moderns a long time since, yielded up the victory to them, and freely acknowledged their own inferiority. Insomuch, that, until towards the close of the last century, these last, from generation to generation, have been accustomed, with a praiseworthy modesty, to look back upon their ancestors, who lived centuries before them, as the only genuine source of all wisdom, virtue, and science, and to consider themselves as mere children, bound to receive, and observe with reverence, the information handed down to them from earlier and wiser ages. The obscurity which time threw around the characters and writings of antiquity only served to increase their reputation; and the venerable black letter had its just influence, being ever the more respected the less it was understood. But when the great school of children of this Western world, undertook to break their leading strings, and commenced a general barring out of their masters, the froward spirit which led to this act of disobedience carried them on to still greater extravagancies, and they began to pretend that they were as wise as their ancestors.

This long exploded opinion they supported with such arguments as these. That although it could not be denied that the individuals then living, were much younger than their ancestors, who lived a thousand years before, still it was to be recollected,

that the world was just so much the older; and that inasmuch as a whole is acknowledged to be greater than a part, the experience and knowledge obtained by the world since the existence of their ancestors, added to that of their ancestors themselves, must plainly be somewhat greater than that of the latter taken alone. These and other like arguments operated so powerfully, as soon to bring a majority of people in this country over to that way of thinking, and to a belief that our ancestors were by no means so wise as they had been said to be. The great success and spread of these opinions, at length so inflated the moderns, that they began to lay aside all reserve, and openly to assert, that there was no science, art, invention, or discovery of any consequence which had not originated, within the last fifty years, or been so improved upon, as that they were justly entitled to the merit of it; the great advancement made in these things, they attributed to the rapid 'march of mind' within that period, and pretended to look upon the first six thousand years of the world as little better than time thrown away.

It is, however, in *three* things particularly, that the moderns boast to have utterly surpassed all that was ever done or thought of in former times, and by which they expect to secure to this age the admiration and gratitude of all future ones. The first of these is the invention of the *woman machine*, whereby the productive power of mankind in the making of cottons, kerseys, &c. is increased to a most wonderful degree, and the most important parts of female education greatly improved upon. And of this machine the moderns claim to be the original and sole inventors. Secondly, the bringing of the *common law* to a pitch of perfection, such as was never before imagined to be possible. Thirdly, the introduction and prosecution of the science of *phrenology*, a science said by knowing men to be fraught with more important consequences to mankind than any other ever before pursued.

Now upon an examination of the work before us, it appears that these three ancients represent themselves to be proficients in these very sciences which the moderns thus claim to have originated or to have perfected in these latter days. In a matter of so great importance as this, a regard, as well to the reputation of those venerable ancients, as to the just rights of the present age, makes it our duty as impartial critics, to examine and decide upon the respective pretensions of the two parties.

The learned editor in his preface gives the following account of the manner in which those remarkable papers first came to light.

'A great Oxford antiquary, of whom it has been said that he remembered whatever others forgot, and forgot whatever other people remembered, speaks of the "Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham," a work in great repute in his time, when the kindest name given to a philosopher, was that of madman, a phrase which often saved him from the stake or the block. This work was long supposed to be extinct, but at length came to light, not long since, at Mr Bindley's sale, and was bought by a young American traveller for a trifle, owing to the deplorable ignorance of two munificent noblemen, who little suspected that it was the only copy in the known world, and for that reason considered it as worth nothing.'

The work is divided into three distinct memoirs or narrations, said to have been delivered individually by the three wise men during their perilous voyage, and giving a minute account of their experiences in the prosecution of the three sciences in which they were proficients.

We shall take up these several memoirs separately, in their order, and state our reasons for thinking as we do, that the learned editor has been imposed upon by some invidious modern, who having arrived at such a period of life as made it certain that he must soon become an ancient, took the opportunity, whilst it was yet within his power, to do something in favor of the party which he was about to be connected with; and for that purpose, to use a legal phrase, first pirated the most remarkable improvements and inventions of the moderns, and then held them up to ridicule. The first of these memoirs purports to be that of the '*Man Machine*, or the Pupil of Circumstances.' The account of his birth and initiation into the science of productive labor is thus described.

'I was born, began the first Wise Man of Gotham, in a country that I consider unworthy of my nativity, and for that reason I shall do all in my power to deprive it of the honor, by not mentioning its name. I am, moreover, descended from a family, which must necessarily be of great antiquity, since, like all old things, it has long since fallen into decay. My father had little or no money, but was blessed with the poor man's wealth, a fruitful wife

and great store of children. Of these I am the eldest; but at the period I shall commence my story, we were all too young to take care of ourselves, until the fortunate discovery was made by some great philanthropist, that little children, of six or seven years old, could labor a dozen or fourteen hours a day without stinting their minds, ruining their health, or destroying their morals. This improvement in the great science of PRODUCTIVE LABOR, delighted my father—it was shifting the *onus*, as the lawyers say, from his own shoulders to that of his children. He forthwith bound us all over to a cotton manufactory, where we stood upon our legs three times as long as a member of congress, that is to say, fourteen hours a day, and among eight of us, managed to earn a guinea a week. The old gentleman, for gentleman he became from the moment he discovered his little flock could maintain him—thought he had opened a mine. He left off working, and took to drinking and studying the mysteries of political economy and productive labor. He soon became an adept in this glorious science, and at length arrived at the happy conclusion, that the whole moral, physical, political and religious organization of society, resolved itself into making the most of human labor, just as we do of that of our horses, oxen, asses, and other beasts of burden.' pp. 21, 22.

This wise man, whose name is Harmony, goes on to give, at great length, a minute description of the science of productive labor as exemplified in the management of a cotton factory. We think it will be apparent to our readers that the object is, under the feigned name of a *man machine*, to decry and run down that most useful and remarkable invention of modern times called a *woman machine*. The more fully to show that the moderns are justly entitled to the merit of this invention, and that the slurs cast upon it by this writer are altogether groundless, we shall shortly state how, and when, this machine came first to be invented in this country; explain the mode of its construction; and briefly notice the very important uses to which it is applied.

The invention of the *woman machine*, as can be incontestibly proved, first came about in this manner. As soon as the people of this country had fairly freed themselves from the government of Great Britain, and discharged themselves of their ancestors, all classes of persons here began to thrive and multiply exceedingly, but more especially females; insomuch that our political economists suggested a fear that, in process of time, the whole country would get to be overrun with women, unless some check was put to them. Now our mechanical geniuses, casting their

eyes around in search of cheap materials to work with, which is a great object with them, and seeing large stores of girls in all directions apparently useless, caught the idea, that it would answer an excellent purpose to work them up into machinery, and so planned the woman machine, the mode of constructing which is after this fashion. You take from one hundred and fifty to two hundred youths, varying the number according to the intended size of your machine; they should be rather of a tender age, from ten to fifteen years is preferable, and mostly females, say not less than nine tenths. After well sorting these, you put them into a large four story building strongly constructed of brick or stone, near a considerable head of water; on the several floors of this building are to be placed various pieces of machinery, called mules, spinning jennies, double speeders, &c. Then having distributed the girls about the rooms according to your taste and judgment, you attach one or more of them, as circumstances may require, to each piece of machinery, and the whole machine is ready for use.

A machine thus prepared and put together is called a manufactory. The principal rule to be observed in the working of it, is to keep it in as constant operation as possible; the best regulated ones, not being stopped more than three times a day, for about twenty minutes at a time, to oil the wheels and feed the girls. After adhering strictly to this course for two or three years the girls are found, as it were, to become a part of the other machinery, so that neither of them can go to any purpose without being put together, any more than a wheel can go without being attached to a carriage, or a carriage without a wheel. And when the whole machine is in motion, the double speeder and spinning jenny part, appears to be just as much alive as the girl part.

The principal advantages of this machine, as enumerated by the inventors, appear to be these; that a great part of the machinery, as before mentioned, being made out of a very cheap material, goods can be manufactured by them at a much lower rate than in the old way, and so our English and other competitors derive from our market. That by this mode of educating females, four of the principal natural defects in their characters are eradicated, or greatly lessened; which has never before been known to be effected by any other course of education; namely, first, a frequent restlessness and fondness for running about; secondly, a too free use of speech; thirdly, a constant desire for med-

dling in other persons' concerns to the neglect of their own; and fourthly, a manifest indisposition to the wholesome control and authority of parents, husbands, and guardians; for the curing of which defects, some dozen years' steady exercise in one of these machines is said to be a most valuable and certain specific, so that it is confidently expected, that by a very general establishment of them, the world will shortly become a very quiet and peaceable place, that all riotous, routous, and noisy assemblages will cease, and that, excepting at Congress and in the state legislatures, excessive talking will only be persisted in when it is to some purpose.

From this statement our readers will plainly see that this machine is unquestionably of modern invention, and that so far from failing to accomplish the purposes contemplated, it promises to be of the greatest advantage to society, whether viewed as a most useful seminary for the education of females, or a cheap manufacturing machine.

The second memoir is that of *Quominus;* and it narrates the great exertions and sacrifices he made, in pursuing the study of the Perfection of Reason, otherwise denominated the *Common Law.* He thus introduces the subject.

'"My brother Harmony," said Mr Quominus, the second Wise Man of Gotham, "has fallen a sacrifice to the perfectibility of man; I, on the contrary, am a martyr to the Perfection of Reason. I was born in a country, where they have sufficient wisdom to make their own laws, but not quite enough, as it would seem, to understand them afterwards. In order to remedy this singular inconvenience, they resorted to a method equally singular, and original. They enlisted the wise men of other nations in their behalf; and justly considering that it was quite a sufficient effort of human wisdom for one country to make its own laws, they determined to resort to another for their interpretation. Accordingly, they made a vast number of laws, believing they could not have too much of a good thing, and then sent beyond sea to get them explained. In a couple of hundred years, these explanations, being all carefully recorded in books, amounted to upwards of three thousand volumes of goodly size, containing upon an average, each, one hundred contradictory interpretations of different wise men. Such a mass of wisdom, and such a variety of opinions, supported by such unanswerable arguments, never got together under the same roof in this world. Some very aged persons, who had lived long enough to get about half through this invaluable collection, discovered that it was like the sermon that

suited any text, and the text that suited any sermon; for every man could find in it a decision, or at least an opinion, to suit his purpose. A system so supported on all sides, by all sorts of opinions, certainly merited the honor of being called a science; and such a science, as certainly, deserved a respectable name. It was accordingly aptly denominated THE PERFECTION OF REASON, because it furnished every man, however different his opinions might be, with reasons in support of them.

In addition to this great requisite of every perfect system, namely, that it should suit every body—this accumulation of contradictory opinions, it was affirmed, possessed another irresistible claim to the dignified appellation it had obtained. It cannot be denied, said the admirers of this science, that although the laws are expressly devised to settle such disputes, or conflicting claims, as might otherwise occasion a resort to force, still it is never the intention of a wise legislator, that people should actually appeal to them for this purpose. They are merely to be held up *in terrorem*, or rather like buoys, to float on the surface of society, for the purpose of warning mankind of the shoals and quicksands below. In this point of view, then, it is apparent, that the more intricate and inconsistent the laws, and the more various and contradictory their interpretations, the greater delay and expense there will be found in settling appeals to them, and consequently the number of lawsuits be greatly diminished. Thus, when the laws become perfectly unintelligible, they are absolutely perfect, for then nobody in their senses will go to law, and the science will do its duty after the manner of a scarecrow, which frightens the birds from the corn, merely by flourishing its unintelligible rattle. Thus you see, that no other name than that of the perfection of reason, could possibly have suited this excellent science.' pp. 145–147.

And here again our readers will perceive, if they take the trouble to go through the narrative, that the sole object of it is to ridicule that most important and most ancient of all sciences, the common law, and particularly the great improvements made upon it by the moderns.

Nor ought we to be greatly surprised at such an attempt. Experience shows us, that let a science be carried to any state of perfection, however great, there are always found persons enough prepared to pick out some defects in it. For at all periods of the world two principal paths have been pursued in the attaining of distinction, which, though widely apart at their setting off, are found to lead out to the same eminence. The one of these is followed by doing well ourselves, and the other

by finding fault with everything well done by our neighbors. Which latter being by far the easier road, is therefore much the more frequented.

A very hasty sketch of the principles and foundations of the common law, and of the most remarkable improvements made upon it within a few years, will convince any one of the incorrectness of the views which this memoir would give of that distinguished science. 'Municipal law, or the law as applicable to particular societies,' the learned Mr Justice Blackstone says, in his Commentaries, vol. i. p. 34, 'is properly defined to be, a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong.' It must be apparent, therefore, to the smallest mind, that the essential requisites of good laws are these; first, that they should be reasonable and applicable to the times and to the persons upon which they are to operate; and, secondly, that they should be plain, and an acquaintance with them easily to be come at by all parts of the community. We shall proceed to show that these requisites are most remarkably conspicuous in the common law, and, indeed, are the grounds of that just preference which is given to this over the civil and statute law.

And to the first point we will cite what is laid down by the learned Lord Coke on this subject, namely, 'that the common law is the very perfection of human reason.' And this, to the minds of all enlightened jurists, at once settles the matter, my Lord Coke being considered the very oracle of the common law, and no equal authority being to be found to the contrary. But in respect that many of our readers may not be so well versed in the legal rules of reasoning, we shall no doubt more satisfactorily prove to them the reasonableness of the common law, and its especial applicability to the present state of the world, by stating the fact that these laws are not written rules, as our statute laws are, and so liable to mistakes in the printing, and to the interpolations of interested persons, and the misconstructions of feeble or perverse minds. Nor have any of them been made in modern times, so as that they might be fashioned to suit any particular parties, persons, or purposes. But they are a collection of customs, never committed to writing, but handed down to us by tradition, and were first adopted, nobody knows when, why, nor by whom. And, as Mr Justice Blackstone says, 'the maxims and customs so collected are of higher antiquity than memory or history can reach, nothing being more difficult than

to ascertain the precise beginning, and first spring, of an ancient and long established custom.' And so my Lord Hale says, 'The original of the common law is as undiscernible as the head of the Nile.' And indeed in this seems to consist the very essence and excellency of these customs, for so soon as any one can ascertain the commencement and original reason of them, they cease to be good law, as see Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 70, 'So that if any one can show the beginning of it, it is no good custom.' From which preceding remarks and authorities our intelligent readers are no doubt fully satisfied that the common law is admirably well adapted to our times, and in the highest degree reasonable, for although the learned Mr Christian in his notes upon the Commentaries, alleges, that 'it cannot be dissembled that there are decisions drawn from established principles and maxims, which are good law, though such decisions may be manifestly absurd and unjust,' and that 'precedents and rules must be followed, even when they are flatly absurd and unjust,' thereby plainly hinting that these precedents and maxims are sometimes absurd and unjust, yet fortunately the learned Blackstone himself has furnished us with a very ready way of getting over such difficulties, 'for,' says he, speaking of the rules of the common law, 'though their reason be not obvious at first view, yet we owe such a deference to former times as not to suppose that they acted wholly without consideration;' which key to the proper understanding and due digestion of many rules of the common law, has been of infinite assistance, and is much used, in the study and practice of that science.

Having thus satisfactorily disposed of the first point, we proceed to show how easily an acquaintance with this law may be attained to. Now these rules of the common law, upon a due knowledge and observance of which the life and property of every member of the community in a great measure depend, are not, as we have before observed, written out and collected in one or more books or sets of books, as the civil and statute law are, so that a person should have occasion to know how to read, and reflect, and reason, in order to come to a knowledge of them; but very happily for us are stored up in the breasts of divers learned judges, whence they are to be extracted by a certain process, called a case in court; so that any one who has a desire to be informed of his own rights, or those of his neighbor, in any particular, instead of tumbling over musty books, to

the great waste of his time and injury of his eyes, has only to set about such a process, in which he is very kindly and willingly assisted by gentlemen of the bar, so called, (great numbers of whom are always at hand, ready for such undertaking) when after a few years constant attendance upon courts, and the laying out of several small sums of money, not worth mentioning, he will obtain a sufficient knowledge of the point in question, by a regular decision of the judges. And this course of inquiry being free to every one, rich or poor, high or low, all classes and members of society have by these means an equal opportunity of enjoying the laws of their country. Nor ought we to neglect mentioning here what puts this mode of acquiring a knowledge of the law greatly before every other, that, for several sufficient reasons, the legal information, once obtained after this manner, lays such good hold upon the memory as seldom or never to be forgotten for the rest of one's life.

But notwithstanding the plain excellencies of the common law, many persons said, and perhaps it may be thought with some reason, that if people were only able to ascertain what the law was after it was decided against them, it was no better than *ex post facto* law, and therefore contrary to all justice; and that all the rules and maxims of the common law ought to be collected and written out plain in some book, so that any person might go to it and suit himself, according to his case. Upon which, and many other like suggestions, it was set about to improve the old system. And this was done in the only feasible way, namely, by creating at once a great abundance of new judges, of all sorts and kinds, from whom, by a constant employment of them, all the rules and maxims of the common law might in a short time be extracted. In addition to these, numerous learned reporters were also appointed, whose duty it should be, to write out at length, and publish under their own hands, the decisions of the judges. By which judicious means these said rules and maxims of the common law have now got to be so well collected and reduced to writing, that it is thought Congress will shortly have to set apart one of the western territories for the sole purpose of storing away the numerous books of reports containing them; after the manner of a careful housewife, who is always known to appropriate some one chamber in her house to the purpose of a rubbish room. Nor did this rapid extraction of the common law fail of producing the advantages expected from it. For it often happened before this, that when persons who chanced

to fall into some small dispute with each other, came to examine into the law on the subject, they either found no adjudicated cases at all, touching the question, or if any, they were very like to be all on one side of it, which greatly disappointed one of the parties and much discouraged useful judicial investigations. Whereas since the better settlement of the law by the multiplication of valuable reports, numerous decisions may be found, not only applicable to every case that can arise, but also to every side of it, so that both parties apply with equal confidence to the legal tribunals, and are said to be *rectus in curiæ*, or to stand right in court, which, freely rendered, we understand to mean, start fair, it being impossible to conjecture on which side the weight of law is, until all the cases are regularly cited by the counsel and counted by the court.

These striking improvements on the common law as administered by our ancestors, raised such an enthusiasm in favor of the new system of things, that even the judges themselves fell in with it, and began to make experiments, so that notwithstanding it had always heretofore been the received opinion, and still is, we believe, in the mother country, that the wisdom of a judge lies principally in his wig, and that he might as well appear upon the bench without his head upon his shoulders, as without his wig upon his head; yet in their warmth, with one accord, and in the face and eyes of all precedents, they pulled their venerable hair wigs off their heads and converted them into seats, in the shape of hair cushions, alleging that the administration of justice was thereby rendered much more easy.

But of all the sciences cultivated in these times, the sublime science of *Phrenology* is that upon which the moderns most pride themselves; a science calculated to give us a perfectly new view of mankind. To attack this important science, the favorite of distinguished heads, seems to be the aim of the third and last memoir.

The name given to this wise man is *Le Peigne*, and he describes in the following extract his unexpected and extraordinary meeting with the first phrenologist.

'My brother Harmony, began the Third Wise Man of Gotham, has, it seems, been shipwrecked in pursuit of the Perfectibility of Man; and my brother Quominus has fallen a victim to the Perfection of Reason, or the Wisdom of Ages, I can hardly tell which; I, on the contrary, am the martyr of science.

'I was born and educated in the most scientific, literary, and philosophical city in the world, for the women were all blues and the men metaphysicians. In truth, I may say, with perfect veracity, there were so many people running after science, that there were not sciences enough for them to run after. The business was overdone; the game was exhausted, as in countries too thickly settled and too much cultivated; and nothing was left for them but the invention of new sciences, to give them employment. Besides, such had been the unwearied industry, the deep sagacity, with which they had pursued the old sciences, that they had driven them from their most secret recesses; detected all their arcana; exposed their occult mysteries; and, in fact, pulled them by the ears, as it were, out of every hole and corner where they had entrenched themselves for ages. Strangers, who were allured to the city by the fame of its learning, observed with astonishment, that the women could call every thing by its scientific name, and that even the very children talked nearly as wisely as the best of them. Learning, science, and philosophy were becoming vulgar, insomuch that several people of the highest rank and fashion, began to study ignorance, and actually sent their children to school to unlearn every thing. It was high time, therefore, for the lovers of science to begin to look about them; for the writers and lecturers upon the old Grey Beard mathematics, philosophy, botany, and chemistry, instead of an audience of pretty fashionables, with nodding plumes, were content to confine their instructions to classes of rusty students, who actually came for no other purpose than to learn. The fashionable young ladies began to yawn at conversations where they met to relax themselves with political economy and metaphysics; and a universal alarm prevailed, when a great heiress, who was considered the bulwark of the blues, backslided, and married a regular dandy, with a thin waist and no learning.

'It was high time to get up something new for these people, and as the natives of our isle are more apt to improve upon the inventions of others than to invent anything themselves, I was selected by a coterie of philosophers, and sent out into the world to discover a new plaything for these grown up children of knowledge. I travelled, and travelled, and travelled, as the storybooks say, over divers countries that have neither latitude nor longitude; I visited all the colleges, scientific institutions, and bedlams; sought out the most learned and adventurous philosophers of christendom; consulted the Pundits of India, the Chingfoos of China, the Dervises of Turkey, and the Jugglers of the Flathead Indians of the Missouri. In short, I ransacked the uttermost ends of the earth, and was returning disconsolate, through Ger-

many, to my native city, with a firm conviction that there was nothing new under the sun, when an unexpected adventure befell me on the eve of a long day's journey.

'Owing to various untoward accidents, one of which was the lameness of my horse, I had been overtaken by twilight in the midst of the forest of Teutoburgium, not far, as it afterwards proved, from the spot where Varus and his legions had been cut off by the German hero Arminius. As the night gathered thick around me, obscured into Cimmerian darkness by the overarching shades, I became more and more confused and uncertain of my way. I heard the growling of bears, the howling of wolves, the hooting of owls, and the shrill whistle of the bandit, mingling with the sighing and moaning of winds as they wandered in the impenetrable shades. At length my progress was arrested by a cold and heavy hand, forcibly applied to my mouth, with such excellent aim, considering it was so dark, that it stopt it entirely and prevented me from calling for help, had I bethought myself of doing it. So forcible was the blow, that it knocked me from my horse, and I lay on the ground for a few moments insensible to everything around me. As I gradually recovered, the pain of my fall, the loneliness of my situation, and the apprehension that the bandit would return with his companions, and finish, perhaps, what he had begun, overcame me entirely, and I groaned at intervals aloud. Nothing for a time answered me, but the dismal echoes of the forest, and once or twice the neighings of what I snpposed my own horse, who had wandered to a distance. At length, however, my cries were answered by a voice which seemed close to my ear.

'"Who and what art thou, that thus wanderest alone, at midnight, on the spot where the bones of tens of thousands have been bleaching for ages?" cried a hollow and tremulous voice.

'"I am a pilgrim," exclaimed I, "from a far distant country, travelling the earth in search of a new science."

'"Thou hast hit the nail on the head," replied the invisible voice. "Follow me, give me thy hand, thou art a lucky man, and hast been born, without doubt, with a silver spoon in thy mouth."

'"But my horse," quoth I.

'"He is safe," replied the voice, taking me by the hand. As I lifted it to my lips in token of thankfulness, I started back with horror.

'"It smells of mortality!" cried I.

'"True—It hath handled nothing but the bones of Varus and his legions, for more than thirty years."

'"Art thou a sexton?"

'"No."

'"A grave digger?"

'"Follow me, and thou shalt know."

'I again gave him my hand with trembling reluctance, and we struck to the right in a direction towards a dim light, which till now escaped my notice. After proceeding some distance, we approached the entrance of a cave, which descended gently into the bosom of the earth, through a passage dimly lighted by a lamp, leading into an apartment that struck me with inexpressible dismay. It was a charnelhouse of skulls, which I took for granted appertained to thousands of murdered wretches, made away with by a band of robbers, of which this wily old wretch was the stool-pigeon, or chief, I hardly knew which. His whole appearance was a composition of supernatural horrors. There did not seem a drop of blood in his body, or an ounce of flesh on his bones. His eye, deep sunk in his head, glimmered dimmer than the half expiring lamp which obscured rather than illuminated the passage by which we had descended; and his cheeks, for want of the support of teeth, had sunk in on either side, and met together lovingly in the roof of his mouth. His head was without a single hair, and the glossy surface of the skull, divided by lines into different compartments, like the divisions of a map. Each of these was numbered after the manner of sheet maps, teaching children geography. "Gracious heaven!" exclaimed I, mentally, "he is not only a robber but a necromancer! perhaps one of the infernal quizzical imps of Number Nip! perhaps the wooden demon himself. This forest has long been famous for evil doings, and these lines and figures are doubtless the spell by which this diabolical caitiff works his infernal ends." I cast my eyes from the necromancer to the paraphernalia by which he was surrounded. Nothing was seen but skulls piled up in various recesses, or lying about in horrible confusion, so that at every step, they rolled beneath my feet, and grinned in my face, as if in scorn of these impotent injuries. The rest of the embellishments of this Golgotha, have escaped my recollection, for as I continued to stare around, my courage deserted me, my senses wandered, and I trembled from head to foot.

'"Thou art cold and doubtless hungry too," said the old mystery of horror—"I was inhospitable not to offer thee something to eat."

'He then arose and went to an obscure part of the cave. "He is gone to prepare for me the feast of the worms," thought I, "or perhaps he will presently invite me, like the ghost in Don Juan, to an entertainment of shin-bones and petty-toes. Would I were home again, and perish all new sciences." Presently, however, he returned, and to my very agreeable surprise, presented a piece of

cold venison, some bread, and a flaggon of beer. "Eat, drink and be merry," quoth he—"for to-morrow I die!" responded I, inwardly, with a sigh. However hunger is lord of the world, and will swallow up fear, when he is sharp set. I fell upon the venison, and ate as if it were my last; I swallowed oceans of beer, in hopes it would infuse into me a portion of Dutch courage, but in vain. While I was taking my meal, the necromancer or whatever he might be, was examining a large skull, divided and marked in like manner with his own, and apparently comparing it with mine, while he ever and anon exclaimed—

"Bless me!—astonishing!—wonderful!—one would think they had belonged to one and the same person!—Pray, my good friend, if you can stop eating for one moment, tell me, had you ever any other head on your shoulders than the one you carry now?"

"Not that I know of," replied I.

"Astonishing—curious—remarkable—never saw such an identity—wit—locality—amativeness—philoprogenitiveness—ideality—wonder—acquisitiveness—concentrativeness—adhesiveness—cautiousness—tune—size—weight—coloring—language—comparison—casualty—love of approbation—order—combativeness, and what not! I would give thousands for your skull. Why, sir, you must be a universal genius. You have the finest collection of organs in the world. You are a poet, a mechanic, a chymist, a philosopher, a musician, a lover of children, an artist, a metaphysician, and anything else you please, besides."' pp. 237—244.

A very few words will be sufficient to vindicate this remarkable science from the aspersions thrown upon it in this memoir.

It had always heretofore been supposed since Adam first showed his face in the world, that the passions, propensities, and mental qualifications of a man were best expressed by the front side of his head, whereas this science teaches that they are only to be correctly judged of by the backside; thereby entirely changing the face of things, and clearly showing that our ancestors have all along been looking upon the wrong side of them. Which sufficiently accounts for the slow progress the world has been making until within a few years past; and also for the sudden start it has lately taken.

It has ever been a universal sentiment that the most important study of mankind is man; notwithstanding which, and the great apparent opportunities we have of examining individual character, such have been the peculiar difficulties of the subject, that a very imperfect knowledge, after all, has ever been obtained of

it. For before the practice of phrenology, the most approved means of judging of a man's character was by observing his conduct; which could only be conclusively determined upon after he had closed his life, nor was this test a perfect one; for who could decide how the same person would have acted, exposed to the operation of different circumstances. And, indeed, it is one of the tritest maxims, that so far from easily ascertaining the character of others, it is one of the severest tasks to become acquainted with our own. Now, through the help of this science of phrenology, all such difficulties are at once done away with; and by a mere glancing of our eyes, or even momentary application of our fingers, to the heads of our neighbors, we are as certainly informed of what they can and will do, as by our experience of what they have done. Thereby changing future time at once into present; a thing which people at all times of life have continually desired to do, but never before been able to effect, unless it may be a few learned grammarians.

We have not time to notice all the beneficial changes which this science is expected to work in our customs, manners, and laws; they may, however, in some small measure, be judged of by a single instance. To take a principal one in the law. A man commits a murder; society is put in great terror, and to great expense and trouble in catching the felon and bringing him to justice, when after all he may get off, for the want of sufficient evidence of the fact, and commit half a dozen more like crimes before he can be legally hung; it being a rule of some of our courts not to punish a man for any offence before he can be proved to have committed it. Now observe the effects of this science;—a man in walking the streets, riding in a stage coach, sitting in the theatre or anywhere else, sees a person before him with a fully developed murder bump on the back of his head; he immediately gives secret information of the fact; the criminal is forthwith seized without having an opportunity to escape; and this being a matter of easy proof, he may be tried, condemned, sentenced, and executed off hand. For it certainly is a matter of equal justice whether you hang a man before or after the crime, provided only you are satisfied that, if left unhung, he would be sure to commit it; and moreover the being beforehand with him, has this great advantage, that you thereby save the life of the murdered person.

But we might as well attempt to count the stars, as to enumerate the various excellencies of this wonderful science. Nor is

it necessary. The obvious advantages of having an accurate chart of every man's character drawn out upon his head for general inspection must be sufficiently apparent.

Having thus explained the origin and the important uses of the several sciences which are attempted to be decried by the book before us, we hope we have convinced our readers that these memoirs are in fact the offspring of some dissatisfied modern, and not the productions of the three distinguished ancients to whom they are attributed. But if we should have failed in this, still there is one science of great and increasing repute at the present day, not noticed in these memoirs, and which has so plainly grown out of the prevailing opinions of these times that we cannot but think that the claims of the moderns to it are unquestionable.

We refer to the novel science of inversion or transposition. As soon as our late peace with Great Britain had set the people of this country at their ease, and given them an opportunity of turning their attention to peaceful and speculative subjects, having, as we before observed, effectually discarded their ancestors, they began soon to examine with a careful and scrutinizing eye the foundations and merits of many of the old established opinions and principles received from them, and which had for centuries past controled the minds and influenced the conduct of mankind. Among these, their attention was particularly attracted to that universal and long continued custom among men of always keeping the head uppermost; and the philosophers and wiser sort gave out, that this was nothing more than an old prejudice, and a very injurious one, and no more natural to man than to other animals, but only a foolish fashion of our ancestors, which ought to be immediately corrected. And they said it was so far from according with the nature of things and the order of the universe to have the head always uppermost, that the most approved and received theories of the motion of the planets and the diurnal rotation of the earth showed that mankind ought to be heels over head at least half the time. These opinions were immediately caught up and assented to by such politicians as were of the prevailing party at this time in the country, who said that the usurpation, tyranny, and infringements upon the rights of the people, which had vexed the political world for so many ages, were chiefly owing to some persons carrying their heads too high. The medical men, too, assisted in attempting to reform this custom, and gave it as their decided opinion that it was to this bad habit

of keeping the head always uppermost, that most of the mental and bodily disorders of mankind might be traced, and particularly that worst one of all, called dyspepsia.

In pursuance of these opinions, and in order to effect as rapid and radical a change of this mischievous habit as possible, corporations were formed, and schools established in our principal cities, called Gymnasiums, where all those who had hitherto been going head over heels to the injury of their health, the distress of their friends, and the detriment of society, might endeavor to mend their ways by learning to go heels over head. The same system of education, after mature examination, has also been introduced, as we are informed, into some of our most distinguished universities, where it is said to have taken the place of the Hebrew and other dead languages, it being a general opinion, that if much of the time which has heretofore been bestowed upon the heads of the youth there, had been devoted to their heels, their proficiency would have been more apparent; so that at these venerable seats of science you may daily see learned philosophers, professors, and alumni with their heels where their heads used to be, to the great admiration of spectators, the advancement of science, and the manifest improvement of undergraduates.

We cannot close our remarks without expressing our thanks to the learned editor of these documents, for the great and continued zeal he manifests in composing or editing such works as tend to show the real state of improvement of this country in the arts, sciences, and general civilization. And if he should have been deceived, as we think he has, in attributing these compositions to the three venerable philosophers, whose memoirs they purport to be, still they have their good effect, in this, that they raise the suggestion, whether, how much wiser soever than our ancestors we moderns may think ourselves, we shall not best show our wisdom by saying but little about it; inasmuch as it happens every now and then, that some relic of a former age, which, like the Herculaneum manuscripts and Milton's essay, has been buried for centuries among the ruins of a lost town or the rubbish of an overgrown library, and has so slipped through the fingers of the intermediate generations, accidentally falls into our hands, and gives us some reason to doubt whether the great march of mind in our day, may not, after all, have been in a circle.

ART. IV.—*Observations on the Growth of the Mind.* By SAMPSON REED. Boston. 8vo. pp. 44.

PERHAPS there has been no age, since the world was established as the abode of man, so generally confident of progress, and so full of anticipations of further advancement, as our own. It looks back on the ages that are past, and asserts that it is wiser and better than they. It looks forward on the ages to come, and acknowledges that they will far surpass it. Though proud of its superiority, it is generous and impartial in its pride, for it is prepared and willing to be excelled. It is conscious of its abundant acquisitions, but it has been taught by many of these, that there is more to be acquired; and it calls, with a voice of disinterested hopefulness, on the still nobler and more successful exertions of future time. This voice of the age, feeble and stifled in many regions of the earth, rings out with an earnest distinctness from those districts in which mankind are the most intelligent and free, enjoying the greatest share of light and the greatest liberty to make use of it. Never was the voice so loud, so united, so cheering.

We join in it with all our strength. It is to us the voice of reason and truth. It is our nature proclaiming its origin and its destiny; it is experience holding high converse with futurity; it is deep calling unto deep. For melancholy auguries we have no faith; and for the outcry against innovation, no reverence. We hold courage to be wisdom, and confidence to be true philosophy. We do not doubt, nor fear.

And yet we think, that amid the prevailing excitement of the times, there may be occasionally discerned something like extravagance, a passion for the unreal and undefinable, a straining after improbabilities; as if there were no bounds to human power, no limit to its capacities. There is a disposition in some, who have observed the attainments already made by the human mind, to employ their fancy in searching out all possible attempts and improvements, in all the provinces of art and intellect.

It is a matter of course, that such a disposition should be developed by the fermentations and powerful workings, which have been going on in society. But we find fault with it on two accounts. The first is, that its indulgence is a useless employment of time. It is as idle, as it is easy, to sit down and foretell that

such and such great things may come to pass. It is far more difficult, and far more useful, to go to work in perfecting some improvement already commenced, or in producing some actual and available invention. In our opinion, the man who adds ever so little to the real stock of human knowledge, or actively engages in diffusing and enforcing the undoubted laws of virtue, is beyond comparison a more valuable member of society than the man who merely imagines future glories and attainments, just within the precincts of possibility, but which even he himself who imagines them, cannot clearly explain. The second objection which we entertain against this romantic disposition, is, that it is regardless of the checks which do and always must operate to retard the march of improvement, and of the visible limits within which the Creator has confined the human intellect.

If we stop for a few moments to take a glance at some of these checks and limits, it will not be because they are not obvious, but because they are so, and that being so, they are nevertheless overlooked and disregarded in the flights of wild conjecture.

We may notice first, the boundaries and successive stages of life. Its utmost extent is but a short period for any considerable advancement in the wide field of knowledge; and appears much shorter, when we reflect how small a portion of it can be devoted to vigorous and effectual exertion. What a long blank is denoted by those words, infancy and childhood! What a large portion of life is consumed in learning how to use the hands, the feet, and the tongue! Years pass away before there is strength in the body or discretion in the mind. Years pass away before the simplest elements of knowledge are imbibed, or a moiety of that learning is acquired which has been in the world for centuries. We all begin the race of existence on the same line; we start from the same post; ignorance and helplessness are the inevitable commencement of all that is human. The first lessons of the spelling book are as incomprehensible to an infant, as the Principia of Newton, or the Analogy of Butler. Then youth comes, as it always has come, and always will come, fiery, passionate, reckless, headstrong; refusing counsel, confiding in its own wisdom, and contradicting the best established dictates of reason, prudence, and experience. The most perfect system of instruction imaginable can only in some measure restrain, but it cannot eradicate youthful passion; it

may point out the safe path, but it cannot prevent the communication between temptation within and temptation without, which is continually suggesting deviation, and encouraging departure. You may look forward, therefore, to what age of the world you will, and there will still be infancy and childhood to be taught the rudiments of all that is known, and youth as strongly impelled as ever by those forceful passions which are kneaded into our very clay.

The middle period of life is somewhat sobered and subdued. It has learnt most of what is useful, and is prepared to take up and carry forward the great work of improvement. But even in this period, how much time is seized upon by the common cares and wants of humanity. The ground is to be tilled; the sea is to be traversed and fathomed; the body is to be clothed and fed; children are to be maintained and educated and provided for. Where will be the end of this? There will be no end; in the nature of things there can be none. These will be the great occupations of man while the world stands. The chain which binds him to earth is strong and heavy and immutable; its links were forged in the beginning; they are wrought out of the necessities of his nature.

Old age is the season of quiet and rest, of repose after labor and fatigue, of peace after contention and tumult. The veteran retires from service, and seats himself by his hearth, and hangs up his arms. He may repeat the story of his battles, but we do not expect to see him again in the field. Old people are generally satisfied with what was done in the time of their activity; and not only so, but they are persuaded that nothing more and nothing better is to be done. We admit that there are exceptions; but the rule is well established on fact. They are indisposed to exertion; it is natural that they should be; as the frame wears out, the spirit becomes exhausted. They think everything is accomplished in the cause of humanity, of which the cause is susceptible; and this too is natural, for their own part is performed. If death intervenes not, the second childhood follows; an emptier blank than the first, because it is imbecility without promise.

What rational person can predict any sudden improvement, while these are the appointments of the different stages of life? Why should we roam beyond those limits of our nature which were fixed on the day when man was created, and which will remain till the end of his allotted abode on earth?

But we have not yet spoken of prejudice, which acts like a law of moral entail, and brings down error from one generation to another. Nor of diversity of intellect, and opposition of opinion, which keep truth in a perpetual balance, and divide and parcel out falsehood among all classes and denominations. Nor of interest, which sways a man downward, and binds his heart to his treasure. Nor of pride, the champion, who is always ready, with visor down and lance in rest, to do battle for self.

These are not temporary obstacles, which may be hereafter removed out of the road of improvement. Improvement is forever to make its way over and through them; for they belong to the soil, and rise up in it on all sides and without end.

But great men come forward, from time to time, and make great discoveries; and when they die, they transmit the fruits of their invention, not to children, but to men, who are able to appreciate, apply, and increase them. How many such heirs will they find? How many who can claim even distant kindred with them? What portion of mankind understand the works of a great astronomer, or a great metaphysician? And out of that portion how many are there who can correct and enlarge them? It needs but little arithmetic to compute their number; they may all be counted on the fingers. And the knowledge of the few is slowly and in small quantities imparted to the many. It is long before the simplest results of their labors are apprehended by the mass of mankind. What ocean floods and cataracts of light must be pouring and rushing down from a single constellation of the heavens; and yet what spare threads of the glorious stream reach us here below, and how many years they have been on their silent descent.

But there are bounds to the most adventurous and expansive intellect; heights which it cannot scale; depths which it cannot sound; holy and mysterious recesses of nature, at the fast doors of which it has knocked anxiously and repeatedly for admission, and the hollow echo within has reverberated the notice, that there was no entrance there. What mind has conceived of a never beginning and never ending eternity, beyond the primary and most general definitions? Or of boundless space; or of the principle of gravitation; or of the essence of the Deity; or the manner in which he lives, creates, and rules? Who shall reconcile the Divine foreknowledge with human free will? Take the sword to the knot, and cut it, and declare that men have no liberty, that they are not free agents, because God has determ-

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ined all their actions for them; and still you have to reconcile necessity with accountability, and inform us why a man should be punished, either here or hereafter, for a sin which he was foreordained to commit. It is true that they who have written books on these subjects, and have taxed all their ingenuity in attempting to solve the problems contained in them, have thought that they have indeed worked out a solution; but we do not see it; the world does not see it; there is no approximation to an agreement in the controversy. We are by no means of opinion that such investigations are useless; but we do think that they will be endless.

And how should our researches be rewarded with perfect success, when we are so imperfectly acquainted with that which is the agent in making them? We talk of mind and its final triumphs. What is mind, and where is it? What information can the mind give us of its own simple nature? As little as it can of the nature of Him who formed it. It cannot tell us whether it is an independent substance, entirely distinct from matter, or whether it is a system of results from material organization. The anatomist may search and dissect, with his nicest instruments, from the surface to the innermost marrow, and when all is over, he knows just as much of the nature of man, as he does of the next bird or quadruped which may come under his knife, and no more. He knows not even what life is, nor how it begins, nor how it is suspended, nor on what it depends. One has his theory; another has his; the very word is a confession of ignorance.

How does mind act upon matter, if it is really separate from it; and how is it connected with matter and affected by it? Why do the diseases of the body sometimes lay the mind in ruins, and sometimes pass over it, and leave it upright and strong? But it is idle to multiply these questions. We return to the primitive assertion; it is not known what mind is. We pretend not at present to take one side or the other of the controversy; only we hope that we shall never dogmatize on either. We think it probable that the question will never be satisfactorily determined, however positively it may be argued.

We would not disturb faith, nor check its generous and holy aspirings. Yet it gains nothing in our eyes, we confess, when it becomes visionary or assuming. A meet companion for it is humility; and nothing is better adapted to assure their fellowship, than a view of the near boundaries of human knowledge.

We remain, as we began, the advocates of human improvement; firmly convinced that knowledge has been and now is in a progressive state; that in some directions it may advance almost indefinitely; and that happiness and virtue are likewise increasing on the earth. It is only necessary, as it seems to us, to name the bare names of peace, liberty, toleration, equality, and charity, to prove how much more generally these subjects are understood than they used to be, and how much this diffused understanding of them has conduced to the security, dignity, and enjoyment of man.

Why then have we spoken of limits, doubts, ignorance, and frailty? Simply that a proper apprehension might be entertained of human powers, and of the objects to which they may be most safely and productively applied. It is important that we should know where to devote our exertions; what is to be accomplished in its due order and degree; and the best manner in which it is to be effected; so that life may not be spent in speculation, nor genius wasted in revery. The inquiry of the philanthropist ought to be, what is *now* to be done; not, what is to be done a thousand years hence. In this manner he not only renounces the thraldom of old authority and prescription, and assumes that something is to be done, but he feels himself called upon to contribute his own immediate exertions.

If we look around us to discover what are the great moral improvements which principally distinguish our own age, we shall find that they consist not so much in invention as instruction; not so much in the promulgation of original knowledge, as in the diffusion among many, of that which had long been the property of a few. We presume that Jeremy Taylor entertained as clear an apprehension of the principles of toleration and religious liberty as is entertained by any one at the present day; but those principles are now understood by a thousand, where they were understood in his time by one; and the consequence of this consentaneous adoption of them is, that they are beginning to be extensively and thoroughly practised upon. Milton perceived the value of education, and its important effects on the community, as clearly as we do; but how many are there who now enjoy the privilege of abundant instruction, who, if they had lived when he lived, would not have been able to read the word of God, or to write their own names.

And that which has been so happily supplied, is still the demand. The great call of the age still continues to be for the

wider dissemination of existing knowledge. The crying want of society, morally and intellectually considered, is, not for any striking discoveries from individuals, but that the multitude should be raised up to the same attainments which well instructed individuals already possess, and which have been possessed by a scattered few in almost every period of recorded time. Let us infuse into the community at large, precisely the faith and the morals which have been formerly professed and practised by a small and disconnected company, and we may look on all indefinite schemes and visions with indifference. What greater thing could come to pass, than that all men should be made as rationally pious and practically religious as was Locke, for instance, to say nothing of his less attainable characteristics? Yet all that would be new in this case would be the universal conformity to a known exemplar. Let us try to lift up as many of our fellow beings as we can to this, or any other exalted moral standard. Here is the sphere of our worthiest labors. Here is the task which may gloriously employ the powers of the most gifted and accomplished minds. The happiness of the world is to be expected from the liberal communication of sentiments, views, principles, and motives, which are already in the world. The path of duty is right onwards; and it must conduct to successively higher stages of improvement, so long as it is honestly and steadily pursued. There is much before our very eyes, and within the compass of our plain ability, which needs to be altered, perfected, or destroyed. What are the best ways of securing these visible objects and advantages? We must search for them. This is a part of the labor; and in this respect, we allow, there is an urgent and almost constant call for invention; but the invention of means and not of ends; the finding out how that which is already invented, may be made common and useful; how prejudices, which have long been under suspicion and displeasure, may be safely banished from the realms of faith; how old knowledge may be most easily, acceptably, and beneficially introduced to the young mind; how the best principles may be made the predominant ones; how the practice of that which is received, may lead to the establishment of that which is hoped for.

Thus the objects of effort and invention come plainly and bodily into our presence, and appear in a practicable position and form. We are no longer misled by fancies and dreams, either our own, or other men's; theory submits to the ordeal of

proof; and the genuineness of improvement is confirmed by the signature and seal of experience.

Diffusion and dissemination, therefore, are the great designs of the age. Invention is their servant and minister. It is no vain show which is in progress. The gold of the treasury must be yet more widely thrown out among the crowd. The heaps of the granary must be yet more generously distributed among the dwellings of the poor. The time has come, when men must have the truth, and the whole truth; and they ought to have it. The old notion, that there may be one belief for the multitude, and another for the initiated, now seems to be more glaringly false and empty than ever, and should be indignantly dismissed by every honest man. One simple, serious conviction should take its forfeited place, and be the counsellor of all our exertions; the conviction that whatever is most reasonable and proper should be attempted and carried through, without even asking the question whether it is new or whether it is old, whether it makes its appearance for the first time to day, or whether it has been acknowledged through a long line of generations. We must look steadily to that which is right, and then we shall no more despise what is old, in a temper of hasty vanity, nor be haunted by the fear of what is new, which, of all fears, is the most unworthy of a mind which pretends to be free, or desires to be just.

It will be readily perceived from the tenor of the foregoing observations, that we have no objection whatever to originality and boldness, or to anything which wears a feature of improvement. It will also be perceived that our impressions of human life and human nature are such, that we place little confidence in extravagant anticipations, and give little respect to mystical and cloudy revelations of the future.

It is not, therefore, against any novelties which there may be in Mr Reed's pamphlet on the Growth of the Mind, but against its indefiniteness and mysticism that we shall lay our charges. We honor the apparent purity of its purpose, the spirituality and the independence of its character. We admire the force and beauty of much of its imagery; we are pleased with the general peculiarity of its style, which sometimes throws an air of originality over the thought which it dresses. But if he intended it to inform and instruct the public mind, or even to accompany the progress of the present time, we cannot doubt that in these respects he will be disappointed; among the number

who will seriously attempt to understand it throughout, there will be few who will succeed.

For ourselves, we found it a difficult matter to get through the fortyfour pages of this work, within double the time which we usually bestow on the same quantity of words. We do not suspect the author of intentional obscurity, but we doubt whether, if he had tried, he could have wrapped up his meaning in a thicker mantle of darkness than that which now invests it. This arises in part from what seems to be the mysticism of a peculiar religious faith. It arises in part also, from the want of a visible connexion between the several propositions of the work. There is no regular succession of clearly defined steps, leading the reader to a firm conclusion. Thought follows thought, and image treads hard upon image, like a hastily assembled crowd, who keep in motion, but without precisely knowing the quarter to which they should go. The author, indeed, proposes to himself an object, but if he keeps it in his own view, it is more than we were able to do, for we often lost sight of it entirely.

'It is the object,' he says,' of the following pages, not to be influenced by views of a temporal or local nature, but to look at the mind as far as possible in its essential revealed character, and beginning with its powers of acquiring and retaining truth, to trace summarily that developement which is required, in order to render it truly useful and happy.' p. 6.

This is sufficiently distinct, and prepares us to expect something like regularity and a lucid order; instead of which we are presented with a set of deep metaphysical discussions, almost every one of which might stand by itself as an independent essay, and almost any one of which, as it seems to us, might be struck out, without being missed. The first dissertation is on memory. With a part of this we were quite favorably impressed; for it is intelligible and true. It concerns the connexion between the memory and the affections.

'There is the most intimate connexion of the memory with the affections. This connexion is obvious from many familiar expressions; such as, remember me to any one, by which is signified a desire to be borne in his or her affections—do not forget me, by which is meant do not cease to love me—get by heart, which means commit to memory. It is also obvious from observation of our own minds; from the constant recurrence of those subjects which we most love, and the extreme difficulty of detaching our

own minds or the minds of others from a favorite pursuit. It is obvious from the power of attention on which the memory principally depends, which if the subject have a place in our affections requires no effort; if it have not, the effort consists principally in giving it a real or an artificial hold of our feelings, as it is possible if we do not love a subject, to attend to it because it may add to our fame or our wealth. It is obvious from the never fading freshness retained by the scenes of childhood, when the feelings are strong and vivid, through the later periods of life. As the old man looks back on the road of his pilgrimage, many years of active life lie unseen in the valley, as his eye rests on the rising ground of his younger days.' pp. 6, 7.

The second dissertation is on time. 'What is time?' Mr Reed asks twice; and after a deal of refinement and subtilty, he answers that it is nothing at all. 'Out upon time!' exclaims Lord Byron, in a passage which some of our English brethren think very fine; 'Out upon time,' he repeats; and Mr Reed has taken him at his word. Father Time is severely handled; his scythe is snapt; his hour glass is broken; and he himself is banished. In the course of this process, we were first carried back in imagination to those pleasant academic scenes, in which we were accustomed, in affirmative and negative array, to prove our youthful powers on that venerable personage, and his old brother, Space. At length we grew bewildered. We saw Time fold up his wings. Our grandfathers were our brethren; we became in our dream contemporary with the patriarchs, and shook hands with Adam, and touched our hat to the last man. But when we came to ourselves, we were forcibly struck with the justice, in this case at least, of the Scotchman's definition of metaphysics. 'Metaphysics,' said the shrewd Northerner, 'is twa men talkin' thegither. He that's listenin' does na ken what he that's talkin' means, and he that's talkin' does na ken what he means himsel.'

Seriously; if Mr Reed intends to be useful, and that he does so intend we have no doubt, he must be more perspicuous and intelligible in what he writes for the public. Whatever is, or is to be 'the growth of the mind,' he must accommodate himself better to its present state, for we apprehend that it is not yet able to profit by his disquisitions on its powers. We are anxious that he should take our advice, because he appears to have that within him, which, if properly directed, might exert a strong and healthful influence on others. The following passages, though

tinged with the prevailing mysticism of the piece, are eloquent and beautiful.

'The natural world was precisely and perfectly adapted to invigorate and strengthen the intellectual and moral man. Its first and highest use was not to support the vegetables which adorn, or the animals which cover its surface; nor yet to give sustenance to the human body—it has a higher and holier object, in the attainment of which these are only means. It was intended to draw forth and mature the latent energies of the soul; to impart to them its own verdure and freshness; to initiate them into its own mysteries; and by its silent and humble dependence on its creator, to leave on them when it is withdrawn by death, the full impression of his likeness.

'It was the design of Providence, that the infant mind should possess the germ of every science. If it were not so, they could hardly be learned. The care of God provides for the flower of the field, a place wherein it may grow, regale with its fragrance, and delight with its beauty. Is his providence less active over those, to whom this flower offers its incense? No. The soil which produces the vine in its most healthy luxuriance, is not better adapted to the end, than the world we inhabit to draw forth the latent energies of the soul, and fill them with life and vigor. As well might the eye see without light, or the ear hear without sound, as the human mind be healthy and athletic, without descending into the natural world, and breathing the mountain air. Is there aught in eloquence, which warms the heart? She draws her fire from natural imagery. Is there aught in poetry to enliven the imagination? There is the secret of all her power. Is there aught in science to add strength and dignity to the human mind? The natural world is only the body, of which she is the soul. In books, science is presented to the eye of the pupil, as it were in a dried and preserved state; the time may come when the instructer will take him by the hand, and lead him by the running streams, and teach him all the principles of science as she comes from her maker, as he would smell the fragrance of the rose without gathering it.' pp. 19, 20.

But what can be more irrelevant to the author's subject, what can be more unnecessary and useless, than the tilt which he soon after runs against rhyme.

'It may be peculiar, and is said with deference to the opinions of others, but to my ear, rhymes add nothing to poetry, but rather detract from its beauty. They possess too strongly the marks of art, and produce a sameness which tires, and sometimes disgusts.

We seek for them in vain in nature, and may therefore reasonably presume that thay spring out of the peculiar state of the public taste, without possessing any real foundation in the mind itself; that they are rather the fashion of the dress, than any essential part. In the natural world we find nothing which answers to them, or feels like them—but a happy assemblage of living objects springing up, not in strait lines and at a fixed distance, but in God's own order, which by its apparent want of design, conveys the impression of perfect innocence and humility. It is not for that which is human to be completely divested of the marks of art; but every approach towards this end, must be an approach towards perfection. The poet should be free and unshackled as the eagle; whose wings, as he soars in the air, seem merely to serve the office of a helm, while he moves on simply by the agency of the will.' p. 25.

True it is that every man has a right to his opinion and taste concerning rhyme. This we readily agree to. But why, in a treatise on the growth of the mind, it should come under such cruel censure, we can see no reason. And how the mind or the morals are to be benefited by the exclusion of rhyme from poetry, is to us incomprehensible. We confess ourselves partial to this kind of music; for music it certainly is. We wage no warfare against blank verse, or any other species of poetry; but we should regard the disuse of rhyme, as anything rather than an improvement. This however is not the place for a defence of it; nor was Mr Reed's pamphlet the place for an attack upon it. We introduced the passage, because we intended from the first to deal plainly with the writer, and with his whole performance; and to show how beauty in it was succeeded by defects, and defects were mingled and conjoined with beauty; to show how a singular acuteness was accompanied by a strange want of precision; how boldness fought in vain in the darkness, and usefulness was marred by mystery.

We should not have dwelt thus long and thus seriously on the 'Observations,' if we had not considered it in some respects a performance of more than common merit, and had not entertained a sincere respect for the talents of its author. If we have indulged a little in remarks which were other than serious, it is not because we would cast a slight upon his opinions, but because we thought that some of them were inappropriately introduced, and enigmatically expressed. His love of nature, his unaffected piety, his high and manly sense of liberty, his confidence in hu-

man progressiveness, and his longings after a higher and better state of the world than that which it now exhibits, are entirely delightful to us, and induce us to hope for some future production from his pen, in which we shall find more matter for admiration and less room for complaint.

Art. V.—*Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinkney.* By Henry Wheaton. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. pp. 616.

Mr Wheaton's book had been long enough before the public to have required, perhaps, a notice in our last number. We were the less anxious about the delay, however, as its interest is not of a transitory sort, but allied with a great and abiding name. That of Pinkney must attract a curiosity, as permanent as the tradition of his eloquence, and as the juridical records in which it so often and conspicuously recurs.

Of a life so engrossed by strenuous intellectual labor, all students especially, in every department of knowledge, will be desirous to know something. They will be curious to learn, whether these extensive conquests in the domain of professional learning were accomplished by irregular and abrupt incursions, or by methodical and disciplined approaches; what influence they cast on his temper and habits; and innumerable minute particulars, which are interesting only from their connexion with genius. Many a doubting aspirer will seek, in the life of such a man, wherewithal to solve the question so often debated betwixt ease and glory, how far these trophies of learned fame are worth the cost of their acquisition. Readers of this description, and all, indeed, who love to observe conspicuous genius nearly and familiarly, complain that the present volume is by no means so abundant in those characteristic touches, from which we love to combine for ourselves the portrait of genius, as might have been expected from the celebrity of its subject, and his recent death. The life of the studious and the contemplative seldom furnishes, it is true, that variety of interest which arises out of one of action and business. But Mr Pinkney, they observed, was not merely a closet man. He was conspicuous, and the subject of

some obloquy, on the political theatre; he was long engaged in negotiations full of expectation and interest, which brought him into contact with some of the most distinguished men of the age; he travelled in famous and classical countries; and the results, too, of these advantages, and of his untiring application, were not read silently in books, but were heard in courts of justice, and in senates, where they may be supposed to have left vivid and various impressions on the auditors. Many anecdotes, they think, illustrative of the character formed, and of opinions gathered, during this busy course of action, must be floating among his contemporaries, which, had they been more industriously sought by his biographer, would have relieved the dry and documentary air of his book.

All this is very specious, but we are not sure that it is entirely just. The circumstance, that Mr Pinkney resided so long abroad, removed him from among his contemporaries at home; and his habits of life and thought were such, when in this country, as to bring him scarcely more under their close observation. But, besides this, who would think to measure the interest of a biography, by the importance of the part, which has been played by its hero? A Reynolds in this respect surpasses a Hume. Even where the theatre is the same, the parts equally serious and important, and the personages inseparably connected in the eyes of mankind, a Pitt shall leave scarce any traces of himself, but those which are engraved by the pen of history, while a Napoleon shall bequeath us the most ample and interesting of all the memoirs of men. Some accident of circumstance, but more often of character, determines this point beyond the control of the most gifted biographer. The title of Mr Wheaton's work is very unpretending. The work itself presents us, however, with some interesting fragments of the correspondence, writings, and speeches of a very remarkable man; and it is as wise, perhaps, to thank him for having collected and preserved what might otherwise have perished, as to amuse ourselves with disquisitions on what he might have done. We shall proceed therefore, from our author's volume and from a few inconsiderable gleanings of our own, to throw together some brief notices of the character of this celebrated jurist, in connexion with a hasty sketch of the principal events of his life.

William Pinkney was born at Annapolis, in Maryland, on the 17th of March, 1764. His father, whom he always spoke of as a man of firm temper, and of a strong and original cast of

mind, was an Englishman by birth, and took the part of the parent country during the revolution. The boyish ardor, or wilfulness, of young Pinkney was pleased with the adoption of opposite sentiments; and one of the freaks of his patriotism was to escape from the vigilance of his parent, and mount night guard with the soldiers at the fort in Annapolis. He retained, to the end of his life, a strong partiality for his native town, and took a pleasure in pointing out to his intimates, especially the young, the scenes of his childsh toils and sports. His early education was imperfect; but this was less owing to the narrow circumstances of his father, who spared no pains for his son, than to the disturbed state of the times. His private teacher, Brathand, left the country on this latter account; and the affection, which his pupil always continued to entertain for him, was warmly reciprocated by the preceptor, who, after the lapse of several years, expressed the greatest pleasure at meeting in England an acquaintance of Pinkney's, and was eager in his inquiries about him; 'one of my greatest regrets,' said he, 'in leaving America, was that I had to part from my promising pupil.'

They, who remember him at this period of life, describe him as already animated by that impatience of a superior, which characterized him at a later day, and which was, in some sort, both the strength and the weakness of his character. This temper was not confined to the rivalries of study, but extended to the rougher competitions of boyhood. One anecdote of the former he used to relate of himself, as a *ruse* which might be pardoned in a youth. There was a debating club in the town, of which Pinkney was a member. A question had been assigned for a certain evening, when all the polite company of the place was expected to attend; and our orator repaired early one morning to a secluded place in the vicinity, to prepare himself in solitude, against the coming occasion. His antagonist in the debate, who was also his chief competitor in the club, was there, however, before him; and our young aspirer took the benefit of some friendly skreen to overhear his declamation unobserved. 'The result,' said he, 'was brilliant. In the evening my antagonist's speech, which was well enough seasoned with rhetoric, was received with acclamation. But when I came to make my *extempore* reply, which I had very earnestly prepared during the day, I was at home, as you may guess, on every point. The night was mine, and thenceforth I was king of the club.'

It was a like display of rare talents in another society of the

same kind, which determined him to seek his fortune at the bar; and, like Chancellor King, and the late Master of the Rolls in England, he was indebted to the notice and friendship of discerning genius, for this fortunate change in his views. At the time we speak of, he was a student of physic under Doctor Goodwin, then an extensive practitioner in Baltimore, and was one of a small debating society of students of medicine, at one of whose meetings the late Judge Chase of Maryland happened to be present. Struck with the genius, the musical voice, and the energetic manner of Pinkney, as yet a mere lad, and quite unknown to him, he earnestly advised him to the study of law, inviting him to Annapolis, and offering him the free use of his library, and whatever other aid he could afford him. Under this not least distinguished of the eminent lawyers who have been the boast of Maryland, Pinkney was deeply imbued with 'the learning of the realty,' and in special pleading, that logic of the law, of which he afterwards became a master; and in 1786 he removed to Harford county, in his native state, to commence there the practice of his profession.

From this time he rose rapidly in public confidence and honors. He was chosen in 1788 a delegate from Harford to the state convention, which ratified the constitution of the United States; and, in the October of the same year, a member of the house of delegates. In 1790 he was elected to Congress; a station, which for professional reasons he declined; and he was several years a member of the executive council of Maryland. He was afterwards a delegate from Anne Arundel county, having removed to Annapolis, the county town, in 1792. He had married in 1789, the sister of Commodore Rodgers, a lady who still survives him. His professional assiduity continued, meantime, unabated; and while he held a distinguished rank in the councils of his native state, he rose gradually to the head of its bar. In his dress and personal habits, at this time, he was very wide of that niceness and minute precision, which, on his return from Europe, distinguished him, perhaps, to affectation. He indulged freely in the use of the 'sovereign weed,' and cultivated his popularity by mingling carelessly with his rustic constituents. At a later day he was very far from admitting society on the same easy terms, and punctiliously affected all the outward observances, which he conceived to belong to the manners of a gentleman, and to denote a perfect knowledge of high breeding.

In 1796 he received a flattering evidence of the public sentiment in his favor, in an unsolicited appointment by Washington, as one of the commissioners for the United States, under the seventh article of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. He accepted this appointment, but not without reluctance, and embarked for London with his family, where he arrived in July of the same year. In the questions, which arose in the adjustment of the claims under this article of the treaty, 'his opinions,' says his biographer, 'were finished models of judicial eloquence, uniting powerful and comprehensive argument with a copious, pure, and energetic diction.' They are collected in the second part of Mr Wheaton's work. He was engaged at the same time, in adjusting the claim of the state of Maryland, to certain stock in the Bank of England, of which he succeeded in making a satisfactory arrangement.

Of his observations on this new theatre, and at a period, too, of great political interest, we find little in the fragments of correspondence collected in the present volume. The extent and perfection of the arts of life, the active industry and splendid wealth, which he found in England, produced on him the usual impression. 'I have seen much,' he says, 'that deserves the attention of him, who would be wise or happy.' He was present at the debate in the House of Commons on the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures for peace in 1800, and often mentioned Mr Pitt's speech on that occasion, as the most powerful and eloquent he had ever heard. Of that energetic politician he always spoke as the greatest man he had ever seen, while Fox, he seemed to think, was much overrated. But he doubted the power of the allies to force the ancient dynasty on France; an event, which, though eventually accomplished, was postponed so long, and with such important effects on the condition of Europe, as to justify his doubt, and to beget suspicion of the policy of the memorable statesman, who led the combined force of Europe to the attempt. His strong inclination to his professional pursuits, rendered Mr Pinkney very impatient of the delays of the commission, and anxious to return home; but his wishes in this respect were not gratified till August 1804, when he arrived in America, improved, indeed, in knowledge, but embarrassed in circumstances, and with the 'dreary prospect,' to use his own words, 'of commencing the world at forty.' Shortly after his return, he removed to Baltimore, and attended, for the first time, the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington. In

1805 he was appointed attorney general of Maryland, and prosecuted, for a time, the labors of the bar, with unwearied assiduity, till the growing differences of this country with Great Britain, on the subject of neutral trade, brought him again on the theatre of diplomacy. In April, 1806, he was appointed, by Mr Jefferson, Minister Extraordinary to the court of St James, to arrange, if possible, in conjunction with Mr Monroe, the resident minister there, the many important questions then at issue between the two cabinets, or, we should rather say, the two countries, as the interest, which they excited on both sides of the water, was diffused and violent in the highest degree.

The progress, and unfriendly issue of this memorable negotiation, are familiar to most of our readers. That Mr Pinkney shared, in its full extent, the solicitude which was felt in this country, is discernible in the tone of his correspondence, and might be inferred from the perplexing circumstances, in which both the government of the United States, and its agents in France and England, were placed by the conflicting usurpations of these two powers. At this day, when we perceive that a war under such a conjuncture was inevitable, and have gathered from it so many fortunate results to public rights and national reputation, it is perhaps to be regretted that our disputes were not sooner referred to the arbitrement of arms. Many circumstances however, some of which it is not very pleasant to recall, led our maritime enemy into mistakes, both as to the spirit and strength of this country, and no doubt deferred the step which we took in the end. Had it not been for these circumstances, the instructions to our ministers at St James's would have been less conciliatory, for taking the tone of which, in his communications with that cabinet, Mr Pinkney has been sometimes accused of want of firmness and decision. To this subject Mr Madison alludes, in a passage of their correspondence quoted in the work; from which it may be gathered, also, that neither was insensible to the dissatisfaction, which was felt at some parts of Mr Pinkney's intercourse with the British government. Meanwhile our niggard frugality towards our foreign embassies, was adding pecuniary embarrassment to the other cares of his weary and responsible post. His youthful earnings were dissipated, while 'the prime of his life was passing away in barren toil and anxiety.' It is thus that he writes to Mr Madison; and he adds, in another letter, 'the compensation (as it is oddly called), allotted by the government to the maintenance of its representatives

abroad, is a pittance which no economy, however rigid, or even mean, can render adequate.' Under these circumstances he solicited his recall; and took his audience of leave at Carlton House, in February, 1811, expressing the regret, which he probably felt with some acuteness, that his efforts to effect a good understanding between the two countries, had proved so unavailing. He arrived at Annapolis the following June, and war was declared a year afterwards.

From this period commences the most brilliant part of Mr Pinkney's career, and that which was most akin to his own taste, and to his particular endowments of mind. Having availed himself, with singular diligence, of the opportunity which his residence in England afforded him, to become familiar with the forms and practice of its courts, and having consecrated to his favorite study all the leisure, which he could steal from less congenial employments, he returned to our courts fraught with all the resources which, experience, reflection, and intimate converse with the most eminent lawyers and civilians of the time, may be supposed to have added to a vigorous and fertile genius. In the progress of our maritime war, many interesting questions of public law gave scope to his learning and ability; and the aid that he contributed to the erection of the system of Prize Law, which, in the absence of precedent, the Supreme Court was under the necessity of building up, is prominent in the judicial records of the times. In the December succeeding his return, he was appointed, by Mr Madison, Attorney General of the United States, and held the post till January, 1814, when, a bill having been introduced into the House of Representatives, requiring the residence of that officer at the seat of government, he resigned his office as incompatible, under such a restriction, with his other engagements. He had previously been chosen to the Senate of Maryland, and in 1815 he was elected from Baltimore, as its Representative in Congress. During our short but harassing war with Great Britain, he commanded a battalion of militia riflemen, and was severely wounded at the affair of Bladensburg.

In March, 1816, he was once more called to a diplomatic station, being appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, and charged also with a special mission to Naples, at which city he landed in July, 1816. The business of this mission was completely evaded by the artifices of the Neapolitan court, who hastened his departure by pretences, which they had no diffi-

culty to lay aside when he was fairly out of Naples. He proceeded through Rome, and the other principal Italian cities, to Vienna. Some difficulty had arisen at this time with the emperor of Russia, from the arrest of Kosloff, the Russian consul general in this country, in consequence of which Mr Harris, our Chargé d'Affaires at St Petersburg, had been forbidden to appear at court; and Mr Pinkney doubted the propriety, under such circumstances, of presenting himself in Russia as the American minister. But learning at Vienna, that this affair had been arranged, he proceeded, by a long and comfortless winter journey, through Poland to St Petersburg. He remained there about two years, and returned finally to the United States in 1818. In 1820 he was elected a senator in Congress from Maryland, in which post he delivered his celebrated speech on the Missouri Question, and took part in the preliminary discussions on the Bankrupt Bill. Neither had years nor travel diminished the ardor of his professional pursuits. On the contrary, he continued them, if possible, with still greater eagerness, endeavoring, he said, 'to compensate for the little of life that was left him, by economizing it more.' To this feeling his anxiety to make provision for his family contributed, as much as his unquenchable love of reputation. But death surprised the champion in his vigor.

It is well known that he spared no toil in the study and management of his causes. On the seventeenth of February, 1822, he was attacked by a severe indisposition, in consequence of an effort of this sort. He had over exerted himself in the investigation and arguing of a case in the Supreme Court, in which he felt peculiar interest.

'He mentioned to a friend that he had sat up very late in the night on which he was taken ill, to read the *Pirates*, which was then just published, and made many remarks respecting it, drawing comparisons between the two heroines, and criticising the narrative and style with his usual confident and decided tone, and in a way which showed that his imagination had been a good deal excited by the perusal. From this period till his death he was a considerable part of the time in a state of delirium. But in his lucid intervals, his mind reverted to his favorite studies and pursuits, on which, whenever the temporary suspension of his bodily sufferings enabled him, he conversed with great freedom and animation. He seems, however, to have anticipated that his illness must have a fatal termination, and to have awaited the

event with patient fortitude. After a course of the most acute suffering he breathed his last on the night of the twentyfifth of February.' pp. 171–172.

Thus terminated the life of William Pinkney, a life so shared between public business and studious labor, that the hasty sketch which we have given, comprises nearly all its prominent incidents.

At his death he had not quite completed his fiftyeighth year, an age at which men begin to regard the termination of life, as an object not very remote. But his person was yet robust, his complexion florid, and his general appearance such, aided as it was by the studied carefulness of his toilet, as to give a strong impression of vigorous health and tenaciousness of life. The force of his faculties too, which were not only unimpaired, but seemed only then to have attained full ripeness; the brilliancy of a career in which, though so long a victor, he was every day winning fresh laurels by fresh exertions; the very keenness of his relish for these gathered fruits of his fame, and for the charms of a life eminently successful; all these, as they appeared to promise a long postponement of the common fate, rendered it more affecting to the imagination, when it thus suddenly arrived. Apparently, however, he did not himself regard the seeds of his fate as so far from their developement. His sanguine temperament, and plethoric habit of body, led him to apprehend a sudden decay of life, or, at least, of his faculties; and he has been heard to speak of the fate of the celebrated Luther Martin in this particular, as not unlikely to be his own. He was spared, however, this worst of the maladies of age. He did not linger through those melancholy displays of imbecility, which are caused by the receding tide of life, but seemed to rush to the termination of his course, as the busy torrent dashes onward to the sea.

His death produced, both in the metropolis and through the country, a deep and remarkable sensation. We call it remarkable, because it is seldom that mere professional renown, disconnected as it is from popular passion, obtains for itself, in so great a degree, this last and melancholy reward of genius. Nor can we impute it, certainly, even in the case of the remarkable individual in question, though he had rendered distinguished services at the bar, in the senate, and in diplomacy, to any fear that the business of either would suffer a pause from his death. The theatre of *busy* life never wants actors, and few are they, who may flatter themselves, that their exit will produce either

disorder or vacancy in the scene. These losses of society, however grief or flattery may declaim on such occasions, are for the most part little felt, or speedily repaired. Other talents, till then crowded from the stage, or unkindled by reward, press forward in the ever eager competition; and we daily see the tomb close on virtue and genius, with as little perceptible effect on the great social machine, as on the sun and the breeze, which are feigned in the elegy of poets to darken, and sigh over their decay. It is a very few master spirits, that have the fortune to weave the destinies of their race with their own, and to derange or suspend the business of life by their fall. We must refer, then, to a more poetical source, our emotion on the death of one of these intellectual heroes. Perhaps the harsh contrasts, always suggested by death, are heightened by our conception of the mental power and activity which belong to genius. We contemplate with pain the extinction of this subtle spirit, the defeat of its eager aspirations, its insensibility to its slow won honors, this sudden and wasteful dissipation of the gathered treasures of thought and knowledge. There was something astounding in the hasty close of a career characterized, like Mr Pinkney's, by such untiring energy to the last, and animated by the consenting applauses of partisans and competitors. He seemed to be cut off *in medio spatio*, while men yet looked for other triumphs, and ere he had reached, in his fervid course, the regular and appointed goal.

Few men ever earned these 'garlands of the tomb,' by a more inflexible pursuit of them through a whole life. In him the zeal of reputation was not one of many impulses obeyed by turns, and exciting him at intervals to unusual exertions. It was, as we believe it almost always has been in those who have far outgone their fellows, ever present and predominant, urging him, even more than that appetite of knowledge which grows by what it feeds on, to the perpetual accumulation of his intellectual stores. His emulation was infinite. 'I never heard him allow,' said a friend of his, 'that any man was his superior in anything; in field sports, in music, in drawing; especially in oratory, on which his great ambition rested.' As this eager ambition thrust him early into the career of action, so it never seemed in any degree abated by success. It was the *pabulum* of his life; and, as if to verify a notion of medicine, the stimulant itself at length brought the decay of the spirit, which it had fed and vivified; for he sickened in the act of emulous exertion.

In this respect, his whole life is a lesson to those ambitious spirits, that, like him, are consumed with the 'fever of renown,' and that would learn by what efforts continually repeated, by what earnest and fervent toil, the abrupt summits of fame, and more emphatically of legal fame, are overcome.

While in England, and indeed during all his residence abroad, Mr Pinkney applied himself indefatigably to law studies. He seems to have appreciated justly his own mind, and, though diverted from the bar for a time by diplomacy and politics, to have inclined to it constantly, as to the proper theatre of his particular abilities. Of his acquisitions in the vast and various field of professional learning, it would be idle in us to speak. But it will not be uninteresting to mention, that the wealth of his mind was never so unostentatiously displayed, as in those unpremeditated disquisitions, which, as *amicus curiæ*, or in the progress of a cause, he was frequently called on to make. It was remarkable to observe at such times, how his knowledge seemed to have 'passed out of his memory into his judgment;' in what abundance he heaped his analogies before you; and with what a precise logic he made them converge on his point.

With all these previous accumulations of knowledge, he approached every new cause with the ardor of one, who had yet his reputation to earn. 'He was never satisfied,' says his biographer, 'with exploring its facts, and all the technical learning which it involved.' Nor was he inattentive to its rhetorical embellishments, noting, even in the fictitious works with which he amused his leisure, or, to speak more justly, recreated his mind for new efforts, any allusion or image that could be turned to account. Towards the end of his life, he devoted himself almost wholly to intellectual exertion of some kind. 'Thought,' to borrow the phrase of one who knew him well, 'appeared to be the very breath of his mind.' Study was necessary to his spirit, and so far from laborious, that when not engaged in it, or in some active corporeal exercise, he evinced very restless and uneasy feelings. On journeys, he read constantly in his carriage, and even studied his causes there. A life thus wholly 'dedicate to closeness, and the bettering of his mind,' did not require that methodical distribution, which inferior minds resort to, as a substitute for the power of constant application; nor did his various engagements permit it. His hours of study varied with his circumstances; but they increased progressively with his age. He slept little, and always with a light in his chamber;

and might be heard stirring there at the earliest dawn, often retiring to bed again after several hours' reading. He ate rapidly, drank wine freely at his meals, but never sat long at table, except on special occasions; and could retire at all times to his study with a mind disposed to severe labor.

His general attainments were very considerable, and he was ambitious of showing, that he had wandered wide of the severe limits of technical learning. He knew well the Latin classics, and had been familiar with the Greek; but the latter we are disposed to think, he neglected in later life. Of French literature his knowledge was extensive. He was especially well versed in ancient and modern history, and in the belles lettres generally. Out of the natural sciences, in which it is believed his attainments were inconsiderable, he seemed to have read all the standard works of our language; and most of this miscellaneous learning he acquired abroad. Of his literary predilections we recollect only a few. Johnson, if he had a preference, was his favorite prose writer, chiefly, perhaps, because he thought his elaborate and elevated style a proper model for an orator; and Shakspeare, Pope, and Milton were his chosen poets. In the copy of the last in the possession of his family, all the remarkable passages are underlined; and he quoted them with readiness from memory. Comus he distinguished as the best sustained of English poems, in the elegant and 'curious felicity' of its diction, and was fond of reciting aloud the passages, which he thought most remarkable for harmony or sonorousness. He piqued himself on knowing critically the elegancies of his own tongue; and, though he probably overrated his taste, his knowledge on this point was minute. His table was generally furnished with half a dozen works on prosody, and as many dictionaries; and he had a fancy for coining new words, or reviving obsolete ones, and then defending them by analogy, or by the authority of the classics. Of his *euphuism*, for so we may call it, which he sometimes displayed at the bar, to the annoyance of his less *literate* brethren, he has left a somewhat diverting record. It is a copy of a bulky dictionary published some years ago in this country, all grievously underscored, and full of marginal remarks, petitions, and interrogatories addressed to the author, written with playful spleen, and craving to know the reason of the multifarious impurities which he had cast into 'the well of English undefiled.'

He possessed, in an eminent degree, that robustness of con-

stitution, which is hardly less necessary in study, than Napoleon deemed it in war. On this point he displayed some vanity, and was very solicitous of personal nicety, on the score both of health and appearance. His recreations were mostly of the same robust sort; he was attached to field sports, and excelled in them; and, though he seemed almost indefatigable, generally returned from his sporting excursions overcome with fatigue. But as he was of a sanguine melancholy temperament, he was apt to fancy himself ill. At such times he diverted himself with games of skill, in which he was a proficient, such as chess, draughts, and the like. He was once quite a capital billiard player, and seldom met his equal in whist. In England he amused himself very much with his children, mixing occasionally in their most childish sports. He used there to draw, for one of his sons, almost every night, and, what perhaps few persons know, he handled the pencil like a master. He assisted, moreover, in teaching one of his daughters music, to which task he brought a good deal of skill, and an admirable ear. He was fond of the best novels, and, by way of mental dissipation, sometimes liked to hear the worst; and when exhausted in mind, or depressed in spirits, would listen to any trash, romances from the Minerva press, French novels, and fairy tales. We have frequently seen him at the theatre, sitting out the worst plays, so bad, indeed, that he could be entertained only by their absurdity; and next day he would amuse himself with writing a *critique* on the performance. The company of young persons, especially those of talent, was very attractive to him; and when occasion presented itself, he was pleased to do them any service. When they were assembled at his house, he would saunter from his study to the adjoining parlor, mingle in the topic or the jest of the moment, and then return. This he would repeat a dozen times in an evening.

The reader perhaps may be pleased to compare these recollections of his private pursuits and habits, with those from another source. The following passage is from a letter written by a friend of his biographer, who was a good deal in his society at St Petersburg.

'I arrived in St Petersburg in the month of June, 1817. I carried a letter of introduction to Mr Pinkney from our friend, Mr Justice Story. Mr P. received me at once with the greatest kindness and hospitality. He told me almost the first time I saw him, that he should not make a single dinner for me, or receive me with ceremony; but if I would consider myself a member of

his family, and take a seat at his table constantly, when not otherwise engaged, he should be gratified. As I soon found he was in earnest, I accepted his offer almost to its full extent. I passed about two months in the city, lodging at the same hotel with him, and domesticated with his family. I saw him every day, and at almost every meal; and the recollections I have of the pleasure enjoyed in his society, are amongst those I shall longest retain.

'Of his past life he did not speak much. I inferred, however, that he had always been a hard student, and considered himself a laborious and thorough scholar in those branches of human knowledge to which he had more particularly devoted himself. I remember that he once said to me, that he considered the late Mr Chief Justice Parsons and himself the only men in America who had thoroughly studied and understood Coke Littleton. He appeared to estimate the legal acquirements of our professional men as of little extent, generally speaking, and to think he gave himself but little credit in thinking that he had learnt more law than any other man in the country.

'He kept himself very much in private, living so (as he said) from motives of economy. He was in lodgings at the Hotel de l'Europe, and saw no company ceremoniously—that is, he gave no dinners, &c. He had made it known to the diplomatic circle there when he first arrived, that he should live in that style, and therefore could not reciprocate their civilities. They, however, visited him a good deal, and he accepted their invitations frequently. I understood from various quarters, and inferred from what I saw, that he stood very particularly well with the Emperor, his family, and principal ministers. His personal habits were very peculiar. His neatness, and attention to the fashionable costume of the day, were carried to an extreme, which exposed him while at home to the charge of foppery and affectation. But it should be remembered how large a portion of his life he had spent abroad, and in the highest circles of European society. Though he undoubtedly piqued himself upon being a finished and elegant gentleman, yet his manners and habits of dress were, as it always seemed to me, acquired in Europe; and so far from being remarkable there, they were in exact accordance with the common and established usages of men of his rank and station. All who have been at any of the European courts know that their statesmen and ministers consider it a necessary part of their character to pay great attention to the elegancies and refinements of life, and after a day passed in the laborious discharge of their duties, will spend their evenings in society, and contribute quite their share of pleasant trifling. It is their *manière d'être*.

'During the summer that I passed with Mr Pinkney, his personal habits were very regular He breakfasted late and heartily. Then he retired to his study, and we saw him no more until dinner at six o'clock. The evening he passed with his family, or in visiting. He took very little exercise, eat and drank freely, and I thought suffered occasionally from the usual effects of a plethoric habit, with much indulgence as to food, and no attention to exercise. Undoubtedly his extreme attention to personal cleanliness contributed much to preserve his health. His family saw little company at home or abroad; he appeared to be extremely fond of them, and satisfied with passing his evenings in their society.' pp. 157,—158.

It might be inferred from his fondness for history, that he was a curious traveller, especially in the classical region of Italy. He speaks, in a conversation quoted by Mr Wheaton, of his desire 'to visit that classic land, and of the feelings with which he should set foot on its shores.' His enthusiasm, however, was very moderate. He was not an inquisitive traveller; he staid but eight days in Rome, and exhibited, we are told, nothing more than a decorous curiosity. He had an interview with the Pope, and was treated by him with great distinction. He was not much addicted to discourse on the character of the countries he passed through, or make comparisons between them, thinking, perhaps, as those who see the most are often apt to think, that their essential differences are small. Of company he saw much more, both in England and Russia, than in his own country, perhaps from the nature of his station at their courts, and the weight of his avocations at home; but more probably from a preference of foreign society, acquired by long residence in it. He has sketched some of the members of the ruling family of Russia, in the following letter to his daughter, Mrs Williams.

'The Empress Mother is still a charming woman, and when young must have been extremely handsome. She may be said *to do the honors* of this splendid court, and it is fit that she should. Her manners are infinitely pleasing, at the same time that they are lofty; and she is a perfect mistress of the arts of conversation. She is, moreover, exemplary in all the relations of life, and is beloved for her goodness by all classes.

'Of the reigning Empress it is impossible to speak in adequate terms of praise. It is necessary to see her to be able to comprehend how wonderfully interesting she is. It is no exaggeration to say, that with a slight abatement for the effects of time and severe affliction (produced by the loss of her children), she

combines every charm that contributes to female loveliness, with all the qualities that peculiarly become her exalted station. Her figure, although thin, is exquisitely fine. Her countenance is a subduing picture of feeling and intelligence. Her voice is of that soft and happy tone that goes directly to the heart, and awakens every sentiment which a virtuous woman can be ambitious to excite. Her manner cannot be described or imagined. It is graceful, unaffectedly gentle, winning, and at the same time truly dignified. Her conversation is suited to this noble exterior. Adapted with nice discrimination to those to whom it is addressed, unostentatious and easy, sensible and kind, it captivates invariably the wise and good, and (what is yet more difficult) satisfies the frivolous without the slightest approach to frivolity. If universal report may be credited, there is no virtue for which this incomparable woman is not distinguished; and I have reason to be confident from all that I have observed and heard, that her understanding (naturally of the highest order) has been embellished and informed to an uncommon degree by judicious, and regular, and various study. It is not, therefore, surprising that she is alike adored by the inhabitant of the palace and the cottage, and that every Russian looks up to her as to a superior being. She is, indeed, a superior being, and would be adored, although she were not surrounded by imperial pomp and power.' pp. 155, 156.

The ensuing sketch of Mr Pinkney's person is, with some other particulars, from the hand of a gentleman, who, during a few years preceding his death, was on a footing of intimacy with him.

'In frame Mr Pinkney was robust, square shouldered, and firm set. His complexion was clear and florid, disclosing the smaller veins under the skin. His face full, his eye of a dead blue, variable in its expression, and quickly lighted up by excitement. His nose was small, turning a little upward; the eyebrow thinly clothed, and forming a marked protuberance, which was very conspicuous in his profile. His forehead was low and retreating; his lips thin, the corners of his mouth pointing downward a very little; his chin small. His head was oval, thinly covered with short brown hair of a silky texture; it was flattened on each side, and showed his ears in high relief; in that, and in some other respects, however different the *tout ensemble*, closely resembling the head of La Fayette. Although the habitual expression of his face was mirthful, it was deeply furrowed with the lines of thought. Under his eyes hung heavy circles, and his cheeks were defined by strong boundaries passing from

each nostril. These two were the predominant characteristics of his countenance.

'His carriage was more than erect; it might be called perpendicular. His action and gesture, emphatic at all times, seemed to bear defiance as if by habit, and to denote a temperament almost incapable of fatigue. He was always on his feet, even in his study, and his walk was firm and elastic. Sickness scarcely deprived him of this quality. His ardor was irrepressible, and nature seemed to have given him personal vigor, correspondent to the aspirations of his mind. He took the utmost pains with his dress, and encouraged the same particularity in this respect, among his young friends. His toilet was seldom made less than twice in the day; but he scarcely ever changed his dress to meet the fashions; having adopted that style, I suppose, which he thought best adapted to show off his person. As he carried his head high, his cravat was adjusted to that position. He constantly wore a white vest, buttoned up to the chin with gilt buttons; a blue frock and black stock in the morning, *à la militaire*, a style that he seemed to be fond of; but he appeared generally in the evening nearly in full dress, his garments adjusted almost to constraint, though they subjected him, apparently, to no inconvenience. In short, his exterior was that of a man of leisure and fashion, and seemed to show the training of high and formal company. It was after the English school, with its regulated movement, disciplined patience, and, to my taste, ungraceful constriction.'

Of his genius, whether in diplomacy or in the forum, the estimate has, we believe, been very correctly made by the public. Such as are curious to see to what extent of learning, such power of application, allied with such force of mind, may carry a man in a particular science, will regret, perhaps, that he ever wandered beyond the rugged tracts of his profession; while others may lament, that so happy a genius should have been expended on a kind of learning wholly technical, and which, being therefore remote from vulgar apprehension, neither allows the uninitiated to estimate the acumen it requires, nor enriches the mind proportionably to the toil of acquisition. We shall not inquire, whether the laborers in the mine of the law, are rewarded for their expense of toil in skill, nor whether we are to assign it a first rank among sciences which humanize the mind. Be this as it may, Mr Pinkney seemed born for his profession; and he would probably have made the 'pyramid of his re-

nown' yet broader and higher, had he never been tempted aside from his task by less congenial pursuits. In diplomatic ability, so far as it is constituted by a large acquaintance with public law, a perfect understanding of the questions arising on it, and skill to disentangle their complexities, he did not fall short of any of the great names opposed to him. That he failed in address, is likely enough from the general turn of his character, especially a tincture of personal vanity, which, while it gave to more adroit negotiators an assailable point, would not permit him to suspect that he could be deceived or circumvented. Thence, even a cunning Neapolitan diplomatist might be an overmatch for him. No diplomatic position could be imagined, however, more embarrassing and vexatious, than the precise one he was placed in at St James's. Two colossal belligerents mutually encroaching on the rights of a neutral, whose true place in the political scale was not yet understood, its own government hardly prepared for the last resort, and the nation itself distracted by two fierce parties; these were circumstances in which the most consummate adroitness might have failed to unite all suffrages in its favor. As a statesman his views were sound; but his most successful efforts were, naturally, on points connected with his professional studies.

'But,' as his biographer remarks, 'in tracing the principal outlines of his public character, his professional talents and attainments must necessarily occupy the most prominent place. To extraordinary natural endowments, Mr Pinkney added deep and various knowledge in his profession. A long course of study and practice had familiarized his mind with the science of jurisprudence. His intellectual powers were most conspicuous in the investigations connected with that science. He had felt himself originally attracted to it by invincible inclination; it was his principal pursuit in life; and he never entirely lost sight of it in his occasional deviations into other pursuits and employments. The lures of political ambition and the blandishments of polished society, or perhaps a vague desire of universal acomplishment and general applause, might sometimes tempt him to stray for a season from the path which the original bent of his genius had assigned him. But he always returned with fresh ardor and new delight to his appropriate vocation. He was devoted to the law with a true enthusiasm; and his other studies and pursuits, so far as they had a serious object, were valued chiefly as they might minister to this idol of his affections.

'It was in his profession that he found himself at home; in this

consisted his pride and his pleasure; for as he said, "the bar is not the place to acquire or preserve a false and fraudulent reputation for talents." And on that theatre he felt conscious of possessing those powers which would command success.'

'This entire devotion to his professional pursuits was continued with unremitting perseverance to the end of his career. If the celebrated Denys Talon could say of the still more celebrated D'Anguesseau, on hearing his first speech at the bar, "*that he would willingly* END *as that young man* COMMENCED," every youthful aspirant to forensic fame among us might wish to begin his professional exertions with the same love of labor, and the same ardent desire of distinction which marked the efforts of William Pinkney throughout his life.'

'The editor well remembers in the last, and one of his most able pleadings in the Supreme Court, remonstrating with him upon the necessity of his refraining from such laborious exertions in the actual state of his health, and with what vehemence he replied, *that he did not desire to live a moment after the standing he had acquired at the bar was lost, or even brought into doubt or question.*

'What might not be expected from professional emulation directed by such an ardent spirit and such singleness of purpose even if sustained by far inferior abilities! But no abilities, however splendid, can command success at the bar without intense labor and persevering application. It was this which secured to Mr Pinkney the most extensive and lucrative practice ever acquired by any American lawyer, and which raised him to such an enviable height of professional eminence. For many years he was the acknowledged leader of the bar in his native State; and during the last ten years of his life, the principal period of his attendance in the Supreme Court of the nation, he enjoyed the reputation of having been rarely equalled and perhaps never excelled in the power of reasoning upon legal subjects. This was the faculty which most remarkably distinguished him. His mind was acute and subtle, and at the same time comprehensive in its grasp, rapid and clear in its conceptions, and singularly felicitous in the exposition of the truths it was employed in investigating.'

'Of the extent and solidity of his legal attainments, it would be difficult to speak in adequate terms, without the appearance of exaggeration. He was profoundly versed in the ancient learning of the common law; its technical peculiarities and feudal origin. Its subtle distinctions and artificial logic were familiar to his early studies, and enabled him to expound with admirable force and perspicuity the rules of real property. He was familiar with every branch of commercial law; and superadded, at a later period of

his life, to his other legal attainments, an extensive acquaintance with the principles of international law, and the practice of the Prize Courts. In his legal studies he preferred the original text writers and reporters, (*è fontibus hauriri,*) to all those abridgments, digests, and elementary treatises, which lend so many convenient helps and facilities to the modern lawyer, but which he considered as adapted to form sciolists, and to encourage indolence and superficial habits of investigation. His favorite law book was the Coke Littleton, which he had read many times. Its principal texts he had treasured up in his memory, and his arguments at the bar abounded with perpetual recurrences to the principles and analogies drawn from this rich mine of common law learning.' pp. 176, 183.

He was, indeed, a wonderful legal logician. As an orator it is a more delicate task to estimate his pretensions. On this point he was eminently ambitious; the more so, perhaps, as he might consider it less certain. In the parliament and courts of Great Britain, the last then adorned by Sir William Scott and Lord Erskine, he found a style of oratory more classical and embellished than was usual at the bar of America; and, if we may trust tradition, his study of that model impaired both the fire and the ease of his natural rhetoric. Mr Wheaton tells us, that he always continued to declaim in private, and that it was his habit to premeditate, not only the general order of his speeches, and the topics of illustration, but the rhetorical embellishments; which last he sometimes wrote out beforehand. We have been informed by one well acquainted with his habits, that he seldom or never wrote any part of his speeches. But the discrepancy may be reconciled by remembering, that the premeditated compositions of so trained a mind would be little the less perfect, in not being committed to paper. But, though his law papers might have been drawn up 'with much care,' and might have 'exhausted the subjects committed to his consideration,' it does not appear that they, or any of his written productions, cost him much effort. On the contrary he composed with great rapidity, writing his letters, diplomatic papers and opinions extremely fast, and with so heavy a hand as to cut constantly through the paper.

It was only after his return from his second mission to England, that we had the opportunity of witnessing ourselves any of his forensic displays. His manner, at that time, was certainly very peculiar; but, to our apprehension, it seemed not so much tinged with foreign imitations, as by his own peculiarities of mind

and taste. It was apparently studied to the minutest action; and we know that he practised much before the mirror. The defects of his manner may be imputed, therefore, to a vicious taste; for no man seemed to enjoy more self-possession, and few, a greater facility of reaching what he intended. At the beginning, he spoke in low and indistinct murmurs, as if he were conjuring up the spirit of his elocution by muttered incantations. During this period his action was constrained, and there was a show of timidity, which notwithstanding his usual confidence, was sometimes unaffected. In some of his latest efforts at the bar, where the occasion had drawn public expectation towards him, his lips have been seen to part with their color, his cheeks to turn pale, and his knees to shake. He has often said, that he never addressed an audience without some painful and embarrassing emotions in the beginning. As he advanced, these boyish tremors disappeared; he became bold, erect, and dictatorial; his voice swelled from its low notes, which were extremely musical, always parting with its charm as it rose; though his high notes were rather inarticulate and imperfect than harsh. He spoke with great vehemence, rushing from thought to thought with a sort of ferocity; his eye fiery, his nostrils distended, and his lips covered with froth, which he would wipe away. His gesture was quite as peculiar. His right arm was not *brandished* in the usual manner, but brought in frequent sweeps along his side; his right foot advanced, and his body alternately thrown back, as if about to spring, and heaved forward again, as if in act to strike down his adversary; big drops of sweat all the while coursing along their channels from his forehead. This 'heat and tempest of his passion,' he would sustain through periods, that might have mastered the sturdiest frames. The impression, which this violence made on his auditory, was of course, not always advantageous to the orator. It was too much the *habit* of his manner, to gain the credit of being excited by his subject, and threw over his best efforts a frigidness, which was not diminished by the circumstance, that he never seemed so lost in the current of his thought, as to forget altogether the eagerness of display. He never pressed so earnestly to his goal, as not to be turned aside by the golden glitter of an ornament. He became sensible to the vices of his elocution at a later day, and in some of his speeches avoided those of his manner almost entirely. His success in this reform, at an age when most men find their habits too rigid for change, proves how much he could fashion himself to his own taste.

With all these faults of manner, it were rash and unjust to deny, that Mr Pinkney was an orator. Neither the wit, nor the thought, nor the harmony of Pope, has, in the opinion of some critics, enrolled him among poets, because he wanted the invention and the passion of his art. In the same qualified sense we might, perhaps, deny to this great champion of the bar the prize of oratory, which he so earnestly contended for, and to which he brought so many important pretensions, extent of learning, compass of thought, a forcible logic, felicity of illustration, and a correct and polished diction. To some, who remember the vehemence of manner which we have described, and the ambitiousness of his illustration, it may seem a strange heresy to deny him the praise of true fervor and rich invention; yet, as his warmth appeared to us to be that of the rhetorician, so his figures seemed cold, and rather embroidered on the web of his discourse, than woven into it. Nor do we impute this, we acknowledge, to the affectation of a model, but to an original deficiency of some of the qualities neccessary to eloquence, and, among the rest, that undefinable power of enchaining the sympathy of the hearers. His ambition of display sometimes weakened the force of his argument, engaged him in the pursuit of too remote analogies, and retarded his approach to the point, at which he aimed. Even his diction, admirable as it was, cannot be entirely commended; wearing often the air of too much elaboration, and being sometimes disfigured by affectations; so that this vehicle of his thought did not always move easily along, from the number and quaintness of its ornaments. His *hits*, if we may be allowed the word, were sometimes felicitous and witty, but they often ended in a cold conceit, and were not always edged with courtesy. Yet no man could hear him for an hour, without owning, that he was a noble genius and an elegant scholar; and the instances were very rare, in which any person, who had listened to him once, however much he might be dissatified with his manner and peculiarities, would not return with renewed delight to witness his successive efforts. To the time of his last public appearance in Washington, the court room was always thronged with the wise, the learned, the fashionable, when it was known that he was to speak; and he uniformly riveted the attention of his auditors, through the technical details of his longest and dryest arguments. The combined causes of this charm we shall not attempt to analyze; they may all be ultimately traced to the workings of an intellect, powerful in its original gifts, adorn-

ed by culture, and enriched with acquisitions gained by a life of studious toil and active experiment.

We insert the following passages from a pamphlet, published by him under the signature of *Publius*, after the commencement of the late war, and in defence of its policy, as among the best specimens of the style of his written compositions.

'"Nothing is more to be esteemed than peace," (I quote the wisdom of Polybius,) "*when it leaves us in possession of our honor and rights;* but when it is joined with loss of freedom, or with infamy, nothing can be more detestable and fatal." I speak with just confidence, when I say that no federalist can be found who desires with more sincerity the return of peace than the republican government, by which the war was declared. But it desires such a peace as the companion and instructer of Scipio has praised; a peace consistent with our rights and honor, and not the deadly tranquillity which may be purchased by disgrace, or taken in barter for the dearest and most essential claims of our trade and sovereignty. I appeal to you boldly; are you prepared to purchase a mere cessation of arms by unqualified submission to the pretensions of England? Are you prepared to sanction them by treaty and to entail them upon your posterity, with the inglorious and timid hope of escaping the wrath of those whom your fathers discomfited and vanquished? Are you prepared for the sake of a present profit, which the circumstances of Europe must render paltry and precarious, to cripple the strong wing of American commerce for years to come, to take from our flag its national effect and character, and to subject our vessels on the high seas, and the brave men who navigate them, to the municipal jurisdiction of Great Britain? I know very well that there are some amongst us (I hope they are but few), who are prepared for all this and more; who pule over every scratch occasioned by the war, as if it were an overwhelming calamity, and are only sorry that it is not worse; who would skulk out of a contest for the best interests of their country to save a shilling or gain a cent; who, having inherited the wealth of their ancestors without their spirit, would receive laws from London with as much facility as woollens from Yorkshire, or hardware from Sheffield. But I write to the great body of the people, who are sound and virtuous, and worthy of the legacy which the heroes of the revolution have bequeathed them. For *them*, I undertake to answer, that the only peace which they can be made to endure, is that which may twine itself round the honor of the people, and with its healthy and abundant foliage give shade and shelter to the prosperity of the empire.'

'As the war was forced upon us by a long series of unexampled

aggressions, it would be absolute madness to doubt, that peace will receive a cordial welcome, if she returns without ignominy in her train, and with security in her hand. The destinies of America are commercial, and her true policy is peace; but the *substance* of peace had, long before we were roused to a tardy resistance, been denied to us by the ministry of England; and the *shadow*, which had been left to mock our hopes and to delude our imaginations, resembled too much the frowning spectre of war to deceive any body. Every sea had witnessed, and continued to witness, the systematic persecution of our trade and the unrelenting oppression of our people. The ocean had ceased to be the safe highway of the neutral world; and our citizens traversed it with all the fears of a benighted traveller, who trembles along a road beset with banditti, or infested by the beasts of the forest. The government, thus urged and goaded, drew the sword with a visible reluctance; and, true to the pacific policy which kept it so long in the scabbard, it will sheathe it again, when Great Britian shall consult her own interest, by consenting to forbear in future the wrongs of the past.

'The disposition of the government upon that point has been decidedly pronounced by facts which need no commentary. From the moment when war was declared, peace has been sought by it with a steady and unwearied assiduity, at the same time, that every practicable preparation has been made, and every nerve exerted to prosecute the war with vigor, if the enemy should persist in his injustice. The law respecting seamen, the Russian mission, the instructions sent to our Chargé d'Affaires in London, the prompt and explicit disavowal of every unreasonable pretension falsely ascribed to us, and the solemn declarations of the government in the face of the world, that it wishes for nothing more than a fair and honorable accommodation, would be conclusive proofs of this, if any proofs were necessary. But it does not require to be proved, because it is self evident. What interest, in the name of common sense, can the government have (distinctly from that of the whole nation) in a war with Great Britain? It is obvious to the meanest capacity, that such a war must be accompanied by privations, of which no government would hazard the consequences, but upon the suggestions of an heroic patriotism. The President and his supporters have never been ignorant that those who suffer by a war, however unavoidable, are apt rather to murmur against the government than against the enemy, and that while it presses upon us, we sometimes forget the compulsion under which it was commenced, and regret that it was not avoided with a provident foresight of its evils.

'It will, therefore, be no easy matter to persuade you that this

war was *courted* by an administration who depend upon the people for their power, and are proud of that dependence; or that it will be carried on with a childish obstinacy, when it can be terminated with honor and with safety. You have, on the contrary, a thousand pledges that the government was averse to war, and will give you peace the instant peace is in its power. You know, moreover, that the enemy will not grant it as a boon, and that it must be wrung from his necessities. It comes to this, then; whom will you select as your champions to extort it from him? upon whom will you cast the charge of achieving it against him in the lists?'

Mr Wheaton's work contains other extracts from his correspondence, and some of his opinions and speeches, which, if they fail to interest the general reader, will give the work a place in the libraries of lawyers and political inquirers.

Art. VI.—*The Diplomacy of the United States; being an Account of the Foreign Relations of the Country, from the First Treaty with France, in* 1778, *to the Treaty of Ghent, in* 1814, *with Great Britain.* 8vo. pp. 379. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 1826.

The establishment of a new empire in the western hemisphere, by the separation of the North American colonies from Great Britain, has been justly considered as constituting a new era in the political world. The events, whether political or military, which produced that extraordinary revolution, as well as those, which led to the formation of the institutions peculiar to this new republic, together with the influence, which this revolution and these institutions have had on the civilized world, are daily becoming more and more interesting objects of inquiry. No contribution, therefore, to the political or military history of this country can fail of a favorable reception from the American public. The political transactions of the United States, especially those concerning their connexions with foreign nations are much less known than those of a military character. Movements in the field, as well as their causes, are more easily ascertained and oftener become subjects of historical research, than those in the cabinet. In the latter, greater secrecy is often required,

and this secrecy sometimes continues, long after the occasion for it has ceased.

Under the old system of government, Congress held their deliberations in secret, and very little of their foreign correspondence has yet been made public. No inconsiderable part of the foreign correspondence, under the new form of government, is now before the public; while the earlier correspondence between the United States and foreign nations still remains in the archives of the Secretary of State. In 1818, the national legislature ordered the journal of the general convention, together with the secret journal and foreign correspondence of Congress, from their first meeting, to the peace of 1783, to be published, under the direction of the President of the United States, with the exception of such parts of the foreign correspondence, as he might deem it improper to publish. By a second order, papers of a similar description, from 1783, to the commencement of the new government, were included. Under these orders, the journal of the convention, and the secret journals of Congress, have been published. The publication of the foreign correspondence has hitherto been delayed. The delicacy, as well as labor, of making a selection from such a voluminous mass of papers, may, perhaps, have been one of the causes of this delay. The publication of these important state papers, in connexion with the secret journals, would add greatly to the general stock of materials for American history, and would, no doubt, tend to increase the reputation of those American statesmen, who, during that period, were principally employed in foreign transactions. Many of them would probably be found of the same high character, with those state papers published by Congress, at the commencement of the Revolution, which Lord Chatham declared to equal any productions of the free states of antiquity.

'The Diplomacy of the United States,' a work which has been presented to the public during the present year, is, we believe, the first publication of the kind relating to America. It is confined to the diplomatic part of American history; and the author has judiciously availed himself of the various state papers which have been published, not only in this country, but in Europe. From these and other sources, he has drawn up a valuable summary of this important and interesting part of the history of the United States. The account of the negotiations of this country with each of the European nations is given by

itself, in a distinct chapter. The author commences the second chapter of his work with the following remarks.

'The means of intercourse, possessed by the confederation with foreign nations, were exceedingly limited; of the States in Europe, most able to assist them, they had known but little except as enemies. They had, in various wars, taken an active part with the mother country against France, and had powerfully, and very cheerfully, contributed to the conquest of the French possessions in North America. Indeed, one of the principal motives of the Convention at Albany, held in 1754, and consisting of commissioners from eight of the colonies, was to agree on a scheme of mutual protection against the encroachments of the French and Indians, at that time always allies. Their trade had also been constantly subject to the severities and restrictions of the colonial system; and at the period of the Revolution was confined to Great Britain, the West Indies, Africa, and Europe, south of Cape Finisterre. It is not, therefore, to be expected that they could look abroad with much confidence or hope of relief. The principal European states possessed colonies. America labored, on that account, under the peculiar disadvantage of seeking aid and encouragement from governments, whose policy it would always be, to resist the principles the confederation asserted. Revolutions were at that time not so common as they have since become. The act of the Americans was, with the exception of two very slight affairs of the Pretender in Great Britain, the only instance of rebellion, that had occurred among civilized nations in that century. The governments of Europe appeared, moreover, at this crisis, to be strong and prosperous. Monarchy was never, in appearance, more firmly established, or colonies of all descriptions, in more complete subjection.

'It is not likely that the American colonies, in the outset, expected assistance from abroad. The Revolutionary war, though events had been setting with a silent, but most unerring course, to that extremity since '66, was little anticipated in '74, the year of the first meeting of the Delegates in Philadelphia. This war finally broke out in a very unexpected manner, and spread with a rapidity equally astonishing. It is the first illustration, we have in history, of the effects of strong excitement on a people well educated and perfectly free.' pp. 17, 18.

The colonists did not apply to foreign alliances to assist them, in their struggle against the unconstitutional and arbitrary claims of their parent country, until the last hope of reconciliation had vanished. When their second humble petition to the king had been rejected with contempt; when, by a solemn act of Parlia-

ment, they had been thrown out of the protection of the British government, when thousands of foreign mercenaries were engaged to force them to submission; then, and not till then, did they declare themselves independent, establish governments of their own, and seek foreign alliances.

They had, indeed, previously taken measures to sound some of the powers of Europe, on the subject of assistance, in case a separation from Great Britain should be ultimately found necessary. For this purpose a secret committee was appointed by Congress in November, 1775, consisting of Dr Franklin, Mr Harrison, Mr Johnson, Mr Dickinson, and Mr Jay. This committee were to correspond with their friends in Europe, and other parts of the world. They had their agents in Europe, among whom was Arthur Lee in London, and Mr Dumas in Holland. In March, 1776, this committee sent Silas Deane, a delegate in Congress from Connecticut, as a political and commercial agent to France, to solicit supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing from the French court, or from whatever quarter they could be obtained. He was particularly instructed, to ascertain 'whether, if the colonies should be forced to form themselves into an independent state, France would probably acknowledge them as such, receive their ambassadors, enter into a treaty or alliance with them, for commerce, or defence, or both? If so, on what principal conditions?' The French government had anticipated that part of Mr Deane's mission relating to supplies, before his arrival in France. This is evident from a letter written by the French minister to the king, as early as May, 1776, which the author of the work now under notice has quoted at large. It shows the extreme caution and secrecy used by the French court, in furnishing the Americans with supplies, at that early period, and is here subjoined.

'Sir, I have the honor of laying at the feet of your Majesty the writing, authorizing me to furnish a million of livres for the service of the English colonies. I add, also, the plan of an answer I propose to make to the Sieur Beaumarchais. I solicit your approbation to the two propositions. The answer to Mr de Beaumarchais will not be written in my hand, nor even that of either the clerks or secretaries of my office. I shall employ for that purpose my son, whose handwriting cannot be known. He is only fifteen years old, but I can answer in the most positive manner for his discretion. As it is important that this operation should not be suspected, or at least imputed to the government, I entreat

your Majesty to allow me to direct the return of the Sieur Montaudoin to Paris. The apparent pretext for that proceeding will be, to obtain from him an account of his correspondence with the Americans, though, in reality, it will be for the purpose of employing him to transmit to them such funds as your Majesty chooses to appropriate to their benefit, directing him, at the same time, to take all necessary precaution, as if, indeed, the Sieur Montaudoin made the advance on their own account. On this head, I take the liberty of requesting the orders of Majesty. Having obtained them, I shall write to the Marquis de Grimaldi, inform him in detail of our proceedings, and request his co-operation, to the same extent.' pp. 19, 20.

This is one of those curious state papers, which the French revolution has brought to light; and to enable the reader to understand, why the answer to Beaumarchais was of so secret a nature, as to be entrusted in the handwriting of no one, but that of the son of the minister, it is necessary to state, that, previously to the date of this letter, Beaumarchais had been secretly sent to London, to inform Arthur Lee, that the French court had determined to assist the Americans, by sending them, as a present, the amount of two hundred thousand *louisdors*, in arms, ammunitions, and money; and to request Mr Lee to communicate this information to Congress, and say that the same would be transmitted through the French West India Islands, in the fictitious name of Hortales & Co. The answer here alluded to referred, no doubt, to this secret mission.

Beaumarchais soon after returned to Paris, and this million of livres was placed in his hands, for the benefit of the Americans. Soon after Mr Deane's arrival, he had several interviews with the French minister, or his secretary. The minister assured Mr Deane of his protection; and informed him that their ports should be open to the Americans, and that every facility would be given to the shipment of warlike stores. With respect to American independence, he told Mr Deane, it would be improper for him to say anything on that subject, until it had actually taken place. Soon after his first conference, Beaumarchais was introduced to Mr Deane, recommended by Vergennes, and offered to procure for him whatever he wanted. Some doubts being suggested to Mr Deane, whether Beaumarchais, who was not a merchant or a man of business, would be able to fulfil his engagements, he had a second conference with Vergennes, who assured him, that he might rely on whatever Beaumarchais

should engage, in the commercial way of supplies. In consequence of this, an arrangement was made, by Mr Deane, with this secret agent of the French government, and military supplies and clothing were furnished, to the amount of about two hundred thousand *louisdors*, and were transmitted to America, in the name of a fictitious mercantile house, by the name of Hortales and Co. a name, which often appears, in the journals of the old Congress.

Most of the cannon and arms were, in fact, taken from the king's arsenals. This secret and mysterious mode of supply, as the author justly observes, gave rise to the claim of Beaumarchais, and rendered it very intricate.

Immediately after the declaration of independence, Congress prepared a plan of a commercial treaty, to be proposed to France and Spain; and in September, 1776, Dr Franklin, Mr Deane, and Mr Jefferson were appointed commissioners to France. Mr Jefferson having declined, Arthur Lee was chosen in his room. The manner in which the French court and nation received the American envoys, is thus described.

'Mr Lee and Mr Deane were in Europe at the time of their appointment. In December '76, Dr Franklin, the third commissioner, arrived in France. He was received with uncommon attention; known already as a philosopher, the cause he represented was undoubtedly popular in that country. Indeed, the subject of liberty itself was, already, popular. It might have been only a fashion, as so many other things have been in France; it might have arisen from the metaphysical, or rather philosophical discussions, in which the French were then so much engaged, without at all apprehending the practical effects of them. Or, perhaps, we may, with most truth, call the cause of the colonies popular, because it was one that was likely to do vast mischief to England. The novelty of the undertaking itself, produced an enthusiasm in France; a war was commenced on a new continent; the scene of action and of interest was transferred from the old world. This had, already, happened in the former French wars, when Quebec and their other possessions fell. But, then, the European had only left his customary battle grounds to meet on a new continent with the same armies, the same animosity, and the same ambition. Europe was a party to those wars. To this she was a spectator. America was viewed with that deep interest and sympathy with which the weak are regarded in all contests; and those, who were not inspired with the holy spirit of emanci-

pation, doubtless wished well to a cause, that was fought at such fearful odds.

'But the government manifested an evident reluctance to form an open alliance at this time. It naturally and prudently sought for delay. The commissioners were not publicly received; for the fate and condition of the Americans were in an unconfirmed state; and it might well be doubted, whether they could long resist the mother country, of whose power France, herself, had very recently had melancholy experience. But assistance continued to be secretly furnished; privateers were allowed to equip and bring their prizes into French ports, commissions were issued by the American envoys; and the cause of the Revolution still continued exceedingly popular with the people.' pp. 22, 23.

The negotiations of the United States with France and Spain, during the revolutionary struggle, and with Great Britain, in connexion with those powers, on the terms of peace and independence, have very properly claimed the greatest share of the author's attention; and this part of the work will be read with peculiar interest. In maintaining the cause of independence, American statesmen, during this period, had to encounter difficulties abroad, as well as at home; and no one can contemplate the firmness, with which these difficulties were met and overcome by them, or their perseverance, in every adverse fortune, without entertaining a greater veneration for their character.

Soon after the arrival of the American envoys at Paris, a paper, signed by the king, was read to them by the secretary of Vergennes. In this paper, his Most Christian Majesty declared, among other things, that, being determined to take no advantage of the situation, in which the United States were then placed; he thought that it was not then a proper time to form a lasting union, which, however, he very much wished; that they should be at liberty to make their purchases, in private, securing to him an observance of treaties, which he was determined not to be the first to break; and that to prove his good wishes, he had ordered two millions of livres to be paid them quarterly, which should be augmented, as the state of his finances would permit. The most profound secrecy, with respect to this matter, was enjoined on the commissioners.

France evidently waited for events which should decide, beyond all doubt, not only the disposition, but the ability of the Americans to support their independence; and to be perfectly satisfied, that her aid, when openly afforded, would prevent the

possibility of their reconciliation with Great Britain. This policy was pursued by the French court, notwithstanding the advantageous offers made by the American Congress, until the capture of General Burgoyne and his army, in October, 1777. The disasters of the campaign of 1776 induced Congress to turn their attention more seriously to the subject of obtaining foreign aid. In December of this year, they determined to send commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, and Prussia, and to the Duke of Tuscany. These commissioners were particularly instructed to assure the courts, to which they were sent, that, notwithstanding the insidious suggestions of the British court, the people of the United States were not disposed to submit to the sovereignty of the British crown; and of their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence. To induce France in particular to take an open part in the war, Congress proposed, that all the trade between the United States and the West Indies should be confined to French and American vessels, and to divide the cod fishery with France, in case Great Britain, by their joint efforts, should be excluded from any share in it. If these offers should be insufficient to produce a declaration of war, on the part of France, the commissioners were directed to yield to the king of France all the British West India islands, that might be reduced by his arms; and to stipulate, that the United States would furnish two millions of dollars in provisions, and six frigates, in the expeditions for their reduction. To Spain they offered their assistance, in obtaining possession of the town and harbor of Pensacola, on condition that the citizens of the United States should have the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbor of Pensacola.

These new offers, however, produced no change in the policy of the two courts. The news of the surrender of Burgoyne and his army, which reached Europe about the first of December, produced a new state of things, both in Great Britain and France. The British Parliament was then in session; but the minister was not prepared to meet so unexpected and important an event, and immediately proposed an adjournment to the twentieth of January; which took place on the eleventh of December. In the debates on this motion, in which the ministry were attacked with great severity, Lord North declared, that one object of the adjournment was, to prepare a plan of reconciliation with the Colonies; and he gave notice, that after the recess, he should submit to the consideration of the House cer-

tain concessions, which might serve as the basis of a treaty, and he trusted, that their endeavors would prove effectual in bringing about a permanent peace, and a lasting union between the two countries. The proceedings of parliament were soon known in France, and on the sixteenth the French king declared to the American envoys his determination to accede to their propositions. Before the completion of a treaty, Spain was to be consulted by the French court. On this subject, the king himself addressed a letter to his Catholic majesty, bearing date the eighth of January, 1778. This letter the author has very properly inserted. It distinctly discloses the policy of the two courts, as well as the real motives, which ultimately induced the king of France openly to join the Americans. pp. 297, 298.

'"England, our common and inveterate enemy, has been engaged for three years in a war with her colonies. We have agreed not to take a part in it, and, considering both parties as English, we have made the commerce of our state free to whoever should find his advantage in it. In this way America has provided herself with those arms and munitions, of which she was in want. I do not speak of the aid we have given that country in money and other articles, the whole having been done in the ordinary course of commerce. England has shown some vexation at this circumstance, and we are not ignorant that she will sooner or later revenge herself. This was the situation of the business the last November. The destruction of Burgoyne and the embarrassments of Howe have changed the face of things. America is triumphant; England is cast down. But her vast marine is still entire, and having abandoned the idea of conquering the colonies, she has resolved to form an alliance with them. All parties in England are agreed in this particular. Lord North has himself announced a plan of pacification. It does not much signify to us, whether he or any other minister is in place; actuated by different motives, they will still unite against us. *It is very important to prevent the reunion of the colonies with the mother country.*"'

The author has only given what he considers the substance of the conclusion of this letter. The original is more explicit as to the motives of the king, in accepting the proposals of the Americans, and is as follows.

'This being understood, and our causes of complaint against England notorious, I have thought, after taking the advice of my council, and particularly of M. d'Ossuna, and having consulted upon the propositions, which the insurgents make, that it was just

and necessary to treat with them, *to prevent their reunion with the mother country;* (pour empêcher leur réunion à la métropole).'

Spain, however, refused to join France in treating with the Americans. Although desirous of reducing the power of Great Britain, by the separation of her North American colonies, she was unwilling to become a party in a war for this object, without some security for the future safety of her own possessions, adjoining the newly formed American States. France, therefore, concluded a treaty of commerce, and an eventual treaty of alliance, with the United States, without the concurrence of Spain. By a secret article, however, his Catholic Majesty had a right to accede to both treaties whenever he thought proper. The connexion formed between France and America being officially announced to the British government, war was the immediate consequence.

Although Spain refused to accede to the treaties, she offered her mediation between France and Great Britain. This was readily accepted by his Most Christian Majesty, and was listened to, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and a correspondence on the subject between the British and Spanish courts took place for several months; and was finally ended in June 1779, when Spain joined France in the contest. This was done in consequence of a convention between the two courts in April preceding, which was a secret compact, and, it is believed, has never yet been made public. It was, probably, a renewal of the old family compact, and no doubt contained a stipulation, on the part of France, to assist Spain in securing to her the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, as well as her former possessions, east of that river. Should negotiations for peace be the consequence of the offered mediation, both France and Spain determined that the United States should be a party. To meet this event, the appointment of an American minister was deemed necessary. The instructions to the minister created much division in Congress. The members were divided on the subjects of the fisheries, the navigation of the Mississippi, and the Northwestern boundaries. They were, at first, not more unanimous in the selection of a minister. In two successive ballots the votes were equally divided between Mr Adams and Mr Jay. The subject being postponed, Mr Jay was afterward appointed minister to Spain, and Mr Adams to treat of peace.

Pending this mediation, Great Britain secretly attempted to effect a separate peace, with the United States, as well as with

France. For this purpose, Mr Hartley was sent to Paris to sound Dr Franklin, and Mr Forth to confer with Vergennes. The former, after a long correspondence, made several preliminary propositions to Dr Franklin; one of which was, that America 'should be released and unengaged from all treaties with foreign powers;' and he told Dr Franklin, that the convention formed between America and France 'was the great stumbling-block, in the way of reconciliation.' Mr Forth proposed to France, in case she would abandon America, that she might retain her conquests in the West Indies; and promised not only to relinquish the right of an English commissary at Dunkirk, but to allow her great advantages in the East Indies. The offers thus separately and secretly made, were rejected by Dr Franklin and Vergennes. The negotiations of Mr Jay with the court of Madrid, were attended with peculiar difficulties and embarrassments, and required all the patience and perseverance of that distinguished patriot and statesman. Aware of the wishes of Spain to regain the possessions she had lost in America during the last war, Congress instructed Mr Jay to guaranty the Floridas to his Catholic Majesty, in case he would accede to the treaties; and also to obtain loans and subsidies. Soon after his arrival at Madrid, Mr Jay was explicitly informed, that the king of Spain would not join in these treaties; and that he was much displeased with his Most Christian Majesty for concluding them without his concurrence. When the American minister pressed the Spanish court on this subject, and particularly with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, he was told, that his Catholic Majesty had determined to exclude all foreigners from entering the Gulf of Mexico from the North, and that he would enter into no treaty with the United States, until some definitive arrangement should be made relative to the navigation of the Mississippi. The embarrassments of Mr Jay were greatly increased, and his situation rendered extremely delicate, by the refusal of the Spanish court to furnish him with any money, even to pay the bills, which Congress had drawn upon him, unless upon the condition of a relinquishment of the claim of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi. This condition the American minister refused to comply with. In consequence of the success of the enemy, at the South in 1780, Congress were induced to recede from insisting on the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a free port below latitude 31°, in case Spain would secure to the United States the navigation of that

river, above that latitude. A proposition, agreeable to these instructions, was submitted to the Spanish court, but was rejected; and the negotiations remained in this state until June 1782, when they were transferred to Paris, and blended with the subjects of a general peace, between all the belligerents.

In 1780 the war began to affect most of the European powers. Towards the close of that year, the empress of Russia, and the emperor of Germany, offered their mediation for a general peace in Europe. This mediation was accepted at once by England, and eventually by France, Spain, and the United States. A general congress was proposed to settle the terms.

Before commencing negotiations, however, France and Spain insisted upon an explicit answer from the court of London to the question, whether an American plenipotentiary would be admitted at this congress. The king of Great Britain, in June 1781, in his answer, declared, that he would not, in any manner whatever, admit the interference of any foreign power, between him and his rebel subjects; and, therefore, would not agree to the admission of any person, at the proposed congress, on their part; that he would not consent to any measure, which might limit or suspend the right which every sovereign had to employ the means in his power, to put an end to a rebellion in his dominions; and that the mediation of the imperial courts must be limited to peace between the belligerents in Europe, and not extend to a particular peace with the revolted Americans. This answer put an end to all further proceedings under this mediation. While it was pending, the instructions prepared for the American minister, under the Spanish mediation, were revised by Congress; and at the instance of the French minister, a clause was inserted, declaring, that the American negotiators 'were ultimately to be governed by the advice and opinion of the king of France or his minister.' All the states did not assent to this extraordinary and humiliating clause. The states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware gave their votes against it, and Pennsylvania was divided.

At the same time, Dr Franklin, Mr Jay, Mr Laurens, and Mr Jefferson were joined with Mr Adams, in the commission. The pride of Great Britain would not yet permit her to treat with her rebel subjects, as she still called them, under the mediation or interference of any foreign power.

The arms of the allies, however, were able to effect in America, what neither the imperial courts, nor the house of Bourbon,

could accomplish in Europe. The capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army, in October of the same year, convinced the British nation, that America could not be subdued by force, and led to a change of administration, and pacific overtures, on the part of the court of London.

The author has presented a view of the circumstances, which led to these overtures, as well as the negotiations which followed; and has, also, given the reasons why the American ministers concluded a treaty, without even consulting the French court, together with a very able and satisfactory vindication of their conduct, in thus departing from their instructions. We cannot do better, than to give this vindication in the words of the author.

'This direct deviation from positive instructions, this apparent ingratitude and perfidy to a faithful and valuable ally, is susceptible of a full and ready explanation. Early in '82, it was foreseen that England was not the only country, that would present obstacles to a peace, safe and satisfactory to the United States. America, now independent, found herself compelled to resist Spain, claiming territory on the one hand, and France seeking an exclusive possession of the fisheries on the other. She had succeeded to the rights, the advantageous position, and a portion of the commerce of the mother country in the new world; and undoubtedly France and Spain were well aware, that the United States would become dangerous neighbors on the land, and troublesome competitors on the ocean. The American colonies had always been so, even while their trade was subject to the control and prohibition of Great Britain. But France and Spain did not anticipate, that America would either claim, or be able to maintain, all the former rights of the colonies. They entered into the negotiation of '82 with the intention and expectation of extorting from England, to the injury of the United States, some portion of her territory, and a part of one of her most valuable privileges. Both those countries had a heavy balance to settle with Great Britain in the new world; and they remembered, with bitterness and mortification, the provisions of the two treaties of Utrecht and Paris.'

'On the side of France, America had much to fear. She was disposed to curtail her fishing rights and privileges, to maintain Spain in her pretensions respecting boundaries, and to aid England in exacting a compensation for the loyalists. A letter written by M. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation, from Philadelphia, dated March 13th, '82, intercepted and decyphered at the time, if it did not give the first intimation of similar de-

signs in the French court, strengthened, at least, the suspicions before entertained. M. de Marbois advised M. de Vergennes to cause to be intimated to the American ministers, "his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions. That the United States set forth pretensions therein, *without paying regard to the king's* [French] *rights*, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests, and of keeping what belongs to Great Britain. It will be better to have it declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretensions to the fisheries of the great Bank are not founded, and that his Majesty does not mean to support them." These extracts, taken in connexion with the obvious policy of the French court, could leave few doubts concerning its designs.'

pp. 182—185.

The boundaries, the fisheries, and the case of the loyalists, were subjects of the greatest difficulty, in the settlement of the terms of peace between Great Britain and her former colonies. On these important subjects, the American negotiators had not only to meet the British ministers, but to counteract the views and claims of France and Spain. Negotiations with Spain were resumed by Mr Jay in the summer of 1782, at Paris, with Count de Aranda. In their first conference, in the presence of Dr Franklin, the Spanish minister referred to the old topic of western limits, and asked, What are the boundaries of the United States? Mr Jay replied, that the Mississippi, from its source to latitude 31°, was their western boundary, and from latitude 31° east, by the line between Georgia and the Floridas. The Spanish minister protested against the right of the United States to extend to the Mississippi. He declared, that the western country had never belonged or claimed to belong to the ancient colonies; that previous to the war of 1755, it belonged to France, and after its cession to Great Britain, it remained a distinct part of her dominions, until, by the conquest of west Florida and certain posts on the Mississippi and Illinois, it became vested in Spain. He then drew a line, as a boundary, on Mitchell's map of North America, beginning at a lake near the confines of Georgia, and east of Flint river, to the confluence of the Kanaway with the Ohio, and thence round the western shores of lakes Erie and Huron, then round lake Michigan to Superior. This map he sent to Mr Jay, and it was, by him, soon after shown to Vergennes, in company with Dr Franklin. The latter pointed out to the French minister this line, as claim-

ed by Spain, declaring it to be an extravagant and improper one, and insisting on the right of the United States to extend to the Mississippi. Vergennes said very little in reply to these remarks; but Mr Rayneval, his principal secretary, who was present, denied the right of the United States to extend so far west. The Spanish minister afterwards requested the American commissioners to designate some line, east of the Mississippi, to which they would assent. This, however, they refused, declaring, that they could never cede to Spain any part of the country east of that river. Mr Rayneval soon after requested an interview with Mr Jay, relative to limits with Spain. In this interview, he declared explicitly, that the United States had no claim to lands west of the Alleghany mountains, as settled by the British proclamation of October, 1763; that Spain had no claims beyond her late conquests, and could not, in strictness, go beyond the Natchez; but, 'as the future might bring forth new circumstances,' he proposed an eventual arrangement of limits between the United States and Spain. He suggested, therefore, that a line should commence at the western angle of the Gulf of Mexico, which formed the section between the Floridas, and run thence to Fort Toulouse, and thence by various rivers to the Cumberland, and down that river to the Ohio. The lands north of the Ohio, Mr Rayneval did not consider as belonging to Spain, or the United States, but that 'their fate must be regulated by the court of London.'

These ideas of Rayneval were, no doubt, those of the French court, and satisfied the American envoys, that the object of France was, by the eventual arrangement of limits proposed by Rayneval, to leave that vast tract of country north of the Ohio, a subject of negotiation between Great Britain and France alone. The intercepted letter of Marbois fully explained the views of the French court as to the fisheries, and in addition to this, Rayneval hinted to Dr Franklin and Mr Jay, that they should limit their claims to the coast fishery. To Mr Adams, who joined Dr Franklin and Mr Jay at Paris, about the twentieth of October, Vergennes expressed an opinion in favor of making some compensation to the loyalists.

Under these circumstances, the American negotiators came to the resolution of proceeding without consulting the court of France. The British minister at first insisted on the Ohio as the western limits, and that the United States should have but a small share in the fisheries. In the progress of the

negotiation, however, the subject of compensation to the loyalists created the greatest, and, at one time, an almost insuperable obstacle to a favorable result. As an *ultimatum*, the American commissioners finally proposed a stipulation, that Congress should recommend to the States a restoration of their property; but they candidly told the British minister, that, on account of the public feelings in America against this class of people, the recommendation would not probably be complied with by the States. This proposition was at last accepted, and the treaty signed on the thirtieth of November.

Although the French court could not openly complain of the advantages secured to their allies by this treaty, yet the answer of Vergennes to the note of Dr Franklin, enclosing a copy of it, evinced great dissatisfaction, and was expressed in severe and bitter language.

France and Spain had not at this time settled the terms of peace with Great Britain. Serious difficulties had arisen to prevent this; and among these, the claim of Spain for the surrender of Gibraltar was not the least. Having failed to obtain this fortress by force, Spain was determined to have it by negotiation; and her minister was instructed not to make peace without it. The aid of France was particularly solicited, and the Spanish court offered to France her part of St Domingo for Gibraltar. Mr Rayneval was intrusted with this important negotiation at London. A majority of the British cabinet, after much debate, agreed to yield up Gibraltar to Spain, on two conditions; first, The restitution of all the conquests made by Spain, namely, Minorca, West Florida, and the Bahama Islands; secondly, The cession of Porto Rico, or the restitution of Dominique, and the cession of Guadaloupe, by France. The French king was willing to restore Dominique, to cede Guadaloupe, and take the Spanish part of St Domingo; but the king of Spain hesitated about restoring West Florida. The king of England, however, at last put an end to this negotiation, by an absolute refusal to give up Gibraltar on any terms. With respect to territory, the *ultimatum* of the British cabinet was, the cession of both the Floridas, together with Minorca, and to receive back the Bahamas. This was finally accepted by the Spanish minister, though contrary to his instructions.

The advantages secured to the United States by the treaty of peace, were probably greater than those obtained by France or Spain. For these they were indebted to the abilities and

firmness of their ministers. It was foreseen by the American negotiators, that great difficulties would arise in the final adjustment of so many claims as must occur between Great Britain and the powers confederated against her, and that even among the confederates themselves there might be interfering interests. France, Spain, and Holland had important interests to settle, not only in America, but in Europe, the East and West Indies, and, indeed, in every part of the world; and each would naturally endeavor to obtain the most advantageous terms for itself.

Soon after the treaty of peace, new subjects of dispute arose between the United States and Great Britain, and also between them and Spain; the origin and nature of which are accurately stated in the work before us. While negotiations relative to these disputes were pending, a most extraordinary revolution took place in France; a revolution, which produced new and more important causes of complaint on the part of the United States against England and Spain; and involved this country in new and almost inextricable difficulties with France. The length to which this article has been extended, must prevent us from tracing the author through the intricate and protracted negotiations in which this country was involved with foreign nations, in consequence of this unexampled state of things in Europe. We must content ourselves with referring to the work itself. The author has stated them with accuracy and fidelity; and the remarks with which he has accompanied this statement, are made with impartiality and candor.

These negotiations embraced important questions of national law, relating to neutral rights, deeply affecting the commercial interests of the United States. During this mighty conflict, which continued without much interruption for a quarter of a century, the United States received great injuries from Great Britain and France. While the former was determined that the Americans should not directly or indirectly afford assistance to her ancient rival, the rulers of France, by whatever name they were called, were resolved, that the United States should join in the war against England. Each accused the American government of partiality to her rival; and it required all the wisdom and prudence of President Washington to prevent the United States from being at an early period involved in the war, which so long desolated Europe.

The first minister from the French republic, in 1793, was

instructed to form a family compact with the Americans, and to induce them to make common cause with France; and in 1807, the imperial Bonaparte, when solicited to relax his celebrated decrees, in favor of the United States, not only refused, but declared, that the Americans should be compelled to take the position and character either of allies or enemies. This declaration was made, when, in the height of his conquests, Bonaparte determined that the United States should unite in enforcing his continental system. The origin and object of this celebrated system, and its effects on the commerce of the United States, are explained in this work; and the power and views of Bonaparte, at this period of his career, are well described.

'The mind is impressed with a singular sensation, in beholding a great conqueror, just reposing from one of his most signal victories, in the capital of the sovereign, whose army he had rather destroyed than defeated, issuing decrees, that embraced, in their desolating effects, almost every sea of the civilized world. The power of Napoleon Bonaparte was scarcely bounded by any river on the continent of Europe. In gaining his great victories, in adding state after state to his dominions, in placing brother after brother upon the thrones of the old nations, whose dynasties he had thrown down, he seems to have been fulfilling his proper part,—to have been accomplishing the destinies of which, under Heaven, he was the humble instrument. Wherever he marched, he carried a force with him sufficient to effect his purposes. This was the legitimate exercise of the vast power, with which he was intrusted, by Providence, for objects which it is not yet altogether in the reach of man to comprehend. But when he extended his ambition to the ocean; when he undertook to overwhelm whole countries, by maritime decrees, we perceive that he has left the orbit, in which it was his destiny to move; and we feel, that the unity of his theatrical character is destroyed. pp. 120, 121.

France was powerful by land, England by sea; and in their unexampled struggle for preeminence, particularly on the ocean, both were guilty of unparalleled violations of maritime rights, and both vindicated their proceedings on the principles of retaliation. That the United States, for these violations of their rights, had legitimate causes of war against both, there can be little doubt; and the only question was, whether, in the peculiar state of the world, it was wise, politic, or necessary for them to select either for their enemy. The various measures, which at last induced the United States to make a selection, together with the negotiations, which ended in the treaty of Ghent, are

stated by the author with his usual ability and fairness, and this statement concludes the volume.

This work evinces throughout much industry and research, and will be found a valuable addition to American history. It may be perused with special profit by those, who would be instructed in that portion of the history of the country, relating to its intercourse and connexions with foreign powers.

Art. VII.—1. *Supplement to the American Ornithology of Alexander Wilson; containing a Sketch of the Author's Life, with a Selection from his Letters; some Remarks on his Writings; and a History of those Birds, which were intended to compose Part of his Ninth Volume. Illustrated with Plates, engraved from Wilson's Original Drawings.* By George Ord. Philadelphia. 1825. J. Laval and S. F. Bradford.

2. *American Ornithology; or the Natural History of Birds, inhabiting the United States, not given by Wilson; with Figures drawn, engraved, and colored, from Nature.* By Charles Lucian Bonaparte. Vol. I. Philadelphia. 1825. S. A. Mitchell, Publisher; W. Brown, Printer.

When we compare the present state of the world with what is called antiquity, there is nothing in which the superiority of the later ages appears more conspicuous, than in the advancement of the natural sciences, or discoveries of the laws, operations, and characteristics of the physical creation Lord Bacon has told us, that the common way of talking about antiquity is erroneous, and that men have begun to reckon at the wrong end. The old age of the world, he says, is the proper period to be thus denominated, and not the green years of youth and inexperience. We of the present day are in fact the true ancients, and Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and others, whose lot it was to come upon the stage in the opening scene of the drama of human existence, are in reality the younger brethren of the great family of mankind. They had the imagination, the fire, and the inquisitiveness of youth, the power of genius and the resources of intellect, but, without the light of

experience, they wandered in dark paths and desert wastes, and gathered but little of the genuine fruit of knowledge. Science made but slow progress in their hands; they contrived systems, which served as prison houses to the mind, rather than instruments for unfolding its faculties, and sending it abroad to seek nourishment at the fountains of truth; and, what was the worst of all, they had the art to construct these systems so ingeniously, to rivet their parts together so firmly, and clothe them with such attractions, as to awaken the admiration and reverence of after times, and produce an influence, the ill effects of which are felt to the present day.

The philosophers of early times amused themselves with speculations, fancies, dreams, which had little to do with the realities of things, or the obvious laws of nature. Witness the cosmogony of the Persians and Egyptians, the physical theories of the Greeks, that beautiful fabric of the material world first conceived by Democritus, matured by Epicurus, and adorned by the brilliant poetry of Lucretius. Witness the mythology of all the early nations, the agents to which they ascribed natural phenomena, their deities, demigods, and local divinities. Nature was not studied, nor its laws understood; knowledge was at a stand, truth hidden, and experience unknown. The master spirits, who governed the mind for so many centuries, were as much in the dark as the most humble and uninformed. That great magician, Aristotle, whose wand was so potent, 'after having trod in the open plains of history,' if we may credit lord Bacon, 'and viewed the works of nature, yet dug to himself a dungeon, and filled it with the vainest idols;' and Plato, the *divine* Plato, according to the same high authority, was not only a 'well bred sophister, a tumid poet, and fanatical divine,' but he 'turned men's thoughts from the history of nature, and from things themselves, and taught the mind to enter into itself, and there, under the name of contemplation, to tumble over its own blind and confused idols.' Thus it was with those, who were called philosophers, and received the homage of the world for many ages, as the oracles of wisdom, and the true interpreters of nature. Aristotle wrote a history of animals; Theophrastus, his pupil, a treatise on stones, and another on plants; Pliny the elder compiled a work embracing all the branches of natural knowledge common in his time; but history acquaints us with little, that can be dignified with the name of science, till within two hundred years. Bacon himself was the first to detect the errors

of preceding times, to point the way and set the example in pursuing scientific inquiries, on just and permanent principles.

From that period the study of the sciences has been, not one of the most agreeable only, but most useful, which has engaged the efforts of genius and industry. If we take in the whole compass of the sciences, indeed, as embracing the works and laws of nature in their widest extent, it may safely be said, that the modern improvements in society, view them as you may, have been owing more to the investigations of science, than to all other causes. Look at the single discovery of Newton, in demonstrating the great law of the universe; trace this law from its action on the heavenly orbs, down to the minutest objects of nature around us, and behold it regulating every motion, sustaining the organization of matter, balancing the world on its centre, and ruling the affinities between the smallest particles in the masses of material things. Examine its operations as applied to chemistry, and witness the extraordinary and beneficial results, which have grown out of this science, since it has been pursued according to the principles of the new philosophy of Bacon and Newton. The recent triumphs of science are seen everywhere, giving a new aspect to social existence, improving the arts and multiplying the enjoyments of life; they are seen in the increased facilities of navigation and commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and the minor branches of industry. And what is more than all, a barrier has been fixed, beyond which the minds of men will not range in search of impossibilities and absurdities. Whole lives of labor and ingenious research will not be lost, as formerly, in dreaming about the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, and other vagaries of a bewildered brain. Truths have been discovered, and principles settled, which will serve as future guides, and help forward, to an indefinite limit, a knowledge of the properties, uses, and ends of nature.

But when we descend to what have been called, by way of distinction, the *natural sciences*, as applicable to the three great kingdoms of nature, the mineral, vegetable, and animal, the utility of such studies may seem less obvious. We apprehend, however, that, if the subject be viewed in its proper relations, no objection can be raised on this ground. There is doubtless nothing in the economy of nature, which may not be known to advantage by the beings, who live here in the midst of its infinitely varied operations, and who are furnished with capacities, which enable them to turn all knowledge to some useful ac-

count. Who can tell, moreover, how much one part depends on another; how much the mineral may affect the vegetable, and the vegetable the animal? We know that there are close affinities between the whole, that one relies on another for life and support, and that all contribute in general to the comfort of social man. Without aids from the mineral kingdom, we should be destitute of machinery and implements for executing the necessary operations in the arts of life; from animals and vegetables we are clothed and fed. Now it may not be clear at once, what special and immediate benefit will be conferred on the human race, by the labors of a life spent in gathering up, naming, and describing the shells, which are driven to the beach by the waves of the sea, or in examining and marking the peculiarities of different spires of grass and plants, that grow in wilds and solitudes; but let it be remembered, that great and substantial results can be brought only out of these minute investigations, that a methodical arrangement of all the parts is necessary to constitute a perfect whole; let this be realized, and these studies of the naturalist will be found to have important bearings.

The nomenclature of the sciences threatens, undoubtedly, to throw an embarrassing obstacle in the way of rapid inquiry, and to retard for a time the progress of desirable knowledge. Names are multiplying beyond the compass of memory, and almost beyond the acquisition of an ordinary life. There is no remedy for this inconvenience, but it will gradually be diminished. When all the marked varieties in the departments of nature shall have been examined, described, and named, the only task then to be accomplished will be to methodize and simplify the facts thus collected, and establish a permanent classification. The system of nature will then be exhibited in its harmony and beauty, and the extent to which its various parts may be converted to the uses of man will be understood; or, at least, all the elements necessary for pursuing the study with this view will be established.

So broad a range, indeed, we need not take, to discover the utility of the natural sciences. If nothing more were aimed at in pursuing them, than amusement, an agreeable occupation, or an elegant accomplishment, they would claim a distinguished rank among liberal studies. A mind trained to the accurate observation of nature will receive a tone, and possess resources fitting it for contentment and happiness, which it cannot derive in so high a degree from any other kinds of study. The

book of nature is always open, and the person, who from habit feels a pleasure in reading it, will ever have at hand the best antidotes against those common maladies of the mind, which beset the great mass of mankind for the want of engaging topics of thought, and incitements to application. Again, the natural sciences, as now pursued, contribute to the perfection of the arts, and the taste of the community is thereby refined, as its knowledge is enlarged, and means of enjoyment multiplied. To illustrate this fact, by eminent examples, we need only refer to Wilson's and Bonaparte's Ornithology, and Say's beautiful work on insects, all published in this country, and all, we will add, deserving a place in every collection of books, public or private, in which it is deemed an object to treasure up memorials of the talents, taste, and skill of those, who have made the most successful researches in our natural history, and published them in a style that does credit not more to the authors and artists, than to the nation.

But we are wandering wide of our purpose. We did not design, when we began, to read a solemn lecture on the ancients, nor to compose a dissertation on the dignity of science, nor to talk of the utility and influence of a just knowledge of nature; we set out with no other intention, than to hazard a few remarks on the two works, whose titles are printed at the head of this article. We say *hazard*, for really we have not the affectation to pretend to an acquaintance with the subjects on which these books treat, and therefore we shall not say a word about genus or species, nor discuss any such question as whether the 'Forktailed Flycatcher' is properly called *Muscicapa Tyrannus*, according to Linné, or *Tyrannus Savana*, as set forth by Vieillot, and adopted by Mr Bonaparte. Matters of this dignity belong only to the initiated, and should not be lightly handled. Besides, were we as deep in the mysteries of science, as Linné himself, or Buffon, our Journal would be no place in which to display this knowledge, either to instruct the unlearned, or to astonish the skilful by the compass of our attainments. After this frank acknowledgement, we hope no offence will be taken, that we should presume to review books, which we do not understand. A sad, dull, heartless employment indeed, would reviewers have of it, if they were to be shut up within these limits, and if all books must be understood before the critic can be allowed to sharpen his quill. In the first place, it may be charitably believed, that very few authors understand

what they write. Why deny to reviewers the same privilege? In the next place, the craft would soon come to an end, if such rigid rules were adopted; for how many can you find, who will confess, that they fully understand another's book, however successful the author himself may have been in fathoming his own thoughts? It is a well established axiom, in short, drawn from the practice of ages, that writing and understanding are quite different things. Let it not be charged against us, therefore, that we abet any innovation in uttering a few remarks, touching two books on ornithology, although we are fain to own, that we know not one bird from another, except as we see them flying in the air, or hear their warblings in their wonted haunts.

After these confessions, we presume our readers will be quite as well pleased to listen to the authors themselves, in their own language, as to anything we can say; and in this particular we shall gratify them pretty freely in what remains of this article. In addition to the high scientific value of these works, they present specimens of the most beautiful typography, accurate delineations from nature, and exquisite coloring, which have appeared in this country. The first, called a Supplement to Wilson's Ornithology, published by Mr Ord, contains several plates, which exhibit birds engraved from Wilson's original drawings, and intended by that distinguished ornithologist for a part of the ninth volume of his great work, had he lived to complete his task. Mr Ord deserves the warmest thanks of the public, for bringing forward these remains of Wilson, in a style so elegant, and with accompaniments, which give them additional value and interest. A large portion of the volume is occupied with a memoir of the author, interspersed with many original letters, and closed with a series of critical remarks by the editor on the various literary productions of the ornithologist. Although these materials are thrown together without studied method, or rigid selection, yet they are fraught with entertainment, and show the prominent points of his character in strong relief.

So much has already been said of Wilson, so justly are his labors appreciated, and so wide is his fame, that we shall forbear to enlarge on these topics. He was a Scotchman by birth; the first years of his residence in this country were devoted to schoolkeeping in Pennsylvania; an early acquaintance with the venerable Bartram kindled within him a love of science, and after he commenced his ornithological inquiries, he pursued them for the remaining short period of his life with an enthusiasm,

perseverance, and self devotion, which have rarely been equalled. He died in Philadelphia, August 23d, 1813, at the age of fortyseven. His *American Ornithology*, executed under every possible disadvantage, and with encouragement so slender, as hardly to keep him from the heavy pressure of want, is a monument to his name, that will never decay. The old world and the new will regard it with equal admiration. 'We may add, without hesitation,' says Mr Bonaparte, 'that such a work as he has published, in a new country, is still a desideratum in Europe.' To accomplish such a work, with all the facilities, which the arts and knowledge of Europe afford, would confer no common distinction; but when it is considered, that Wilson taught himself, almost unassisted, the arts of drawing and engraving; that he made his way in the science with very little aid from books or teachers; that he entered a path in which he could find no companions, none to stimulate his ardor by a similarity of pursuits or communion of feeling, none to remove his doubts, guide his inquiries, or to be deeply interested in his success; when these things are considered, the labors of Wilson must claim a praise, which is due to a few only of the solitary efforts of talent and enterprise.

In the strictest sense of the terms, Wilson was a man of genius; his perceptions were quick, his impressions vivid; a bright glow of feeling breathes through his compositions. In the professed walks of poetry his attempts were not often fortunate, but his prose writings partake of the genuine poetic spirit; a lively fancy, exuberance of thought, and minute observation of the natural world, are strongly indicated in whatever has flowed from his pen. He travelled for the double purpose of procuring subscriptions to his book, and searching the forests for birds; and some of his graphic descriptions of the scenery of nature, and the habits of the winged tribes, are inimitable. Sometimes he walked; at others descended rivers in a canoe; again he was on horseback, in a stagecoach, or a farmer's waggon, as the great ends of his wanderings could be most easily attained. The cold repulses of the many, from whom he solicited subscriptions, he bore with equanimity, undaunted by disappointment, unsubdued by toil and privation; the acquisition of a new bird, or of new facts illustrating the habitudes of those already known, was a fountain of joy in his gloomiest moments; it poured the waters of oblivion over the past, and gave him new energy in his onward course. The following beautiful extract is from a letter to Mr Bartram.

'That lovely season is now approaching, when the garden, woods, and fields, will again display their foliage and flowers. Every day we may expect strangers, flocking from the south, to fill our woods with harmony. The pencil of Nature is now at work, and outlines, tints, and gradations of lights and shades, that baffle all description, will soon be spread before us by that great master, our most benevolent friend and father. Let us cheerfully participate in the feast he is preparing for all our senses. Let us survey those millions of green strangers, just peeping into day, as so many happy messengers come to proclaim the power and munificence of the Creator. I confess, that I was always an enthusiast in my admiration of the rural scenery of Nature; but, since your example and encouragement have set me to attempt to imitate her productions, I see new beauties in every bird, plant, or flower, I contemplate; and find my ideas of the incomprehensible first cause still more exalted, the more minutely I examine his works.

'I sometimes smile to think that while others are immersed in deep schemes of speculation and aggrandizement—in building towns, and purchasing plantations, I am entranced in contemplation over the plumage of a lark, or gazing like a despairing lover, on the lineaments of an owl. While others are hoarding up their bags of money, without the power of enjoying it, I am collecting, without injuring my conscience, or wounding my peace of mind, those beautiful specimens of Nature's works, that are forever pleasing. I have had live crows, hawks, and owls—opossums, squirrels, snakes, lizards, &c. so that my room has sometimes reminded me of Noah's Ark; but Noah had a wife in one corner of it, and in this particular our parallel does not altogether tally. I receive every subject of natural history that is brought me; and though they do not march into my ark from all quarters, as they did into that of our great ancestor, yet I find means, by the distribution of a few five penny *bits*, to make them find the way fast enough. A boy not long ago, brought me a large basket full of crows. I expect his next load will be bullfrogs, if I don't soon issue orders to the contrary. One of my boys caught a mouse in school, a few days ago, and directly marched up to me with his prisoner. I set about drawing it that evening, and all the while the pantings of its little heart showed it to be in the most extreme agonies of fear. I had intended to kill it, in order to fix it in the claws of a stuffed owl, but happening to spill a few drops of water near where it was tied, it lapped it up with such eagerness, and looked in my face with such an eye of supplicating terror, as perfectly overcame me. I immediately untied it, and restored it to life and liberty. The agonies of a prisoner at the stake, while the fire

and instruments of torment are preparing, could not be more severe than the sufferings of that poor mouse; and insignificant as the object was, I felt at that moment the sweet sensations that mercy leaves on the mind when she triumphs over cruelty.' pp. 42, 43.

The passage, which we are now about to quote, is part of a letter to Alexander Lawson, dated Lexington, Kentucky, April 4th, 1810.

'Having now reached the *second* stage of my bird catching expedition, I willingly sit down to give you some account of my adventures and remarks since leaving Pittsburg; by the aid of a good map, and your usual stock of patience, you will be able to listen to my story, and trace all my wanderings. Though generally dissuaded from venturing by myself on so long a voyage down the Ohio, in an open skiff, I considered this mode, with all its inconveniences as the most favorable to my researches, and the most suitable to my funds, and I determined accordingly. Two days before my departure the Alleghany river was one wide torrent of broken ice, and I calculated on experiencing considerable difficulties on this score. My stock of provisions consisted of some biscuit and cheese, and a bottle of cordial, presented me by a gentleman of Pittsburg; my gun, trunk, and great coat, occupied one end of the boat; I had a small tin occasionally to bale her, and to take my beverage from the Ohio with; and bidding adieu to the smoky confines of Pitt, I launched into the stream, soon winding away among the hills that everywhere enclose this noble river. The weather was warm and serene, and the river like a mirror, except where floating masses of ice spotted its surface, and which required some care to steer clear of; but these to my surprise, in less than a day's sailing, totally disappeared. Far from being concerned at my new situation, I felt my heart expand with joy at the novelties which surrounded me; I listened with pleasure to the whistling of the red bird on the bank as I passed, and contemplated the forest scenery as it receded, with increasing delight. The smoke of the numerous sugar camps rising lazily among the mountains, gave great effect to the varying landscape; and the grotesque log cabins, that here and there opened from the woods, were diminished into mere dog-houses by the sublimity of the impending mountains. If you suppose to yourself two parallel ranges of forest covered hills, whose irregular summits are seldom more than three or four miles apart, winding through an immense extent of country, and enclosing a river half a mile wide, which alternately washes the steep declivity on one side, and leaves a rich flat forest clad bot-

tom on the other, of a mile or so in breadth, you will have a pretty correct idea of the appearance of the Ohio. The banks of these rich flats are from twenty to sixty and eighty feet high, and even these last were within a few feet of being overflowed in December, 1808.

'I rowed twenty odd miles the first spell, and found I should be able to stand it perfectly well. About an hour after night I put up at a miserable cabin, fiftytwo miles from Pittsburg, where I slept on what I supposed to be corn stalks, or something worse; so preferring the smooth bosom of the Ohio to this *brush heap*, I got up long before day, and, being under no apprehension of losing my way, I again pushed out into the stream. The landscape on each side lay in one mass of shade, but the grandeur of the projecting headlands and vanishing points, or lines, were charmingly reflected in the smooth glassy surface below. I could only discover when I was passing a clearing by the crowing of cocks; and now and then in more solitary places the big horned owl made a most hideous hallowing that echoed among the mountains. In this lonesome manner, with full leisure for observation and reflection, exposed to hardships all day, and hard births all night, to storms of rain, hail, and snow, for it froze severely almost every night, I persevered, from the twentyfourth of February to Sunday evening, March 17th, when I moored my skiff safely in Bear Grass Creek, at the rapids of the Ohio, after a voyage of seven hundred and twenty miles.' pp. 217—220.

For the gratification of such of our readers, as have not seen Wilson's great work, we shall select one or two specimens of his descriptions, which are happy and well sustained.

'The plumage of the Mocking Bird, though none of the homeliest, has nothing gaudy or brilliant in it; and, had he nothing else to recommend him, would scarcely entitle him to notice; but his figure is well proportioned, and even handsome. The ease, elegance, and rapidity of his movements, the animation of his eye, and the intelligence he displays in listening, and laying up lessons from almost every species of the feathered creation within his hearing, are really surprising, and mark the peculiarity of his genius. To these qualities we may add that of a voice full, strong, and musical, and capable of almost every modulation, from the clear mellow tones of the wood thrush, to the savage screams of the bald eagle. In measure and accent he faithfully follows his originals. In force of sweetness and expression he great improves upon them. In his native groves, mounted upon the top of a tall bush or half grown tree, in the dawn of dewy morning, while the woods are already vocal with a multitude of warblers,

his admirable song rises preeminent over every competitor. The ear can listen to *his* music alone, to which that of all the others seems a mere accompaniment. Neither is this strain altogether imitative. His own native notes, which are easily distinguishable by such as are acquainted with those of our various song birds, are bold and full, and varied seemingly beyond all limits. They consist of short expressions of two, three, or at the most five or six syllables; generally interspersed with imitations, and all of them uttered with great emphasis and rapidity; and continued with undiminished ardor, for half an hour, or an hour, at a time. His expanded wings and tail, glistening with white, and the buoyant gaiety of his action, arresting the eye, as his song most irresistibly does the ear. He sweeps round with enthusiastic ecstasy. He mounts and descends as his song swells or dies away; and as my friend Mr Bartram has beautifully expressed it, "He bounds aloft with the celerity of an arrow, as if to recover or recal, his very soul, which expired in the last elevated strain." While thus exerting himself, a bystander, destitute of sight, would suppose that the whole feathered tribes had assembled together, on a trial of skill, each striving to produce his utmost effect, so perfect are his imitations. He many times deceives the sportsman, and sends him in search of birds that perhaps are not within miles of him; but whose notes he exactly imitates. Even birds themselves are frequently imposed on by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates; or dive with precipitation into the depths of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the Sparrowhawk.' pp. 205.

The description of the Bald Eagle is given with remarkable spirit, and with imagery so minute and glowing, as to attest its truth.

'This distinguished bird, as he is the most beautiful of his tribe in this part of the world, and the adopted *emblem* of our country, is entitled to particular notice. He has been long known to naturalists, being common to both continents, and occasionally met with from a very high northern latitude, to the borders of the torrid zone, but chiefly in the vicinity of the sea, and along the shores and cliffs of our lakes and large rivers. Formed by nature for braving the severest cold; feeding equally upon the produce of the sea, and of the land; possessing powers of flight capable of outstripping even the tempests themselves; unawed by anything but man; and from the ethereal heights to which he soars, looking abroad, at one glance, on an immeasurable expanse of forests, fields, lakes, and ocean, deep below him; he appears indifferent to the little localities of change of seasons; as in a few

minutes he can pass from summer to winter, from the lower to the higher regions of the atmosphere, the abode of eternal cold; and thence descend at will to the torrid or the arctic regions of the earth. He is therefore found at all seasons in the countries which he inhabits; but prefers such places as have been mentioned above, from the great partiality he has for fish.

'In procuring these he displays, in a very singular manner, the genius and energy of his character, which is fierce, contemplative, daring, and tyrannical; attributes not exerted but on particular ocasions; but when put forth, overwhelming all opposition. Elevated upon a high dead limb of some gigantic tree, that commands a wide view of the neighbouring shore and ocean, he seems calmly to contemplate the motions of the various feathered tribes that pursue their busy avocations below; the snow white gulls slowly winnowing the air; the busy tringæ coursing along the sands; trains of ducks streaming over the surface; silent and watchful cranes, intent and wading, clamorous crows, and all the winged multitudes that subsist by the bounty of this vast liquid magazine of nature. High over all these hovers one, whose action instantly arrests his attention. By his wide curvature of wing, and sudden suspension in air, he knows him to be the fish hawk settling over some devoted victim of the deep. His eye kindles at the sight, and balancing himself, with half opened wings, on the branch he watches the result. Down, rapid as an arrow from heaven, descends the distant object of his attention, the roar of its wings reaching the ear as it disappears in the deep, making the surges foam around. At this moment the looks of the Eagle are all ardor; and levelling his neck for flight, he sees the Fish Hawk emerge, struggling with his prey, and mounting into the air with screams of exultation. These are the signal for our hero, who, launching into the air, instantly gives chase, soon gains on the Fish Hawk, each exerts his utmost to mount above the other, displaying in these rencontres the most elegant and sublime aerial evolutions. The unincumbered Eagle rapidly advances, and is just on the point of reaching his opponent, when with a sudden scream, probably of despair and honest execration, the latter drops his fish; the Eagle poising himself for a moment, as if to take a more certain aim, descends like a whirlwind, snatches it in his grasp ere it reaches the water, and bears his ill gotten booty silently away to the woods.' pp. 207—209.

Mr Ord devotes several pages to criticisms on Wilson's writings, both in prose and poetry, which throughout bear the marks of fairness and discrimination; the partiality of friendship seems neither to have biassed the opinions, nor guided the pen of the

critic. As a poet, he allows his author very little merit, and justly considers his fame to rest on the extraordinary talents displayed in his Ornithology, and some parts of his epistolary writings. We have only to add, that we cannot commend Mr Ord's judgment in printing some of the letters, which he has selected from Wilson's correspondence. We refer particularly to parts of the letters from Boston, Washington, Charleston, and Savannah; and even a portion of the letter from Lexington, printed during his lifetime, might have been omitted with advantage. Wilson's quick observation must have discovered to him many things in his travels, which would appear peculiar, odd, or ludicrous, when compared with his local associations, and in a sportive hour there was no harm in describing them in his own way, for the amusement of a friend; but when such things are printed in a grave quarto, they are out of place, and produce a disagreeable, rather than a pleasing effect. Broad caricatures of the manners and habits of a people, drawn from the observations of a day, or perhaps an hour, however they may have beguiled a few of the writer's listless moments, or contributed to the gratification of his friends, are not matters for the world's instruction. In Lexington market Wilson saw, among other 'strange things, skinned squirrels cut up into quarters,' and his letter, announcing this important fact, was published not long afterward. Some patriotic Lexingtonian questioned the statement, and called it a joke. Wilson replied, that it was no joke, but a solemn matter of fact, correcting, however, a slight error from his note book, in which he had entered the word 'halves,' instead of 'quarters;' and so it was maintained, that, in Lexington, 'skinned squirrels were brought to market in the form of a saddle of venison, not in that of a leg or a shoulder of mutton.' This seems to have silenced the Lexingtonian, for we hear no more about him. The whole correspondence is recorded, however, in Mr Ord's Supplement. We repeat, in short, that a more rigid selection would have been just to the fame of Wilson, and added to the value of this volume.

It has already been mentioned, that Wilson died before his work was completed. It is the professed object of Mr Bonaparte to carry through the unfinished design of his predecessor. The first volume is published, and two more are to follow, which, together with the nine volumes of Wilson, he thinks will complete the whole subject of American Ornithology. Of the

scientific merits of Mr Bonaparte's labors, we have said enough to show, that it is not for us to judge, but we may safely testify our admiration of the beautiful manner, in which every part of this first volume has been executed. Neither trouble nor expense has been spared, and the author, artists, and publisher claim unqualified praise, each in his respective department. The drawing, engraving, and coloring of the birds are in the very first style, and show a manifest improvement in these arts since the time of Wilson. The author tells us, that the drawings were made by Mr Titian Peale 'from the recent bird, and not from preserved specimens.' This advantage the artist was enabled to possess by his wide travels, and particularly with Major Long, in his Expedition to the Rocky Mountains. From drawings thus prepared, the engravings were executed by Mr Lawson, who distinguished himself in engraving some of Wilson's birds, and who, from his long practice and skill, it is said, 'may be justly styled the first ornithological engraver of our age.' The coloring was done 'from nature' by Mr Rider. We have been thus particular in mentioning names, because excellence of so high an order, as these specimens of art indicate, deserves to be commemorated. Nor should the part performed by Mr Mitchell, the publisher, be passed over, in these days of wretched printing. A more splendid work, as a whole, we certainly have never seen from the American press. Posterity will regard it among the Aldines of our day.

Two or three of Mr Bonaparte's descriptions must suffice, as the only tribute, which we are qualified to render to his talents as an ornithologist; though we accord to him cheerfully the fame he holds among those, who are in the highest ranks of science, and we will not be backward in expressing our due share of gratitude to a foreigner, of his qualifications, who has made his home among us, and takes so deep and practical an interest in the scientific progress of our country. To this sentiment we believe there is no American, whose heart will not respond, and who will not look with eager hope to the successful prosecution of Mr Bonaparte's ornithological labors, or any other projects of science, in which his taste or leisure may incline him to engage.

The following is an extract from Mr Bonaparte's curious account of the Burrowing Owl.

'Venerable ruins, crumbling under the influence of time and vicissitudes of season, are habitually associated with our recol-

lections of the Owl; or he is considered as the tenant of sombre forests, whose nocturnal gloom is rendered deeper and more awful by the harsh dissonance of his voice. In poetry he has long been regarded as the appropriate concomitant of darkness and horror; and, when heard screaming from the topmost fragments of some mouldering wall, whose ruggedness is but slightly softened by the mellowing moonlight, imagination loves to view him as a malignant spirit, hooting triumphantly over the surrounding desolation! But we are now to make the reader acquainted with an Owl to which none of these associations can belong; a bird, that, so far from seeking refuge in the ruined habitations of man, fixes its residence within the earth; and, instead of concealing itself in solitary recesses of the forest, delights to dwell on open plains, in company with animals remarkable for their social disposition, neatness, and order. Instead of sailing heavily forth in the obscurity of the evening or morning twilight, and then retreating to mope away the intervening hours, our Owl enjoys the broadest glare of the noon day sun, and flying rapidly along, searches for food or pleasure during the cheerful light of day.'

'The votaries of natural science must always feel indebted to the learned and indefatigable Say, for the rich collection of facts he has made whenever opportunities have been presented, but more especially in the instance of this very singular bird, whose places of resort in this country, are too far distant to allow many the pleasure of examining for themselves. We feel doubly disposed to rejoice, that the materials for the history of our birds, are drawn from his ample store, both on account of their intrinsic excellence, and because it affords us an opportunity of evincing our admiration of the zeal, talents, and integrity, which have raised this man to the most honorable and enviable eminence as a naturalist.'

'In the trans-Mississippian territories of the United States, the Burrowing Owl resides exclusively in the villages of the Marmot, or Prairie Dog, whose excavations are so commodious, as to render it unnecessary that our bird should dig for himself, as he is said to do in other parts of the world, where no burrowing animals exist. The villages are very numerous, and variable in their extent, sometimes covering only a few acres, and at others spreading over the surface of the country for miles together.

'They are composed of slightly elevated mounds, having the form of a truncated cone, about two feet in width at base, and seldom rising as high as eighteen inches above the surface of the soil. The entrance is placed either at the top or on the side, and the whole mound is beaten down externally, espe-

cially at the summit, resembling a much used foot path. From the entrance, the passage into the mound descends vertically for one or two feet, and is thence continued obliquely downwards, until it terminates in an apartment, within which the industrious Marmot constructs, on the approach of the cold season, the comfortable cell for his winter's sleep. This cell, which is composed of fine dry grass, is globular in form, with an opening at top capable of admitting the finger; and the whole is so firmly compacted, that it might, without injury, be rolled over the floor.

'It is delightful during fine weather, to see these lively little creatures sporting about the entrance of their burrows, which are always kept in the neatest repair, and are often inhabited by several individuals. When alarmed, they immediately take refuge in their subterranean chambers, or if the dreaded danger be not immediately impending, they stand near the brink of the entrance, bravely barking and flourishing their tails, or else sit erect to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy.

'The mounds thrown up by the Marmot in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, have an appearance of greater antiquity than those observed on the far distant plains. They sometimes extend to several yards in diameter, although their elevation is trifling, and, except immediately surrounding the entrance, are clothed with a scanty herbage, which always distinguishes the area of these villages. Sometimes several villages have been observed almost entirely destitute of vegetation; and recollecting that the Marmot feeds exclusively on grasses and herbaceous plants, it seems singular, that this animal should always choose the most barren spot for the place of his abode. However this may be accounted for, it at least affords an opportunity of beholding the approach of his enemies, and allows him to seek, within the bosom of the earth, that security which he has neither strength nor arms to command.

'In all these Prarie Dog villages the Burrowing Owl is seen moving briskly about, or else in small flocks scattered among the mounds, and at a distance it may be mistaken for the Marmot itself, when sitting erect. They manifest but little timidity, and allow themselves to be approached sufficiently close for shooting; but if alarmed, some or all of them soar away, and settle down again at a short distance; if further disturbed, their flight is continued until they are no longer in view, or they descend into their dwellings, whence they are difficult to dislodge.'

'The burrows into which these Owls have been seen to descend, on the plains of the river Platte, where they are the most numerous, were evidently excavated by the Marmot, whence it has been inferred by Say, that they were either common, though

unfriendly residents of the same habitation, or that our Owl was the sole occupant of a burrow acquired by the right of conquest. The evidence of this was clearly presented, by the ruinous condition of the burrows tenanted by the Owl, which were frequently caved in, and their sides channelled by the rains, while the neat and well preserved mansion of the Marmot, showed the active care of a skilful and industrious owner. We have no evidence that the Owl and Marmot habitually resort to one burrow; yet we are assured by Pike, and others, that a common danger often drives them into the same excavation, where lizards and rattlesnakes also enter for concealment and safety.' pp. 68—71.

The author dwells at much length on the description of the Wild Turkey, which is accompanied with a beautiful drawing. He asserts manfully the original claim of America to this bird. The first certain account of it, he says, was written in 1525, by Oviedo, in his History of the West Indies. It was sent from Mexico to Spain, in the early part of the sixteenth century, and thence to England about the year 1524. By degrees it spread over Europe, and within a century was introduced into Asia, Africa, and the European colonies. The origin of the English name, *Turkey*, as applied to this bird, is a little singular. It was first brought to England at a time, when it was customary to denote articles of luxury from foreign countries by this appellation, and as this bird was a delicacy of novel and rare occurrence, it took the same name. This error was perpetuated, from the circumstance of its being supposed to have come, through Spain, from Asia or Africa. Some naturalists represented it as having been known to the ancients, but they confounded it with the Guinea Fowl. The Turkey is in fact indigenous in America, and was a stranger to the old world, till after the discoveries of Columbus. Mr Bonaparte has given a list of twentyseven names, by which it has been called among different tribes of Indians. From the author's full description of this bird, we shall select two or three paragraphs, in which are exhibited some of its habits.

'When about to cross a river, they select the highest eminences, that their flight may be the more certain; and here they sometimes remain for a day or more, as if for the purpose of consultation, or to be duly prepared for so hazardous a voyage. During this time the males gobble obstreperously, and strut with extraordinary importance, as if they would animate their companions, and inspire them with the utmost degree of hardihood;

the females and young also assume much of the pompous air of the males, the former spreading their tails, and moving silently around. At length the assembled multitude mount to the tops of the highest trees, whence, at a signal note from a leader, the whole together wing their way towards the opposite shore. All the old and fat ones cross without difficulty, even when the river exceeds a mile in width; but the young, meagre, and weak, frequently fall short of the desired landing, and are forced to swim for their lives. This they do dexterously enough, spreading their tails for a support, closing their wings to the body, stretching their neck forwards, and striking out quickly and forcibly with their legs, If in thus endeavoring to gain the land, they approach an elevated or inaccessible bank, their exertions are remitted, they resign themselves to the stream for a short time, in order to gain strength, and then with one violent effort, escape from the water. But in this attempt, all are not successful; some of the weaker, as they cannot rise sufficiently high in air to clear the bank, fall again and again into the water, and thus miserably perish. Immediately after these birds have succeeded in crossing a river, they for some time ramble about without any apparent unanimity of purpose, and a great many are destroyed by the hunters, although they are then least valuable.'

'These birds are guardians of each other, and the first who sees a Hawk or Eagle gives a note of alarm, on which all within hearing lie close to the ground. As they usually roost in flocks, perched on the naked branches of trees, they are easily discovered by the large Owls, and when attacked by these prowling birds, often escape by a somewhat remarkable manœuvre. The Owl sails around the spot to select his prey; but notwithstanding the almost inaudible action of his pinions, the quick ear of one of the slumberers perceives the danger, which is immediately announced to the whole party by a *chuck;* thus alarmed, they rise on their legs, and watch the motions of the Owl, who, darting like an arrow, would inevitably secure the individual at which he aimed, did not the latter suddenly drop his head, squat, and spread his tail over his back; the Owl then glances over without inflicting any injury, at the very instant that the Turkey suffers himself to fall headlong towards the earth, where he is secure from his dreaded enemy.'

'Wild Turkeys are very tenacious of their feeding grounds, as well as of the trees on which they have once roosted. Flocks have been known to resort to one spot for a succession of years, and to return after a distant emigration in search of food. Their roosting place is mostly on a point of land jutting into a river, where there are large trees. When they have collected at the

signal of a repeated gobbling, they silently proceed towards their nocturnal abodes, and perch near each other; from the numbers sometimes congregated in one place, it would seem to be the common rendezvous of the whole neighborhood. But no position, however secluded or difficult of access, can secure them from the attacks of the artful and vigilant hunter, who, when they are all quietly perched for the night, takes a stand previously chosen by daylight; and, when the rising moon enables him to take sure aim, shoots them down at leisure, and, by carefully singling out those on the lower branches first, he may secure nearly the whole flock, neither the presence of the hunter, nor the report of his gun intimidating the Turkeys, although the appearance of a single Owl would be sufficient to alarm the whole troop; the dropping of their companions from their sides excites nothing but a buzzing noise, which seems more expressive of surprise than fright. This fancied security, or heedlessness of danger, while at roost, is characteristic of all the gallinaceous birds of North America.' pp. 82—91.

In connexion with these characteristics of the Turkey, and the description of the Bald Eagle above quoted, it may be no improper place here to introduce Dr Franklin's humorous remarks, as contained in one of his letters, concerning the bird, which was chosen for the emblem of our nation.

'"Others object to the Bald Eagle," says he, "as looking too much like a *Dindon*, or Turkey. For my own part, I wish the Bald Eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of a bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the Fishing Hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to its nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the Bald Eagle pursues him, and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case; but like those among men, who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward; the little Kingbird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is, therefore, by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the *Kingbirds* from our country; though exactly fit for that order of Knights, which the French call *Chevaliers d'Industrie*. I am on this account not displeased that the figure is not known as a Bald Eagle, but looks more like a Turkey. For in truth the Turkey is, in comparison, a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America.

Eagles have been found in all countries, but the Turkey was peculiar to ours. He is besides, (though a little vain and silly, 'tis true, but not the worse emblem for that,) a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British guards, who should presume to invade his farm yard with a red coat on."' p. 95.

In closing this article we owe it to ourselves to state, that we cannot pretend to have rendered justice to the peculiar merits of the authors, whose works we have, perhaps too unadvisedly, taken in hand. If any shall be incited, by what has been said, to consult the volumes themselves, and bestow their praise and patronage on so noble an enterprise, our end will be answered.

ART. VIII.—1. *A Discourse pronounced before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at the Anniversary Celebration, on the Thirtyfirst day of August*, 1826. By JOSEPH STORY. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 1826.

2. *An Oration pronounced at New Haven, before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa, September* 12, 1826. *On some of the Considerations, which should influence an Epic or a Tragic Writer, in the Choice of an Era.* By JAMES A. HILLHOUSE. New Haven. A. H. Maltby & Co. 1826.

SIR WILLIAM JONES has remarked, while referring to the beauty of some of the oriental manuscripts, that he could almost find it in his heart, to regret the invention of the art of printing. We do not carry the passion for calligraphy to this extent; nor would we carry any passion to the extent of leading us to regret the art of printing. As there is, however, a bright and a dark side to all things, it is not unprofitable occasionally to consider the evils, which are incident to the growth and diffusion of great improvements. Simply to suppose that we are positive gainers, by all the difference between the refined arts of modern life and the ruder processes of antiquity, is to fall into great error. Every discovery and every invention, which effects a great change in human pursuits, although in the long run it may be most highly beneficial, not only must be qualified by some evil consequences directly incident to it, but by the loss of some advantages of the previously existing arrangement, which are displaced and destroyed by the innovation.

This reflection is more important to be made, by way of explaining the otherwise seemingly inexplicable fact, that after all the brilliant improvements, inventions, and discoveries of the modern world, the general impression left on the mind, after forming an acquaintance with the moral and social character and condition of men, in the civilized states of antiquity and of the modern world, certainly is, that there is no such vast difference between them; that between ancient literature and modern literature there is by no means that contrast, which prevails between manuscript circulation and the circulation by the press; and, in a word, that in the possession of means and instruments, seemingly so much more powerful, various, and numerous, the grand and final effect on human character is by no means so much greater, than that of the ancient means and instruments of improvement, as might have been expected. In saying this, we design by no means to disturb the old controversy, on the comparative merit of the ancients and moderns; nor to wake from their long rest the shades of Tassoni, Perrault, or Wotton. We are willing to grant that, in the result of a general induction, improvements of most brilliant character, and in vast numbers, have been made by the moderns over the ancients; but in the last and great effect of all improvements, the formation of character, we confess our doubts whether modern history presents a larger average of mature, elevated, and finished character than ancient history.

The only application, which we wish at present to make of this remark, is to say, that among those favorable circumstances, which, to a certain degree, compensated for the deficiencies of the ancient arts and improvements, was the superior activity of the social principle. The modern arts, resulting in a division of labor, have broken up the combinations of men, which were formerly necessary, and sent each to his cell, to work out by himself, and with the co-operation of his new found enginery, those effects, which, in an earlier stage of society, were produced by processes more dependent on social union. This applies, if to nothing else, most certainly to the effect of the art of printing on literature. Where no mode of publication existed, but the tedious one of manuscript transcription, the reading of prose works, and the recitation or chanting of poetical works, to assembled multitudes, on triumphant occasions, on festal days, in the temples, and at the games, was, in the first instance, the necessary mode of communication. The historian and the poet, who would make their productions known, were obliged to go

with them to the resorts of their countrymen. As secondary, but at the same time highly stimulating and efficient consequences, were the animation resulting from the numbers of a living audience; the added graces of elocution in the reading and declamation; the instrumental accompaniment of the lyrical chant; perhaps the rival exhibition of contemporary authors, drawn together for the same object; and at all events, the cheering and kindling sympathy of the allied arts, of the liberal sports, and of the gorgeous pageantry of the festivals or the games.

Herodotus read a portion of his History in the assembly at Athens, and at the Olympic games. It would not be difficult, we suppose, to make this sound very ridiculous, by an ill applied reference to modern analogy. We will even own, that if Hume had undertaken to go through his History at a Westminster meeting, in New Palace Yard; or Chief Justice Marshal should insist upon running over his five volumes, upon the turf at the Long Island races, it might in either case, without any disparagement to these honored names, be rather a tedious affair to the assembled multitudes. But we apprehend, that when the father of history rehearsed his Muses to the Athenian people; and when Pindar sung his Olympian lyrics, in the temple of Jupiter at Elis, it was an exhibition as auspicious to the general power and effect of literature on the improvement of a people, as that of a pile of nicely bound volumes in the window of a bookseller's shop, to be taken home and carefully conned in private.

If we go farther back into antiquity, to the period of the epic muse, and allow ourselves to consider the Iliad and Odyssey as the growth of an age, which knew no tablets but the hearts and memories of a delighted audience, catching and treasuring the strains of the wandering minstrel; and then compare these poems, even as productions of art, with the best, which art aiding genius has since produced, we shall feel more strongly the truth of the proposition with which we started. For be it also remembered, that under a dispensation of printed literature, we can with less confidence argue from a distinguished writer to an enlightened community. We frequently behold the phenomenon of what is called 'a man in advance of his age;' as well we may. For where a man is enabled, as all are to a certain degree enabled, to form and to improve himself, without that action and reaction of society anciently so essential, he may, in the exercise of strong powers in a happy direction, leave his

contemporaries in the rear. But in antiquity, the author was formed much more by the audience. That, which is written to be recited, declaimed, and chanted, implies a community prepared to relish and appreciate it. A minstrel poetry, especially, cannot rise far above the level of the taste and intelligence of the age; and we think it quite fair to argue, for instance, that the period of the world, when the sixth canto of the Iliad formed the entertainment of some hero's festal board, or the interlude of the games at some public celebration, though it were a period more remote than the return of the Heraclidæ, the siege of Troy, ay, or the expedition of the Argonauts, was no savage period. The conception of the scene of Hector and Andromache is one of civilized life; it is the conception of an age of sentiment, exclusively as that is claimed for the modern world and the romantic nations.

Every institution, in modern times, which has the effect of adding to the advantages peculiar to the art of printing, those which belonged to the ancient forms of literature, promises the beneficial result of a double agency in promoting the improvement of society. It may even be necessary to aim at such a combination, by way of corrective of those evils, which our new and all powerful arts have introduced. It is precisely these objects, which we think may be attained by our literary societies. An assembly composed chiefly of well educated and intelligent persons, collected under the sanction and within the precincts of respectable establishments for education, addressed on literary topics by men of science and letters, under circumstances likely to produce a great effort to excel, is no faint image of the assemblies of the ancient world, before which the great productions of cultivated minds were exhibited. It is true, these assemblies are with us occasional; anciently, they were essential; here they are a relaxation; to the elder world they were an important part of the organization of social life. Everything, however, which is done to give dignity and interest to these assemblies, has a favorable operation and tendency of the kind alluded to. Science is wooed from her cell. She casts off her monkish stole, and relaxes from her stern and melancholy aspect. The cheerful countenances of an intelligent assembly, the welcome note of applause, the animation of the living voice, the communication of thought, feeling, and sentiment from breast to breast, on topics of polite literature, of taste, or of philosophy, make these occasions a source of high gratifica-

tion, and ultimately must make them the means of essential and wide spread benefit. No pains should be spared, to add to their interest and importance, by the selection of those, who are able and willing to render them attractive.

The public taste of our community runs decidedly, but by no means too strongly, in favor of holidays of all kinds, and especially those of a literary character. Respectable as some of them are already, they are likely to become more so, by the honorable rivalry of sister institutions, by the improved character of the audiences usually assembled, and by the consequently strengthened demand for talent to entertain and satisfy a fastidious assembly. It is now several years, since on occasion of the public appearance of the lamented Buckminster, on the anniversary of the society of Phi Beta Kappa at Cambridge, the public attention and curiosity were excited and gratified to a degree, which has left a permanent and not yet expended effect. To this institution, we are accordingly indebted for almost the only literary effort of one of the most accomplished of our scholars and one of the most elegant of our writers. His performance on the occasion alluded to, will ever remain a jewel in our literature. It is matter of serious regret, that the combination of certain exercises of a totally different character, we mean the prize declamations, with the performances of the society, should have been allowed to take place. The audience, collected for a different object, is thus preoccupied and wearied out; and what might in itself be the most rational and agreeable of our purely literary festivals, is made tedious and fatiguing. Believing these to be the feelings of the public, we hope the encroachment here alluded to will be abated.

For the reasons to which we have already referred, we think the public gratitude is due to the eminent jurist, to whom we owe the first of the performances named at the head of this article. We regard him as deserving well of our republic of letters, for lending the sanction of his name and of his example to this literary celebration; as he has especially so deserved of it, by his well conceived, well digested, and well written Discourse. Most of the readers of this Journal are already acquainted with it, and it scarcely needs our aid, either by way of analyzing or extracting, to make it known to the literary public, in proportion to its merits. It is indeed a highly finished sketch of a most extensive subject, presenting nothing less than a discriminating, comprehensive, and accurate review of the present state of

science and letters, particularly in this country, by way of marking the characteristics and peculiarities of the age and of its cultivation. It is a report from a strong, highly cultivated, and richly stored mind, not of some single professional study, not of some favorite branch of individual pursuit, but of the whole broad domain of intellectual culture, as presenting itself to a mind competent and resolved to go along with the age. It is the less easy to attempt any selection or comparison of the parts of this performance, as one of its merits is the ready transition from one member to another of a long series of interesting topics, treated in due proportion to their relative importance, all with spirit, and many with felicity and power. Were we to make an indication, by way of specimen, we should say, that the remarks on female education, on classical learning, and on the deceased patriarchs of America, were among those, to which the reader might first turn back, to prolong and repeat the gratification of the perusal.

'Nor should it be overlooked, what a beneficial impulse has been thus communicated to education among the female sex. If christianity may be said to have given a permanent elevation to woman, as an intellectual and moral being, it is as true, that the present age, above all others, has given play to her genius, and taught us to reverence its influence. It was the fashion of other times to treat the literary acquirements of the sex, as starched pedantry, or vain pretensions; to stigmatize them as inconsistent with those domestic affections and virtues, which constitute the charm of society. We had abundant homilies read upon their amiable weaknesses and sentimental delicacy, upon their timid gentleness and submissive dependence; as if to taste the fruit of knowledge were a deadly sin, and ignorance were the sole guardian of innocence. Their whole lives were "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," and concealment of intellectual power was often resorted to, to escape the dangerous imputation of masculine strength. In the higher walks of life, the satirist was not without color for the suggestion, that it was

"A youth of folly, an old age of cards;"

and that elsewhere, "most women had no character at all," beyond that of purity and devotion to their families. Admirable as are these qualities, it seemed an abuse of the gifts of Providence to deny to mothers the power of instructing their children, to wives the privilege of sharing the intellectual pursuits of their husbands, to sisters and daughters the delight of ministering knowledge in the fireside circle, to youth and beauty the charm of refined sense, to age and infirmity the consolation of studies,

which elevate the soul and gladden the listless hours of despondency.

'These things have in a great measure passed away. The prejudices, which dishonored the sex, have yielded to the influence of truth. By slow but sure advances education has extended itself through all ranks of female society. There is no longer any dread, lest the culture of science should foster that musculine boldness or restless independence, which alarms by its sallies, or wounds by its inconsistencies. We have seen that here, as every where else, knowledge is favorable to human virtue and human happiness; that the refinement of literature adds lustre to the devotion of piety; that true learning, like true taste, is modest and unostentatious; that grace of manners receives a higher polish from the discipline of the schools; that cultivated genius sheds a cheering light over domestic duties, and its very sparkles, like those of the diamond, attest at once its power and its purity. There is not a rank of female society however high, which does not now pay homage to literature, or that would not blush even at the suspicion of that ignorance, which a half century ago was neither uncommon nor discreditable. There is not a parent, whose pride may not glow at the thought, that his daughter's happiness is in a great measure within her own command, whether she keeps the cool sequestered vale of life, or visits the busy walks of fashion.

'A new path is thus opened for female exertion, to alleviate the pressure of misfortune, without any supposed sacrifice of dignity or modesty. Man no longer aspires to an exclusive dominion in authorship. He has rivals or allies in almost every department of knowledge; and they are to be found among those, whose elegance of manners and blamelessness of life command his respect, as much as their talents excite his admiration. Who is there, that does not contemplate with enthusiasm the precious fragments of Elizabeth Smith, the venerable learning of Elizabeth Carter, the elevated piety of Hannah More, the persuasive sense of Mrs Barbauld, the elegant memoirs of her accomplished niece, the bewitching fictions of Madame D' Arblay, the vivid, picturesque, and terrific imagery of Mrs Radcliffe, the glowing poetry of Mrs Hemans, the matchless wit, the inexhaustible conversations, the fine character painting, the practical instructions of Miss Edgeworth, the great KNOWN, standing in her own department by the side of the great UNKNOWN?' pp. 15—18.

We were more especially gratified by the remarks on classical literature, as being made at a seasonable moment, and as an authority not open to suspicion. To the testimony of professedly academical men, those whose habits are formed to the

study of the ancients, and still more those whose reputation and interest are connected with that study, it is always easy to object a selfish bias. It is not easy to make such an objection, with much plausibility, against the authority of Mr Justice Story, a man, who, however, meritorious as a scholar, owes his standing in society to a different kind of learning; and whose prepossessions must of necessity be such as are formed in the busy practice of the most practical of professions. The testimony of such a man possesses all the weight which is due to mere authority of any kind, and which, though no reverencers of mere authority, we think ought to be regarded, in the present case, as a counterpoise to the weight of authorities, which have lately been busily accumulated in the opposite scale. The truth, however, here, as in most other controversies, is in the golden mean, where it is placed in fact by the discriminating observations of Mr Justice Story. To deny all importance and all value to the study of classical literature, is a bigotry just as ridiculous, as to make that study the sole business of education. Most of the argumentation at present current on this head is aimed at particular abuses; at the extravagances of individuals; or at the excess of that which is good in moderation; or the wrong application of what is good in the right place. The most illogical confusion, moreover, prevails, of the different objects to be attained, by the study of the ancient languages.

This study may be pursued by the man of taste, for the literature of which they are the depository; by the historian, not merely in order to be sure of the sense of historical authorities, but in order to get at what is sometimes the only clew to be had, to the affinity of nations; by the philosopher of the mind, in order to survey the operations of the human intellect to the greatest advantage in the structure of the most perfect systems of expressing thought; by the members of the different professions, in order to master that portion of the literature of their professions, which is contained in these languages; and what is still different from all the rest, this study may be pursued at school and at college, as the study which is found, upon the whole, to furnish the most eligible basis of education. A great part of what we have seen written and heard said of late, on the topic of the languages, resolves itself into showing that the reasons which recommend the study to one class of men do not apply to others. In reference to the last mentioned use of the dead languages, namely, that of being a convenient basis for educa-

tion, the argument against them has the advantage of confining itself to pointing out the objections to this study. We have not perceived any attempt to name any other study or system of studies, which, generally introduced into our schools and colleges as the occupation of that part of the time spent on the languages, would serve a better purpose. One thing we will say, from some experience and some observation, that the chemistry, the mineralogy, the geology, the geography, the history, the ethics of children eight years old are not worth a groat; and that the study of the languages, on judicious principles, is well calculated to exercise and train every power of their minds.

But it is time to make more particular allusion to the other performance, which is named at the head of this article, the Oration of Mr Hillhouse, at New Haven. Its subject is stated to be 'some of the considerations, which should influence an epic or tragic writer, in the choice of an era.' The high reputation of Mr Hillhouse as a poet, naturally awakens a curiosity to hear him discourse of the secrets of the art. We would learn, if possible, the process by which a gifted genius is conscious of aiming to exercise its peculiar mastery over the minds and hearts of men. The present performance consists of a description and comparison of what are styled the Classic, Romantic, and Scripture eras, in reference to their adaptation for the purposes of poetry; and especially of epic and dramatic poetry. The plan accordingly affords scope for a number of fine observations on the influence of society and manners on the efforts of genius. Mr Hillhouse has entered, to a considerable extent, into the comparison of the Classic and Romantic schools, a distinction first raised into celebrity, if not suggested, by the Schlegels and Madame de Staël. In separating the Scripture era from the Romantic, and making a third school out of the materials which it presents, Mr Hillhouse has proposed a new distinction, which it may not be easy to bring into systematic connexion with the other two. We understand the genius of the Romantic poetry to be the peculiar character of the North, united with the spirituality of revealed religion; and in his delineation of the second school, or that of Romantic poetry, Mr Hillhouse resorts to the influence of the true religion as the source of some of the best of its qualities. Whether there is, in fact, any such thing as the distinction set up by the continental critics, and not yet well rooted in England and America, of a Classic and Romantic school, is with us a matter of doubt. But

whether the existing phenomena of the poetical world afford materials for still a third distinction; whether there is, or can be, in the nations of European race, a school of poetry, which is neither Classic nor Romantic, may much more strongly admit of question. To deal fairly, however, by Mr Hillhouse, we will quote the passage, in which he makes this distinction.

'The source last alluded to, is separate and distinct,—of loftier character and more sublime associations. It is the blended history and poetry of a peculiar people. It celebrates, not the actions of fabulous heroes, not the extermination of imaginary monsters, not the exploits of the barbarous nobility of a bloody age; it treasures not the responses of lying oracles, nor the predictions of Flamens and Augurs; it is the sacred and eternal witness of the faith of patriarchs, of the truth of prophets, of the valor of godlike kings; of the existence, agency, and purposes of invisible spirits; of the power, providence, and immutable character of God; it is strewed with flowers of paradise, it wafts to our souls the breath of Heaven, its inspiration is the efflux of the Holy One. Its mighty influence on the character of man, and on the spirit of poetry, has been alluded to. At the unconsuming fire of the Hebrew Scriptures, it is acknowledged that the greatest masters have kindled their sublimity, and from the tender legacy of our Savior, snatched their finest traits of disinterestedness and love.' pp. 19, 20.

If it be meant merely here to speak, as a matter of fact, of the sacred history as a separate field, in which to fix the action of an epical or a dramatic composition, the question is indeed narrowed; and it is then obvious to remark, that a poem or a sacred subject may be, accordingly as it is treated, a Classic or a Romantic poem. Thus we suppose, for we profess not to be very deep in this chapter, that the Athalie of Racine is a Classic, and the Messiah of Klopstock a Romantic poem. The Bruto Secondo of Alfieri must certainly be Classic, although it is one of those tragedies, in which its author deprecatingly remarks, *in vece di donne, interlocutore e attore, fra molti altissimi personaggi, era il popolo.* Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar presents us the same subject on the same scene, the same high personages, and if not the same people, unquestionably a set of worthy citizens, possessing a much nearer resemblance, than the *popolo* of Alfieri, to the Roman *plebs.* But, nevertheless, we take Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar to be a Romantic tragedy; for if this be also Classic, then indeed that term is one of most ample comprehension.

Not, however, to enlarge on this, the question, whether the Scriptures and Scripture history afford favorable materials for poetry, is a very fair question; and is treated by Mr Hillhouse with spirit and taste, and in a highly glowing manner. Mr Hillhouse evidently feels, as he expresses, a strong prepossession in favor of this source of poetical associations; and the success of his own efforts on Scripture subjects accounts for and justifies the preference.

He discusses with much ingenuity and fervor, and describes in the affirmative the question, which was so positively decided in the negative by Dr Johnson, regarding the aptness of sacred themes for the purposes of poetry. In the following judicious reflection, however, he has suggested to us a principle, in which is probably contained the whole practical philosophy of the subject.

'But whatever be the intrinsic merits of any era, there is a consideration, which may be paramount to them all. Subject to fortunate or sinister impressions, long before we can estimate their power, the mind sometimes receives early an unalterable bias. The strength of a second nature thus incorporated with our moral faculties, their successful exertion can only be in concert with it. Let no friendly adviser, no presuming critic, *no* external influence overrule an emphatic whisper from within. That inward monitor only knows the harp, which will respond to the poet's touch. Wherever it directs him—whether to the classic lyre, or the shell of heroes, or the wizard harp of fairyland, or the blood stirring string of the feudal minstrel, or the viol of a prophet or an angel, let him snatch that—from that or none, will he draw sounds of power.' p. 27.

There have been four epic poets in the world, generally considered as standing alone in a circle, to which no other has a full right to be introduced. We doubt if any inference can be drawn from the consideration of the subjects of their various poems, which authorizes the preference of any one era or region over others, as adapted to poetry. The materials of the Iliad are drawn from the heroic age of Greece, and, according to the general opinion, from that age, as contemplated by one, who lived not long after its close. The action of the Æneid is placed in a period somewhat similar, or rather in one which the poet has chosen to assimilate to the heroic age of Greece; for, in reality, Italy, at the time when the action of the Æneid is supposed to have taken place, no more resembled Greece in

the time of the Trojan war, than the Aztecs resembled the Vandals. In either case, a state of partial civilization is the only point of resemblance. Virgil, however, by a simple flourish of the wand, set down all Greece, men and gods, the manners of Troy and Olympus, among the Rutulians and the Etruscans. It would be hard to tell, what period furnished Dante with his materials. If any period or any region, it must be considered as Italy in the middle ages; for it is into the characters of his contemporaries, that most of the soul of his poetry is breathed. The Paradise Lost is built on materials, which purport to be drawn from Scripture history; but how little in it of what is most astonishing, beautiful, or pathetic, is to be traced to any other source than the poet's own invention! It is where he wanders widest from his directory, that his flight is most admired; and there is at least one eminent passage, the account of the Creation, in which the struggle between the record and invention manifestly embarrasses, and had well nigh proved too much for the poet. We feel almost inclined to say, that the choice of the subject and the theatre of the action, are of no consequence to the epic or the dramatic poet; that is, of the first rate excellence. It may be worth while, if a man thinks seriously of writing such a poem (to name one to which Mr Hillhouse alludes) as Samor, or Leonidas, or Madoc, or the Araucana, or the Henriade, to cast about him for a subject; to choose the right school, and obey all its laws. But the poet of epic genius is a school to himself, and critical disquisition on eras and countries, as far as such poets are concerned, is rather a subsequent description of the facts relative to their productions, than a direction, which a subsequent kindred genius can need, or will follow. There is one school, however, to which even genius may be exhorted to adhere; to which when it has adhered, it has wrought its greatest wonders. It is that school, in which Classic, and Romantic, and Hebrew are alike unknown; where ancient and modern cease to stand in contrast; the school of Nature. To the conceptions of this school belong the child of Hector, terrified at his father's plume; and the father setting his helmet to the ground, not so much that he may pray to the Divinity with his head uncovered, as to relieve his infant's terrors. In the fourth book of the Æneid, Virgil bursts away from the shackles of a cold imitation, is natural, and is beautiful. And what is it but nature, the human passions and affections, which, infused by Dante and by Milton into the breasts of

angels and demons, enable us to sympathize with beings in themselves too far above us or beneath us, for the uses of poetry. In this school, Shakspeare is most uniformly the master. He paints men; historically they are often most remote from their supposed originals. The Britons in Lear, are about as much like the inhabitants of England before the Romans, as they are like the Greeks or the Trojans. But it is no matter what he calls them. The historic names of Kent and Gloster may be grouped with Gonerils and Regans; the dynasty of Bruto with those of York and Lancaster. So too with his dramas in the region of ancient history. He sets before us men, and calls them Romans. In manners and tone, they are not Romans; but they are something better, they are men. Alfieri, on the other hand, introduces us to a circle of exceedingly senatorial and stately characters, who are dressed in a toga, swear by the immortal gods, and are Romans every inch of them, but are not men. It is acting, stage effect; not life and reality. And yet we hold of Alfieri, that he is the most gifted of those, to whom the true poetical inspiration has not been given. He added to talent, ambition, generosity, and courage, an ardent love of liberty; and it ought to be some title to consideration with an American critic, that he dedicated a tragedy to Washington.

But we have wandered farther than we designed from the immediate business before us. We owe to Mr Hillhouse acknowledgments like those, which we have already rendered to Mr Justice Story. He deserves the thanks of the community for a performance of great beauty, spirit, and taste; and for having done so much to add celebrity to the literary anniversary on which it was delivered. Besides a great deal of good sense, ingenious remark, and elegant learning in this discourse, there is, as might have been expected from Mr Hillhouse, not a little genuine poetry.

Art. IX.—*The Greek Lexicon of Schrevelius translated into English, with many Additions.* Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Company; University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf. 1826.

This work has many claims to attention, both from the importance of the department to which it belongs, and the very respectable names, which are offered as guaranties for the excellence of its execution. This effort to bring the study of the Greek language more directly within the notice and the means of every English scholar, is calculated to have a strong and salutary influence on the state of Greek erudition in the country. We have examined the present Lexicon with feelings of gratitude toward those, who have given us what was greatly desired, and are happy in making our acknowledgments to them for their endeavors to facilitate the study of the Greek, by availing themselves of the English idiom in the interpretation of the words.

Justice to the American editors requires, that all the faults, which may be observed in the work, should not be charged upon them; the original is answerable for the greater part. They do, indeed, make themselves reponsible for the signification annexed to each word. Schrevelius's Latin interpretations, they rightly observe, are often ambiguous and unsatisfactory; and 'they have, to the best of their ability, rendered the English explanations from the original Greek.' They have also endeavored to introduce all words, which occur in the books now studied in our schools; but, in this attempt, they do not flatter themselves that they have fully succeeded. In some instances they have marked the quantity of doubtful vowels, and the responsibility of this improvement rests entirely with them.

Before proceeding any further, we may be permitted to express our sincere respect for the original editor of the present work. Owing to the dilatory manner in which it has been prepared and published, Greek and English Lexicons have anticipated it; but it is due to Mr Pickering to say, that he was the first among us to set himself earnestly to the task of preparing such a Lexicon, and that his design was matured and laid before the public long before any similar work was announced in Great Britain. We mention this circumstance with satisfaction, as creditable to the state of learning among us, and as

particularly honorable to him, by whom the plan was thus early devised and partly executed; since his own generous love for letters interested him in the cause of Greek literature, who might have found, in the successful exercise of a laborious profession, a sufficient excuse for neglecting classical pursuits, and he has steadily prosecuted and accomplished a design, which no one but a man of literary leisure and habits, or of great perseverance, could have been expected to form. Professor Oliver, of Dartmouth College, translated about half of the work; the original editor made nearly all the additions, and revised the whole.

It is, indeed, remarkable, that it should have so long remained the practice to explain the Greek language through the medium of the Latin. At first it was the readiest course; for in all Europe the republic of letters numbered but few citizens; but why this custom has been continued in England is hard to determine, unless it be, that an intimate knowledge of the Latin was unreasonably and disproportionably valued, and the attachment to established usage unduly cherished. The views of the Preface on this point are sound, and the arguments used convincing. Schrevelius, with his Latin interpretations, will hardly be again printed in this country. The present translation supersedes its use entirely.

A Greek and English Lexicon was much desired and needed. It may, however, be a question with some whether Schrevelius, in the present state of Greek learning, is on the whole the best that could have been selected. On this subject it is proper for the editors to speak for themselves.

'The basis of the work is *Schrevelius's* well known Lexicon; which, on the whole, in the present state of Greek studies in this country, was thought preferable to any other manual adapted to *the use of schools.*

'That work has been long in general use in England, and has passed through numerous editions in that as well as other parts of Europe. Dr Knox, whose judgment in a question of practical education is entitled to much respect, in comparing it with the other Lexicons in use at the time when he wrote, observes, though perhaps in stronger terms than he would use at the present day, that "Schrevelius is with great propriety everywhere used; that it is particularly adapted to the Greek Testament and to Homer; and is well suited both to the beginner and to the proficient in Greek."

'The Editors are aware of the objections, which have been made to Schrevelius's work by some writers of authority; but those objections are almost exclusively applicable to the *Latin interpretation*, which, it must be acknowledged, is extremely defective. Considered, however, as a simple vocabulary of the Greek language, particularly with the numerous additions, which have been made of the words occurring in the various school books, that have been introduced since the author's time, it appears to be sufficiently ample and well suited to the use for which it was originally designed, the use of the younger classes of Greek students. Indeed, it would seem natural, that a work, which has been gradually built up and augmented with new words in proportion as the introduction of new books created new wants in our schools, should be sufficiently well adapted to those wants. This mode of constructing a work, however, by the labors of successive editors, undoubtedly exposes it to an objection of another kind, the want of unity in design and execution. But the want of that unity will not be so much felt in a dictionary as in books of some other descriptions. Schrevelius's work was originally extracted from that of Scapula (an edition of which he superintended), and seems to have been first published in 1654. It was more particularly intended for the Old and New Testaments, Homer, Hesiod, Musæus, Theognis, Pythagoras, and other Gnomic authors, Isocrates, Æsop, &c.; the author also made use of Portus's Ionic and Doric Lexicons, and the Lexicon to Pindar and the other Lyric poets. It was published several times on the continent of Europe during the author's life; and within that period was also republished in England by Hill, who enlarged it considerably, more particularly with words from the New Testament, the Septuagint, and the principal poets and orators, as well the school books of the day. He also added many of the aorists and other tenses, which are so profusely and unnecessarily scattered through the work. Besides the editorial labor bestowed upon it in England, it has received improvements in France, where a valuable edition of it was published in 1779, by the celebrated scholar Vauvilliers; who, as the late editor Lécluse observes, "mercilessly" retrenched all the expositions of the anomalous words and other parts of the work. These retrenchments have been restored by Lécluse, whose edition of 1819 is the latest French one that happens to have come to our knowledge. Of the other editions, we have before us the Italian one in folio, and a German one, reprinted from the Paris copy, at Vienna, in 1822, under the editorial superintendence of Kritsch; who justly observes, that the Lexicon, as now published, is very different from the ancient editions both in copiousness and expla-

nations; and, he adds, that in its present state it may with propriety be recommended to the student in Greek literature.'

Preface, pp. 6, 7.

From this statement it would appear, that the editors have spared no pains in consulting the best editions, and we may presume that Schrevelius has never appeared in a form so accurate and complete. Without going into an inquiry, as to the merits of this Lexicon, compared with other manuals of more recent date, the judgment of the editors in their selection, may doubtless be sustained by the circumstance of the present extensive use of Schrevelius in our schools. To ensure success, in a first attempt of this sort, it was desirable to avoid awakening in any a prejudice, which might defeat the purpose of the undertaking. This book is intended only for boys at school, and should not be criticised as a work designed for advanced scholars, or as a key to the difficulties of the Greek language. Other Lexicons, of which we shall hereafter speak, must be resorted to for this purpose.

The editors have introduced several improvements. Upwards of two thousand articles are either wholly new, or have received additions. These are distinguished by a bracket placed at the end. It would have been better, if the new matter could have been enclosed in brackets, so that we could at once ascertain how much is new. From the nature of the undertaking, however, this would have been very difficult, perhaps impossible. At present it requires a careful comparison with the original, to ascertain what is added. So far as we have compared them, we have found the articles improved; yet in some cases the additions were not very important. Several learned disquisitions are interspersed, under the *prepositions* and the *article*, in which the uses of these are explained with as much minuteness, as would be advantageous to young students.

The editors were manifestly right in retaining the accents. The absence of them in Greek books is an imperfection, which we hope will not be tolerated. Among the Lexicons consulted by the editors, as mentioned in the Preface, were those of Hedericus, Planche, Schneider, Wahl, and, for some of the last pages, Jones. The Lexicon of Dr Jones, but for an inconvenient arrangement of the words, the fatal omission of the accents, and the many peculiarities of opinion, which he has suffered to exert an influence throughout the whole, would be of great value for common use, till the excellent qualities of the Greek and German dictionaries can be transferred to the Greek and English.

The editors give their opinion, that Greek should be commenced before Latin. We would say likewise, that Greek may now be studied independently of Latin. We see no reason, why a lover of learning, who in early life has not had the fortune to learn either, should not learn the Greek language only, if he has time but for one.

We hold it a duty further to notice the neat typographical execution of this work, and cheerfully bear testimony to the merits of the gentleman, who superintends the University Press, at Cambridge, and has given us more accurate editions of classical works than had ever before appeared in America.

We shall not enter into minute criticisms of this work; the general character of Schrevelius, as a school dictionary, is well known; in its present dress it is much better suited to the wants of young students, than heretofore; and its influence in the encouragement of Greek studies we believe will be widely felt. In future editions it may be further improved, and the time will come when a manual on a better plan, and executed with a freer use of the great and successful labors of the late German lexicographers, may be adopted.

In connexion with this subject, we shall take the opportunity to add a few remarks on several of the Greek lexicons, which have from time to time gained a high reputation.

The dictionaries of living languages in common use are for the most part arranged, or intended to be arranged, in such a manner as to give the readiest information respecting the present signification and syntax of the words; and this mode is convenient where the object is, not the pursuit of literary history, but to acquire the living dialect as an actual vehicle of thought. Thus our Spanish dictionaries give us rather the language of today, than of the classic authors in Spanish literature; and he, who has learnt the tongue as now used in the journals and writings of Spain, is still far from knowing all the richness and sublimity of the Castilian. Be this method of arranging a dictionary right or wrong for the living languages, it is plainly a bad one for the ancient dialects. A language, of which not only the the origin and improvement, but the decline and extinction can be described, should be studied historically. In this way the characteristics of each age will be given, and the changes in signification of the words be explained in the order in which they took place.

The form, the significations, and the use of the word should

all find a place in a dictionary of a dead language, before it can claim to be perfect. We should first expect to find the word in its most simple, primitive form. Then, if there be several forms under which it appears, as is the case with a great number of words in the Greek language, these various forms must be set down and arranged in the manner, in which they are respectively deduced from one another, and the age ascertained, to which each belongs. If the orthography of the word is questionable, that too deserves consideration. And the quantity of the syllables, where they are doubtful, should also be fixed. We may further expect, that the various inflexions and changes of the word should be given, where they do not strictly conform to the general rules of conjugation or inflexion, so that he, who is acquainted with the grammar, may be able to form the remaining parts without further assistance.

The word itself being thus disposed of, its significations must be enumerated, and in chronological order. We have written monuments of the Greek language out of a period extending through more than two thousand years, during which it was spoken. In this long period the character of many words was essentially changed. In our own times how many significations have been given to words within a few years. *Liberal*, *radical*, and many others need an explanation for themselves, suited to the age. What if these words were found in a writer of Queen Elizabeth's time, and translated by a foreigner as they ought to be, if found in works of the current literature? What absurdity would ensue! And how many words there are, which in Homer differ in signification from the same in a writer of Attic prose, some centuries later! Thus, to take the first example that offers, ἀπάτη means originally *deception*, *cunning*; Æschylus uses it of an action, which he praises; and it also came to mean, *that which deceives time*, and so, *a pastime*, *amusement*. Κόσμος originally meant *order*. Thus Homer makes his men κόσμῳ καθίζειν. Pythagoras first used the word to signify *the world*. Ποιητὴς is another word of a similar kind, and the number might be indefinitely increased. We repeat it; the significations of each word should be chronologically arranged. This will bring into the first place the original and proper meaning of the word, and the abstract, the more general, the metaphorical, may then follow in philosophical order. Nor will it be safe to omit the etymologies; for though they cannot be depended upon as the sole guides to a correct interpretation, they yet point to

the main idea, from which the other significations must be shown to proceed.

The peculiarities of syntax should find a place in an article, designed to be complete. The proverbial expressions are to be enumerated, and even the remarkable cases of ellipsis are not to be omitted.

The times are changed from those, when the language was acquired by oral instruction, and the treasures of Greek learning were inaccessible to any but a few fortunate individuals. Our intention is, not so much to give a history of the dictionaries which have been successively made, as to call attention to the *triumvirate* of German lexicographers, who have in our days deserved to divide the harvest of applause.

The first Greek and Latin dictionary made in England was the work of Hadrian Junius, one of the most learned men of the sixteenth century. In those days scholarship was rare, and a man might play a great part in the world by means of erudition. Junius was a Dutchman by birth, but found employment in England. In 1548 he dedicated his Lexicon to the Protestant king Edward, and his books were accordingly denounced and prohibited at Rome. Shortly after we find him exercising the vocation of a poet, and, to make his peace with the papists, writing an epithalamium on the marriage of the English queen Mary. The unquiet state of England alarmed him, and he fled to the continent, when the king of Denmark invited him to his court. But the Dutchman, liking the climate of Copenhagen little, and his wife liking the Danes less, they took French leave, and came to Haerlem. Here honors were heaped upon him. He became head of the college; was commissioned by the States General to write the history of Holland; and, passing his time in literary labors, indulged himself in delightful visions of immortal renown. But the hostile Spaniards disturbed him in his learned occupations; and he fled from Haerlem. When the city was taken, his library was plundered, and his hopes of eternal fame scattered with his books. After this the air of this world did not agree with him, and he soon died of disappointment, and regret at the loss of his manuscripts and of his prospective immortality. Junius's great work is his *Nomenclator Octilinguis*, which Bayle commends as excellent, and which more recently the illustrious Wolf declares to be of value.

We should hardly allude to Henry Stephanus, (Etienne), but to acknowledge the admirable character and vast erudition of

his Thesaurus of the Greek language, and to lament the misfortunes of his earthly pilgrimage. If his Thesaurus is not perfect, it was nearly so for the times; and if we consider that it was made in the infancy of the typographic art, before many Greek authors had been published who have since been brought to light; when the study of etymology was yet but beginning, before the spirit and character of the Greek language were well understood; when it was necessary to choose examples sometimes from manuscripts, and sometimes from incorrect printed copies, which have received essential improvements from the labors of later critics; when the imperfect state of critical learning compelled him often to hazard conjectural emendations, and in an age, when he was obliged himself to collect many of the materials for his work; we cannot but feel a sort of reverence and admiration, as we confess that he has produced a Thesaurus of the Greek language, never yet surpassed, and meriting for its unfortunate author the respect and gratitude of all succeeding scholars. The fact can hardly be explained, except by calling to mind the wonderful family to which he belonged. The son inherited the taste and the collections, the zeal and the manuscripts of his father, his honorable art and his love of learning. In his youth, Henry the First (for these most eminent of printers are, like kings, thus distinguished in literary history) enjoyed the instruction of accomplished scholars, and hardly had he reached his twentieth year, before an edition of Horace, with notes, announced to the world his early proficiency, and gave promise of his future eminence. He must have devoted himself to learning with his whole soul, and through sorrow and adversity remained true to his choice with intense and ardent attachment. Three years of learned investigation were passed under the sky of Italy. England and the Netherlands were also visited before he established himself at Paris. During a part of his life he suffered under the most oppressive and wasting melancholy. To publish his Thesaurus, the preparations for which must have cost incredible labor, required eleven years. And not many had elapsed after its completion, before John Scapula, a man whom he had had in his employ, published a less costly lexicon, which proposed nothing of value, but what was stolen from his master. Our admirable Stephanus, dispirited and in wretched circumstances, passed the latter part of his life without any permanent place of abode, living by turns in Switzerland, France, and Germany, and at

last, when more than seventy years of age, died in a hospital at Lyons, a bankrupt in fortune and in mind.

Such was the melancholy fate of one of the most eminent scholars of his age, and one of the most useful of all time. His merits entitle him to profound and grateful respect; the recollection of his personal and mental sufferings mingles itself with our admiration, and makes us regret that he did not live in an age, when his worth would have ensured him more reputation and prosperity.

It is no part of our object to trace the history of Greek lexicography through all its changes. Scapula took from Stephanus, and was abridged in his turn, in 1654, by Schrevelius. The lexicon of Benedict Hedericus did not appear till 1722, and meanwhile the work of Schrevelius had all the success that it deserved. The world is quit of any further debt to the shade of its author.

Original merit was never claimed for the Lexicon of Hedericus. It was huddled together out of Scapula, a mere alphabetical register of words with borrowed interpretations, which Hedericus himself has been said not always to have understood, and which he has never been accused or suspected of having improved. Yet it so far surpassed that of Schrevelius, that it immediately came into general use on the continent. Patrick, who pretended to have improved it in London, is charged by later critics with having left the old faults quietly in their places, and augmented them with some of his own. In the meantime great progress had been made in criticism. New editions of the ancient authors appeared, to which lists of words were added, and those particularly noticed, which had not been inserted in the Thesaurus of Henry Stephens. Assisted by these works, Ernesti revised the Lexicon of Hedericus, and published an improved edition of it in 1754, and again in 1766. This was the lexicon generally used in Germany till near the close of the last century.

John Augustus Ernesti was a kind of prince among the scholars of his day. Yet greatness did not surprise him in his youth. At thirtyfour years of age he was but the associate director of the classical school in Leipsic, and was fortyfive before he received an appointment in the university as Professor Extraordinarius. Yet by degrees he grew to be a great man in the relations of life, as well as in merit. He was the first professor of theology in Leipsic, prebendary of the cathedral at Meissen,

decemvir of the university, the founder of a new school in philology and theology, president of a scientific society, the restorer of eloquence, and one who 'filled the lettered world with his fame,' as some one well says. When Lessing, who was a physician by profession, but also an accurate and persevering scholar, published the Wolfenbüttel fragments, which startled the learned world, Ernesti declared the librarian worthy of a doctorate in theology, and took occasion publicly in a lecture to hold him up as an example and a proof, that a thorough classical scholar is capable of accomplishing anything that he sets about. What a difference is there between that age and ours. Then a good philologian was held to be fit for every thing; but

'We have fallen on evil days,
On evil days and evil tongues have fallen;'

and now there are those who will scarcely allow a Latin and Greek scholar to be good for anything.

The success of the Hederic-Ernesti Lexicon was immense; yet its merits fall far short of the demands of the age. The Latin language did not seem the best adapted to explain the significations of the words; and a different standard of excellence in this department had been established by the criticisms and examples of several scholars in Holland. Various attempts at improvement were made, the most respectable by Haas, till at last a new era was in fact begun by the persevering erudition of John Gottlob Schneider.

He, like Ernesti, was a pupil of the Pforta, a school that has sent forth more heroes in philology, than the Trojan horse ever did in war, and on repairing to the university of Leipsic, he had the benefit of Ernesti's instructions. Schneider had at first to contend against want. At the age of eighteen he began his literary career with notes on Anacreon. A later work gained for him the regard of Heyne, and a place as the amanuensis of Brunck. This he occupied at Strasburg for three years, then lived as professor at Frankfort on the Oder thirty years, and at last found rest and happiness, an honorable competence and a grave, at Breslau, where the last ten years of his life were passed in quiet, which was made doubly agreeable by the cares and privations of his early years. He died in January, 1822. His Lexicon is but one of many monuments of his learning and activity.

Schneider is spoken of as no less amiable in the relations of private life, than eminent in the literary world. There is an air

of earnestness and modesty in his great undertaking. Not that he could not estimate his own worth, and find support in the consciousness of it. But there is nothing arrogant about him. Decided in his opinions, he is always ready with his reasons; and in doubtful cases he appeals to argument, not to the value of his own authority, or the extent of his own experience and critical skill. In the preface to the first edition of his dictionary, after alluding to his own model of perfection in this department, he says, 'How contented should I be, if in a work, so wearisome, and made so difficult and bitter to me by incidental circumstances, I should so far have succeeded, that a connoisseur in these things could say of me, If this man had formed his plan much earlier in life, pursued it firmly, slowly, and calmly, in the fitting leisure, with the necessary serenity of mind, and with the requisite collection of books, he would have brought his work near enough to the model, of which he had a clear conception. And after a long interval, in the third edition, made in the last years of his life, though he had been restless in his efforts to improve his work, he yet acknowledges how far it is from perfection, and breathes a pious wish, that 'some laborloving countryman may undertake to continue, enlarge, and improve it.' And again, acknowledging the many advantages he derived from the criticisms, which he had cheerfully received and made use of, the venerable veteran, for the last time editing a work, the greatest monument of the value of his life to his fellowmen, offers his gratitude to all, 'who from a love of science, and in the language of humanity, without sarcastic bitterness, will contribute anything to the perfection of the great undertaking.'

The excellent qualities of Schneider's Lexicon, which render it superior to that of Hedericus, are, a greater copiousness of words, selected from the profane writers; the omission of many words which rested on no sufficient authority, and had found their way by mistake into the Lexicons; the more accurate etymological derivation of the words; the careful investigation of the original meaning of each word; the historical and philosophical accuracy, with which the several significations are unfolded and arranged; the omission of all the analytical parts except in cases of an extraordinary nature; and the peculiar care with which the technical terms, and words belonging to natural history, are explained. Wherever he differs from Stephanus, he supports his own statement by a citation from a Greek author,

or a sufficient reference; and while many useless words have been retrenched, their place is supplied by others more valuable, derived from Greek authors, published since the days of Stephanus. During his long life he never was idle. Deeming it of importance for the knowledge of the Greek language to understand the state of natural science in the days of antiquity, he deliberately entered upon the study of natural history, and even pursued the branch of ichthyology to a great extent; and the object of all was mainly to make his Lexicon better.

One of the last acts of Schneider's life was the publishing of a supplementary volume to his Lexicon. It contains several thousand words from authors less frequently read, and of less intrinsic value. We mention it with the more pleasure, because it offers a gratifying example of the spirit of cooperation, successfully and cheerfully exercised; since Weigel, Buttmann, Jacobs, and Coray, with a multitude of others, may be mentioned, as having contributed to form the volume. It is a work, which should be in the scholar's library, though it will not often lie on his table.

The dictionary of Schneider was too large for general use in schools. Professor Frederic William Riemer, of Weimar, undertook to make an abridgment of it; but his mind was too original, too inquisitive, and too independent, to follow in the track of any man. His work, therefore, soon became one of a peculiar character. Riemer is a learned man, and a man of taste also. His name is well known in the polite literature of his country. The air of Weimar breathes of 'the gay science;' and numerous as is the rhyming brood, that nestle under the wings of Goethe, the two neat duodecimo volumes of the fictitious Silvio Romano have won for the Greek lexicographer a respectable rank among the poets of the ducal residence. Riemer is entirely national. His rapid mind is ingenious at tracing analogies in the derivation of words; he finds the seeds of the German wrapt up in the Greek. His pages sparkle with repartees and capital hits at his antagonists; and while you are gaining, through his interpretations, an accurate knowledge of a Greek word, you may have a chance to laugh at his puns, or smile at his chuckling, as he successfully exposes faults in the criticisms of his adversaries. Of course he is not spared by those, who suffer from his gibes; and while the public have crowned his work with most distinguished success, some cavillers have been even hardy enough to deny his learning. Riemer laughs at them all;

in his Preface quotes and ridicules those, who reproach him with 'frightful ignorance;' and, such is his humor, ends the last article of a book, which cost him five and twenty years' labor, with a jest.

We confess we like to use Riemer's Lexicon better than any other; every article is so lively, so exact, perspicuous, and instructive. As it followed, and at first abridged Schneider, it has the same general merits. Riemer has interspersed his pages with many little discussions, with which we are pleased, though, we confess, they do not belong properly to a Lexicon. Further, he has devised a very ingenious way of marking the quantity of doubtful vowels, without interfering with the accent. The marks are placed *under* the syllables.

Dr Francis Passow, of Breslau, was of opinion, that he could make a better book than Riemer's. Passow is a man of talents and elevated character; his name not unknown to the Muse of his country. A friend of Schneider's, and a teacher at the same university, he undertook to prepare the large work of 'the mighty master' for general use. It is plain, that Passow despises, or affects to despise, the attainments of his Weimar competitor, and at the close of one of his divisions, obviously calls in question his knowledge of Greek prosody. We shall give the claims of his dictionary to peculiar merit nearly in his own words. 'A more careful explanation of the prepositions, particles, and conjunctions, the most perfect exposition, that could be given, of the use of language in Homer and Hesiod, and the designation of the quantity of the syllables, which, before he gave the signal, had been entirely neglected, but now is already acknowledged to be indispensable; these have been and remain his chief object. As a fourth, he may add the omission or warning exposure of such forms of words, as had been coined at random by ancient and modern corrupters of language, without external authority, according to analogies of language often misunderstood.

And now, as to the labor of lexicography, we have seen with what patience and assiduity Schneider continued to use every means of improving his work, even to the latest year of his life. In the supplementary volume, published a few months before his death, he complains of no labor, but that which led to no result, and which had been forced from him by the criticisms of 'the many, who thought themselves fit to play the master over him, though they had enough to learn themselves.' Riemer kept up his spirits through twentyfive years of

labor, and more than twentysix hundred pages of his dictionary. Passow asks of those, who complain of the irksome and disgusting nature of such labors, what keeps them thus chained like galley slaves to the oar; and adds, that 'the rich, infinitely various, and constantly new exercise of mind, which this branch of philological studies offered, was an abundant recompense for all the labors, without which no safe step could be taken, and of which he had gone through not fewer nor less considerable, than those who complained the most loudly.'

The best edition of Schneider is the third, printed at Leipsic, in 1819. The supplementary volume appeared in April, 1821, and probably will not be reprinted, as it is not designed for universal use. By far the best edition of Riemer is his last, the fourth, which was begun in 1823, and finished in 1825. That of Passow has, as yet, been printed but once, and having been begun in 1819, was completed in 1824. Its excellence leads us to believe, that it will go through a new edition before many years. The greatest praise belongs so Schneider, because he is the father of almost all the improvements in Greek lexicography; Riemer is the most amusing, very clear and careful, the most ingenious, and, we confess, our favorite; Passow, perhaps, the most convenient for daily use, accurate, trustworthy, and complete for the learner's purposes.

It may not be out of place to add, that a new edition of Hedericus, with the alterations, omissions, and additions, requisite to make it worthy of the age, is now executing by Dr Gustavus Pinzger of Breslau, under the eye of Passow.

We have been led into so large remarks already, that we do not venture upon discussing one or two questions of which we are reminded by our subject, and on which a word might now be in season. One is, whether it is worth our while to study Greek at all in this country; for there are those, who go out as knights-errant against Latin and Greek, and fashion into the shape of monsters everything, that bears a resemblance to ancient erudition; men, who would banish the Muse of Hellas, with her own Astræa, from the earth. We mean not those, who contend, and, as we think, rightly, for more liberty in our courses of public instruction, and who would leave the wants of the country, in connexion with the tastes of those who give themselves to study, to regulate the degree of attention, which shall be paid to each separate branch of learning; but those, who are governed by an undiscriminating and impotent

hatred of classical learning, and rail at what they cannot understand, and, happily, cannot injure.

We also intended to point out the absurd reasoning of a late writer in the Edinburgh Review, who, in the number for June last, has defended that superficial system of instruction, which most favors the indolence of teachers, and the weakness of boys. This they now bring forward as the wonderful invention of one Mr Hamilton, the rival of him who first lighted London with gas, the great Macadamizer of the road to learning. But we find this subject anticipated, and the general principles, which must be applied to its decision, clearly and forcibly stated in our American Journal of Education; and on the general question, we content ourselves with a reference to that work.

ART. X.—*Essays upon Popular Education, containing a particular Examination of the Schools of Massachusetts, and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers.* By JAMES G. CARTER. 8vo. pp. 60. Boston. 1826. Bowles & Dearborn.

WE have lately offered some remarks on Popular Education; and we are glad to meet with such an occasion as this pamphlet furnishes, for inviting the attention of our readers again to the subject. We have read these Essays with more than a feeling of interest and pleasure; and we venture earnestly to recommend them to general perusal. They are judicious and able, full of sound and liberal views, and important suggestions. They contain much, in a brief space, and must be read for reflection, and not for entertainment. They will not answer for dreaming or dozing away a dull hour after dinner; but for a man who sits upright, and is wide awake to the state and movement of things around him, we will engage, that this pamphlet shall furnish matter to think about and act upon. Mr Carter is too much concerned for the interests, which he advocates, and has a mind too much occupied with matters of reality and importance, to care much for our entertainment. From the very limits of his work, also, he has given us a pamphlet of hints, which, as he seems to be well aware, might be easily swelled into volumes of discussions.

Our own space, it is obvious, is yet more limited; but we

cannot let this number of our Journal go forth, without yielding the full measure of all the encouragement, which it is in our power to give, to the plan that Mr Carter has laid before us. We say the plan, for it is to the projected Institution for the instruction of Teachers, an outline of which is given in the last Essay, that we shall principally direct our observations. All the previous Essays, indeed, are designed to prepare the way for the consideration of this project; and we undertake to say, that all the reflection, which any man may employ on the subject of popular education, all the faults he laments, all the improvement he desires, will lead him to the same result.

The course of argument, by which we ourselves have been led to this result, may be set forth in few words.

In the first place, better schools are wanted. We mean, that the Free Schools, or what are usually called, the Common, and in the country, District Schools, need to be made better, and more efficient organs of instruction and influence. Whoever does not believe this, will, of course, dismiss our argument as deficient in the first particular; and we must dismiss him, which we would gladly do, to the pages of Mr Carter, or to his own reflections; or we would rather, for the sake of a practical demonstration, send him into the midst of one of our Common Schools; a place, we are sorry to say, where very few of the body of our people, very few parents or guardians, ever go. We would ask our easy and unsuspicious advocate of the present systems, to look about him, and to mark the restlessness, or reluctance, or stupidity, that pervades all these schools. He will find some pupils reading, what every tone of their voices tells him, they do but half understand; some, poring over the pages of a grammar, or hunting out the parts of speech in a dictionary, a work altogether mechanical, of the principles of which they understand literally nothing, and of which there are thirtyfive chances out of forty, that their master understands as little; others, he will find studying geography, in such a way, that they comprehend it as vaguely as we do the geography of the moon, and care about it a great deal less, than some of us do about that luminary, who see in it volcanoes, and city walls, and the shadow of towers; and others still, scowling over a perplexing *sum* in arithmetic, to which they apply no other logic, than that of the multiplication table.

Let our inquirer meet with these children at home, and talk with them about their schools; let him enter a little into their

minds, for they have minds, though our common systems of instruction seem scarcely to recognise them; let him endeavor to ascertain what is the impulse, which carries these children daily to the schoolroom; and he will find, that when the novelty is worn off, the new master, the new acquaintances and objects have grown old; when the chance of being the best scholar, and the certificate of merit, and the fine present, are all out of the question; when, in short, he divests this matter of all extraneous influences, and of all that is barely mechanical, he will find, we say, that the impulse, which carries these children to school, is *necessity;* that it is (we can scarcely qualify what we are going to say) never the love of knowledge. How should it be? They learn nothing, or, what amounts very much to the same thing, nothing that they care to know. Let us be understood. They learn to read. Very well. They have taken hold of the great instrument of knowledge; but how is it applied? Let any one look over the books, which they read and study, and he will find a full half, which they absolutely *cannot* understand; and the other half, their own countenances will tell him, they do not wish to understand.

They learn to read; and it is our boast, that of the whole mass of our population, it is rare to find an individual, who has not made this acquisition. But what evidence beyond this, we ask, does the mass of our population give, of having spent from three to eight years of life at school? What do they know of grammar, or geography, or of arithmetic, excepting two or three simple rules, which would not at any time require more than a week's practice to make them familiar? Of the sciences, even in their simplest elements, they confessedly know nothing; and if they make no intellectual acquisition, beyond the art of reading, we believe it will as little be contended, that they accomplish anything of that better object of education, the forming of right mental habits, the culture of the mind for future acquisitions.

We are not now accusing the people of gross ignorance; though we apprehend, that their intelligence is overrated, and that some of our boasting on this point were better spared. The truth is, we forget that our language on this subject is only comparative. When we speak of our intelligent population, we mean, that it is more intelligent than that of Europe generally; but we are apt to transfer this comparative sense of what we say, into an absolute estimate. Be it admitted, however, that the yeomanry of this country is distinguished for intelligence, and as much

distinguished as any one desires to maintain, still we say, that nothing of this intelligence, but the instrument, is obtained at our Common Schools, that is, at the generality of them, for there are, it is true, a few honorable exceptions. Our citizens, as they come into life, gain, indeed, some general acquaintance with the state of the world, and with the politics of their own country; but this they gain, not from school books, but from newspapers. Of all that they actually know in the world, of all the habits of right reflection and conduct, by which they are guided in the pursuits of life, the schools, we say again, have furnished nothing.

We have spoken now and formerly of the dulness of our schools. We consider this feature of indifference, which pervades the mass of them, as bearing strongly on the argument we are pursuing. It is certain, that children are not learning anything, or anything that can turn to much account for them, when this heavy lethargy of school dulness has settled upon them. Words may fall upon the ear, and even ideas may be crowded into the memory; but to the listless slave of his task, there will be none of those relations manifest, which constitute valuable knowledge. Nor is this listlessness inexcusable. Human nature will always be true to itself. When a book will not sell, it is shrewdly guessed, that it is not worth buying. When the people fall asleep, it is too likely that the preacher is dull. When that most formidable assembly, the Congress, is addressed, and you perceive that nine tenths of its members are each one talking with his neighbor, or writing his letters, or rattling his newspaper, you are apt to think, that it is a great hardship to the speaker, who is delivering himself of the fruits perhaps of a whole session of study; till you find that his speech was pronounced, not for the benefit of the honorable gentlemen around him, but for the benefit of his own reputation among his constituents; that it was spoken not to be heard, but to be printed. And last, not least, when those, who shall yet rise to be electors, or themselves members of Congress, wear away the lingering hours in school, as if it were in a prison, and bend a deprecating or vacant eye upon the dull lesson, there is too much reason to suspect, that the lesson is not adapted to their comprehension, or certainly not to their benefit. But if there is no cause for wonder on one account, there is, at least, on another. It is truly a most extraordinary state of things. Man is, if anything, a learning animal, a creature, destined, as the very

end, or at least as the very process of his intellectual being, to improvement; and yet there is no business in the world so proverbially dull, there is none among us half so reluctantly pursued, as the business of learning.

We hope that our observations thus far have some tendency to produce the conviction, that something needs to be done for our Common Schools. We have dwelt longer upon these views, because they are essential, not only to our argument, but to every hope of improvement in the prevailing system of education.

And we proceed now to say, in the next place, that in order to have better schools, we must have better teachers.

There are a few schools for children, which form exceptions to the foregoing representation; and if we direct our attention to these schools, we shall discover, at once, the secret of their superiority. It is found in the superiority of the teachers. This is the sole cause; a cause indispensable, and, where it is put in operation, sufficient, and always sufficient. Materials there are for good schools in every city, village, and neighborhood, throughout the country. But it is only where a man, not only of superior intelligence, but of superior talent and tact in giving instruction, fixes himself, that such a school actually exists. And this is just what we might expect. It requires no deep reasoning to perceive, that it is not a schoolhouse, nor a fund, nor an appropriation, nor a legislative enactment, that makes a good school. Nor will good books do it, valuable as they are. Nor will just speculations on the subject, nor a correct judgment in the minds of a few, or even of the body of the community. All this will be to no purpose; all that we can say, and think, and do, and give, will avail nothing, without good teachers. They will be but so many means, wasted for the want of application. How, then, shall this application be made? Or, in other words, how shall well qualified teachers be obtained?

This brings us, in the third place, to consider the remedy, which Mr Carter proposes.

It may be taken for granted, we suppose, that there is such a deficiency to be supplied. The especial and grand reason for the faults of our schools, is the want of proper qualifications in the teachers. If any one doubts this, let him inquire of our intelligent school committees, who really discharge their duty, and he will find them with one voice, testifying to this deficiency. They accredit the applicants for the situation of instructers, in

most cases, not because they are satisfied with them, but because they can get no better.

Now we expect to be reminded, that our colleges are full of young men, who are passing through the course of education, and many of whom will be engaged for a greater or less time in the business of instruction. But it is forgotten in this suggestion, that all this affords no help to the Common Schools. The graduates from our colleges, almost without exception, are employed in private schools; and it is a sufficient evidence, we may remark in passing, of the low estimation into which the systems of free instruction have fallen, that all, or almost all, who are able to afford it, send their children to these schools; and yet how common is it for our educated scholars, however learned and accomplished, to fail of doing anything in the business of instruction, that is at all adequate to their talents and acquisitions.

Nor is this strange. To know is one thing; to teach is another. The distinction is obvious enough; and yet we agree with Mr Carter in thinking, that it has not often been 'practically made.'

'When we are looking for a teacher,' says he, 'we inquire how much he *knows*, not how much he can *communicate;* as if the latter qualification were of no consequence to us. Now it seems to me, that parents and children, to say the least, are as much interested in the latter qualification of their instructer as in the former.

'Though a teacher cannot communicate more knowledge than he possesses; yet he may possess much, and still be able to impart but little. And the knowledge of Sir Isaac Newton could be of but trifling use to a school, while it was locked up safely in the head of a country schoolmaster. So far as the object of a school or of instruction, therefore, is the acquisition of knowledge, novel as the opinion may seem, it does appear to me, that both parents and pupils are even more interested in the part of their teacher's knowledge, which they will be likely to get, than in the part which they certainly cannot get.

'One great object in the education of teachers, which it is so desirable on every account to attain, is, to establish an intelligible language of communication between the instructer and his pupil, and enable the former to open his head and his heart, and infuse into the other some of the thoughts and feelings, which lie hid there. *Instructers and pupils do not understand each other.* They do not speak the same language. They may use the same words;

but this can hardly be called the same language, while they attach to them such very different meanings. We must either, by some magic or supernatural power, bring children at once to comprehend all our abstract and difficult terms; or our teachers must unlearn themselves, and come down to the comprehension of children. One of these alternatives is only difficult, while the other is impossible.

'The direct, careful preparation of instructers for the profession of teaching must surmount this difficulty; and I doubt if there be any other way, in which it can be surmounted. When instructers understand their profession; that is, in a word, when they understand the philosophy of the infant mind, what powers are earliest developed, and what studies are best adapted to their developement; then it will be time to lay out and subdivide their work into an energetic system of public instruction. Till this step towards a reform, which is preliminary in its very nature, be taken, every other measure must be adopted in the dark; and, therefore, be liable to fail utterly of its intended result. Houses and funds and books are all, indeed, important; but they are only the means of enabling the minds of the teachers to act upon the minds of the pupils. And they must, inevitably, fail of their happiest effects, till the minds of the teachers have been prepared to act upon those of their pupils to the greatest advantage.

'If, then, the first step towards a reform in our system of popular education be the scientific preparation of teachers for the free schools; our next inquiry becomes, How can we soonest and most perfectly achieve an object on every account so desirable? The ready and obvious answer is, Establish an institution for the very purpose. To my mind, this seems to be the only measure, which will ensure to the public the attainment of the object. It will be called a new project. Be it so. The concession does not prove, that the project is a bad one, or a visionary, or an impracticable one. Our ancestors ventured to do what the world had never done before, in so perfect a manner, when they established the free schools. Let us also do what they have never so well done yet, and establish an institution for the exclusive purpose of preparing instructers for them.' pp. 45, 46.

The claims of such institutions on the patronage of our state governments, we reserve for a separate topic; it is in place here to speak of their intrinsic propriety.

We must begin with saying, that most trite of all things, and yet least of all things understood and felt, that the office of a teacher is important. A thing that is trite, according to the etymology, is a thing worn out, and yet it became trite from its

obvious and unquestionable truth; and we are sometimes tempted to think, that those great truths, which are of the most obvious and important character, are precisely the truths, which are least felt, and are worn out. What office under heaven can be more momentous, or more dignified, than that which takes charge of the immortal mind? Who does not feel, that the great Fenelon, when he devoted the powers of his noble and gifted mind to the education of the young duke of Burgundy, was adequately and worthily employed? There is but one higher place in the intellectual scale, and we hesitate not to say, it is that of the parent. The clergyman shall be allowed to 'magnify his office,' and in a proper sense he cannot magnify it too highly. But when he addresses the people, his precept, his direction, is general. He can take no such *minute* care and oversight of the mind and heart, as belong to the parent and teacher. We join these together, for the office of the teacher, so far as the intellect is concerned, is essentially parental. He is guiding minds, which must suffer or enjoy an unknown amount, throughout an unknown extent of time, from his influence; and he, who takes upon himself such a responsibility, and yet feels no anxiety for his qualifications, is fit for nothing, but to sit in the magisterial chair, and hold a ferule in his hand; and then, the subjects on which he operates ought to be literal stocks and stones.

And now the question occurs, Is it too much for a man, who is to discharge the most responsible duty of instructing our youth, to devote a little time to acquiring the necessary qualifications; a little time, we say, to this specific object? If there is no profession nor pursuit in life, which does not demand a *considerable* time to be spent in preparation for it; if a man cannot be a weaver or a blacksmith, if he cannot make wooden tubs, or manufacture cart ropes, without serving years of apprenticeship, shall he venture to mould the habits of the mind, and weave the fabric of intellect, and guide all the subtil machinery of the human soul, not only without an equal, but without *any* previous attention?

'This is the only service,' says Mr Carter, 'in which we venture to employ young, and often, ignorant persons, without some previous instruction in their appropriate duties. We require experience in all those, whom we employ to perform the slightest mechanical labor for us. We would not buy a coat nor a hat of one, who should undertake to make them without a previous apprentice-

ship. Nor would any one have the hardihood to offer to us the result of his first essay in manufacturing either of these articles. We do not even send an old shoe to be mended, except it be to a workman of whose skill we have had ample proof. Yet we commit our children to be educated to those, who know nothing, absolutely nothing, of the complicated and difficult duties assigned to them. Shall we trust the developement of the delicate bodies, the susceptible hearts, and the tender minds of our little children to those who have no knowledge of their nature? Can they, can these rude hands finish the workmanship of the Almighty? No language can express the astonishment, which a moment's reflection on this subject excites in me.' p. 36.

The principle of a division of labor is well understood in the mechanic arts; it applies with double force to the case before us. It *is* applied indeed to several departments of intellectual exertion. There are schools for the education of the clergy, of lawyers, and physicians. Why should there not be schools for teachers of youth? There are special qualifications required for this profession, qualifications as peculiar and specific, as for any other of the learned professions. On this point Mr Carter shall again speak for us. After some remarks on the importance of gymnastic exercises in our schools, a branch of education, which we rejoice to see rising into notice, he proceeds;

'The philosophy of the infant mind must be understood by the instructer, before much progress can be made in the science of education; for a principal branch of the science consists in forming the mind. And the skill of the teacher in this department is chiefly to be seen in his judicious adaptation of means to the developement of the intellectual faculties.'

'The human heart, the philosophy of its passions and its affections must be studied by those who expect to influence those passions and form those affections. This branch of the subject includes the government of children, especially in the earliest stages of their discipline. The success of the teacher here depends upon the good judgment with which he arranges and presents to his pupils the motives that will soonest move them, and most permanently influence their actions. The mistaken or wicked principles of parents and instructers, in this department of education, have no doubt, perverted the dispositions of many hopeful children. If successful experience has been recorded, it should be brought to the assistence of those, who must otherwise act without experience.

'Lastly, the study of the philosophy of language would be essential to the scientific teacher. The term, language, is not here

understood to mean a class of words called Greek, or another class of words called Latin, or even that class of words which we call English. It means something more general, and something which can hardly be defined. It embraces all the means we use to excite in the minds of others the ideas, which we have already in our own minds. These, whatever they are, are included in the general definition of language. This is a great desideratum in our systems of education, We do not possess a language by which we can produce *precisely* the idea in a pupil, which we have in our own mind, and which we wish to excite in his. And impatient and precipitate teachers quite [?] often quarrel with their pupils, because they do not arrive at the same conclusions with themselves, when, if they could but look into their minds, they would find, that the ideas with which they begin to reason, or which enter into their processes of reasoning, are altogether different.' pp. 51, 52.

We cannot close this part of our subject, without introducing another extract from the Essays, for the sake of adverting to what we consider to be a very happy feature in the proposed institution. It relates to the connexion in this school between those who are merely pupils, with only the general objects of education before them, and those who propose to become teachers of others.

'After the young candidate for an instructer, therefore, has acquired sufficient knowledge for directing those exercises and teaching those branches, which he wishes to profess, he must then begin his labors under the scrutinizing eyes of one who will note his mistakes of government and faults of instruction, and correct them. The experienced and skilful professor of the science will observe how the mind of the young teacher acts upon that of the learner. He will see how far and how perfectly they understand each other, and which is at fault if they do not understand each other at all. If the more inexperienced teacher should attempt to force upon the mind of a child an idea or a process of reasoning, for which it was not in a proper state, he would be checked, at once, and told of his fault; and thus, perhaps, the pupil would be spared a disgust for a particular study or an aversion to all study. As our earliest experience would in this manner be under the direction of those wiser than ourselves, it would the more easily be classed under general principles for our direction afterwards.' p. 54.

For a more full exhibition of the plan of this Institution, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself. We are happy to perceive, that Mr Carter has it in view to establish such a

seminary, even though he should be left to undertake it on his own private responsibility. But we trust that so good a cause will not be suffered to impose its whole burden on individual risk and effort. We do most respectfully, but most earnestly, commend it to the patronage of the Government of Massachusetts. We understand that the attention of the State of New York is likely to be drawn to the same subject. And writing, as we do, for our patrons in every State in the Union, we beg leave, to propose this as a matter for general consideration. Our remarks will necessarily have as much application to one part of the country as another.

It has always been the policy of free governments to foster education. This has been constantly proclaimed, as eminently the policy of our own. And something we have done. We have endowed colleges. But these institutions, invaluable as they are, and absolutely indispensable to the education of men for civil offices, and for the learned professions, have yet but an indirect influence upon the mass of our population. It is possible, we know, for the most learned and splendidly endowed universities to exist in the midst of a people ignorant and degraded. We shall not be suspected of saying anything against colleges and universities. Let them be cherished, and watched over, ay, and searched into, and let the tone of education in them be raised to the highest point. But if it is laudable to do so much to elevate the standard of liberal scholarship, it would seem to commend itself to the feelings of a free people, as reasonable, that something should be done to raise the character of our common schools. An institution for the education of teachers, to be employed in these schools, would be emphatically the people's institution. Such a seminary would be most consonant with the genius of our political condition.

Besides, some of our State governments yield their patronage to free schools, and a most bountiful patronage. They put it in the power of a majority in the several townships to vote the appropriation of monies to any extent, and to enforce the collection of taxes thus assessed. And the majority is safely entrusted with its power, to give or withhold according to its pleasure, because it is impelled by the desire of having schools on the one hand, and on the other, held in check by the reluctance to tax itself. So that there seldom fails to be an appropriation in every township, though not an extravagant one. And yet, although these appropriations are not extravagant, they rise in the aggre-

gate to a great amount. The country is really at a vast expense of means for the support of schools, and it is at this expense by direction of the government, just as much as if it were paid at once out of the public treasury. It may, therefore, fairly be put to the common sense and prudence of our legislatures, whether they will suffer these means, thus accumulated, to be wasted, or to fail of their full and proper effect? Shall we build school houses, and purchase books, and collect large sums of money, and stop here, and leave undone the very thing that is to give efficacy to all the rest? Shall we rear a system of machinery, with great labor and care, without attention to the very *power*, by which it is to work with energy and effect? For we aver, and repeat, that the intelligence of the teachers is the power, the vital principle, the main spring in our school establishments.

And this intelligence, moreover, cannot be had without aid from the government. This is a very material point, and it may easily be made a clear one. The requisite intelligence, it is manifest, is yet to be created. It does not exist; or it exists only in those, who can afford to be idle, or are more profitably employed, and will yield us no aid in this business. How then can it be created? How shall young men be induced to come forward and prepare themselves for the business of teaching? We answer, only by a helping hand being stretched out to them. They cannot afford to be at the whole expense of the undertaking; the compensation offered in our common schools will not warrant it. The teachers of these schools in general are, during a portion of the year, otherwise engaged. They cannot leave their employments, lose their time, and pay all their expenses at the proposed Institution besides. They will do something; but they cannot do every thing. They have an ambition, many of them, to learn. Some of them, doubtless, are sensible of their incapacity. Some of them, if properly aided, will go to a seminary opened for their benefit. And when they return, they will show at once, in one winter or summer, the great advantages of such a training. Others will follow them. The standard of qualifications for teaching will be raised. The character of the schools will be raised. The character of the community will as certainly be raised; and the blessing of such an institution will be incalculable. It will be 'the blessing of many generations.'

It is the duty, it is the especial province, and it is the glory of a

truly *republican*, which ought to be a truly parental government, to watch over the youth and children, committed to its charge. No one can fail to be struck with the declaration, concerning Lycurgus, that '*he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth.*'

We are tempted to plead the *rights* of this portion of our population; for rights they have, though in our republican wisdom or pride, we seem to imagine, that these belong only to 'all males over twentyone years of age.' We confess, that we feel some pity for the little communities, that are gathered in our schools, whose parts are assigned them, often with as little consideration, as if they were the machinery of a cotton factory, shut up to buzz, and chafe, and wear away the appointed hours, but whose restlessness and chafing turn to far less account. We cannot but feel some sympathy with this inexpressible reluctance of many a child to go to school, and are but half indignant enough at the naughty truant. We suppose that he makes as fair a calculation as many of his seniors, and judges, that it is better to receive a chastisement at home in the evening, than to suffer torture all day at school.

Do we overrate the evils, which are regularly and systematically inflicted on the mass of the rising generation? We are not again going over the ground, to which this question would lead us. But we confidently appeal to all, who know anything about it. We are for ourselves satisfied, that where all extraneous matters of interest are left out of sight, where the simple question is between loving the school for its own sake, or not loving it, the entire majority of children in our common schools, under twelve or fourteen years of age, is decidedly averse to the discipline of learning. And we cannot conceive of a more miserable system of mismanagement than that, which brings about such a result. We never saw one of these reluctant pupils, not the dullest of them, whose eye would not kindle, and whose whole countenance would not brighten with joy, if you would clearly present to him one new and intelligible idea. And it is because their *reasoning* nature is overlooked, and they are set to mumble over the unmeaning sounds of an unintelligible lesson, it is for this reason, that the very idea of learning with many has become odious, and every familiar word of the school room is habitually associated with everything dull and wearisome. We would not willingly be thought extravagant; but we cannot consent to be judged by those, whom our own

poor reflections have led to their first thoughts of this interesting subject.

We are not fully satisfied, we confess, with the usual manner in which *any* body of human beings has been treated, or with the improvement and happiness to which any community has attained. From the spirit of this age, and the advantages of this country combined, we are looking for better results, than have yet appeared. Mr Owen will not accomplish them for us, nor will any enthusiast, however much more generous and philanthropic, or less vain and shortsighted. No schemer nor empiric will bring forward the great destiny which is before us, but it will be slowly and gradually wrought out, by principles already in operation. It will be wrought out by the consenting inquiries, and purposes, and endeavors of the whole people; but the grand lever, which is to raise up the mighty mass of this community, is *education*. We forget not the power of a free press, so often denominated the palladium our liberties, we forget not our excellent form of government, we forget not the institutions of religion, but all these are to take their character from the intelligence of the people. The empire of these States must rise or fall with the mind. The *schools* hold, in embryo, the future communities of this land. The *schools* are the pillars of the republic. To these, let the strong arm of the government be stretched out. Over these, let the wisdom of our legislatures watch. Let not the needful scrutiny and support be withheld, lest their very foundations silently moulder away, and the fabric of empire sink in their ruins.

ART XI.—*Notes on Political Economy.* By J. N. CARDOZO. 1826. 8vo. pp. 125. Charleston.

THE short treatise, to which the above unassuming title is given, was written by a gentleman, who has evidently made himself familiar with the doctrines of what is called the new school of Political Economy. His object is to examine a few of those doctrines, show their consequences, and trace out the fallacy of the argument on which they are founded. For this reason, if for no other, it will be generally sought for by the true lovers of

the science. It is desirable, that some writer of talents should undertake the task, on a far more extended scale than Mr Cardozo has done; give us a brief outline of the peculiarities in the new school; contrast them, where it is possible, with those of the old; state succinctly the arguments urged on both sides of the question; and make such reflections on the growth of this branch of knowledge, as must naturally be suggested by the inquiry. Such an undertaking would demand a good deal of research, examination, thought; something more, in short, to be well executed, than a modest attempt at 'Notes.'

Mr Cardozo does not approach the most important questions; and with many of the conclusions at which he arrives, we cannot agree, although much interested in the discussion, by which he was led to them. In our own country, inquiries upon the various branches of political economy are of far more importance, than in many others, because every citizen here may be called upon to serve as a legislator; and to think of assuming the responsibility of that high station, without some examination of the basis on which it ought to rest, or some study of the principles, by which alone it can be made to act beneficially, or not injuriously, on the general interests of society, must be, to say the least, presumptuous. The knowledge of this science is, indeed, not commonly deemed of such utility; and, what is remarkable, it seldom forms any part of the popular or recommendatory qualifications of the candidate for high political office. For these reasons and others, there ought to be some arrangement for making it more universally a branch of common education; and the writer renders a good service, who calls public attention to any of the controversies connected with it, in a condensed form, like the one before us.

There are some doctrines among the late writers on the subject particularly, which, though they have been thoroughly refuted, and for that reason probably are passed unnoticed by Mr Cardozo, may have a tendency so injurious, that they cannot be too much pressed upon our examination, and shown to be utterly false. The possibility, that machinery may be too far improved; that the saving of labor may thus become excessive; that, in consequence of it, honest industry may be thrown out of employment, and condemned to suffer for the benefit of the rich capitalist, are among the number of them. And to teach principles, which involve these doctrines, as has been done by some very able writers, is to call science in aid of popular pre-

judice. Mr Cardozo does not think it necessary to reexamine them. His inquiries are, generally, into subjects more apart from common observation, and therefore less interesting, and probably less important, than those we have mentioned. They are subjects, however, which have called forth the attention of the most acute and intelligent writers.

One of the principal objects of the author's Notes (and, on reading the introduction to them, we thought it was to be almost their sole object) is to refute Ricardo's Theory of Rents, which Mr Cardozo thinks is full of errors, and must lead to very unreasonable or absurd results. We cannot entirely agree with the objections here raised against that distinguished writer, although he has certainly made some mistakes, in his chapter on this subject. He ascribes the rise of raw produce, and of rents, to the necessity of resorting to inferior soils, and the increased difficulty of production. 'When land of an inferior quality,' says Ricardo, 'is taken into cultivation, the exchangeable value of raw produce will rise, because more labor is required to produce it.' 'The reason why raw produce rises in comparative value, is because more labor is employed in the production of the best portion obtained.' 'When, in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately *commences* on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land.' There is a slight inaccuracy in in all these statements. Raw produce would rise, and rents would also rise, even if the less fertile lands were prevented in any way from being brought under cultivation. In fact, the cultivation of these less fertile lands will, in some measure, keep the price of rents and produce down, because they furnish a partial supply, and thus make the demand less intense, than otherwise it must become in consequence of the greater scarcity. Suppose a country of very limited extent, where the lands, though unequal, were all rich, and highly cultivated, and where none of an inferior quality could be brought forward. Suppose, that on the increase of population, produce should rise and become very high, so high, that the profits of capital invested in agriculture would be much greater, than of that invested in commerce, or manufacture, or other employments; it is evident, that these lands must pay rent, and the rent will be just so much, as to reduce the profits of capital invested in agriculture to a level with the profits of that invested in any other way. Raw produce first

rises in price. Then rents will rise, because the returns of capital invested in agriculture are greater, than if invested elsewhere, and the landlords will make the capitalists pay for this advantage. It is not till the third or last step, and as a consequence of the two former, that new and less fertile lands are cultivated, or that new capital is employed upon the old lands with a greater return of profits. Mr Ricardo, however, goes upon the idea, that rents will not rise till new lands are actually taken into cultivation, or till a further amount of capital has been actually employed upon the old lands, and with a greater return of profits. This is clearly a mistake.

Mr Ricardo, likewise, does not always point out clearly the true objects of his inquiry. In a treatise on this subject, three topics ought to be kept entirely separate; first, The nature of rent, or what it is; secondly, The origin of rent, or what first produced it; and, thirdly, The measure of rent, or the proper rule for estimating its just amount. Mr Ricardo must have seen these clearly enough; but he makes no such classification, and evidently confounds them throughout the whole of his inquiry. Will not this consideration help to explain away the following remarks of our author?

'The rent of land has been variously defined by Mr Ricardo in different parts of his work on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. It is defined, first, to be "that portion of the produce of the earth, which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil." Rent, according to this definition, is made to depend on *natural* fertility. But the definition given of rent by Mr Malthus, to wit, that "excess of price above the costs of production at which raw produce sells in the market," is sanctioned by Mr Ricardo. This definition is, however, essentially different from the other, and confounds that rent, "which is paid for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil," with that paid in consequence of the advance in the price of raw produce from restrictions on the trade in corn, and the monopoly which in some countries is connected with the possession of land.

'The *origin* of rent is described in the following manner by Mr Ricardo. "It is then only because land is of different qualities, with respect to its productive powers, and because in the progress of population, land, of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, is called into cultivation, that rent is *ever* paid for the use of it." Rent is accounted for in this description from *relative* fertility.' pp. 19, 20.

But our author cannot escape from the general reasonings and conclusions of Ricardo, in this ingenious theory, although he makes a great effort to do it; and we are not surprised that he has failed, for results from it can be traced very different from those, which he seems to anticipate. The following is a brief outline of the theory. On the first settlement of a new country, where rich lands are in abundance, no rent is paid, because all may enjoy them freely, and without making compensation. But in a short period, the produce of these will not be sufficient to furnish the necessary supply. Population has increased; the food of the laborer, and produce generally, are in greater demand. They rise in price; new and less fertile lands must be taken into cultivation; thus rent is paid on the best, but not on those of the inferior quality, which are occupied; for by the supposition these are so plenty, that all may use them without remuneration. It cannot be long, however, before the produce of these also will be insufficient to meet the full demand. Lands of the third quality are called for; then again rents rise on the first, and are paid on the second, but not on the last, on account of their plenty; and so the process goes on continually, as long as the country continues to advance in wealth. Mr Ricardo briefly states his views on the subject thus.

'If all land had the same properties, if it were boundless in quantity, and uniform in quality, no charge could be made for its use, unless where it possessed peculiar advantages of situation. It is only then because land is of different qualities, with respect to its productive powers, and because in the progress of population, land of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, is called into cultivation, that rent is ever paid for the use of it. When, in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land.'

Ricardo, pp. 38, 39.

The inferences to be drawn from reasoning on the above theory of Mr Ricardo are; that rents make no part of the price of produce, because the price is determined by the labor bestowed upon the lands last taken into cultivation, which, by the supposition, can afford no rent; and that, by the advance of rents, landlords, as he says, are doubly benefited; they are benefited in the amount, and in the exchangeable value of what they receive. Mr Cardozo says, this last idea is inconceivable.

We know not why. The supply must have increased; the demand must also have increased in a still greater proportion. From the first cause, therefore, the landlord will receive a larger share of the produce for his rent, and from the second cause, this produce will be of a greater price or value; that is, the same portion of it will be worth more in the market, than it was before.

'But we would ask,' says our author, 'what is to entitle the landlord to an increased share of the whole produce, if an increase of the whole has been effected by the skill and capital of the cultivators? If the landlord has furnished any of the capital by which this increase has been obtained, his share will be in proportion to his investment; if he gets a greater share, it will be a transfer of a portion of that to which the farmers are entitled from their capital and skill. As extended cultivation, therefore, if it has been effected by cultivators without any aid from landlords, is the result of their own improvements, the whole of the increased produce arising from this extension of cultivation, is their exclusive property. There can, therefore, of right, be no increase of rent from the increased quantity of produce.' pp. 21, 22.

Might the author not as well ask, what *right* has the heir to the property, which he inherits? A merchant or manufacturer chances to have a great stock of goods on hand, which suddenly rise in price; would it be fair to interrogate him about his being *entitled* to the increased value? We are driven back to the original institution of property to answer such questions as these. The landlord must have run some risk in the investment of his capital. Perhaps it will be a most unproductive one; many circumstances may occur, as we shall presently see, which will transfer the rise of rents into other hands, or make it so slow in his hands, that he could have placed his capital more profitably in any other employment. If he be successful, we surely ought not to ask him about his right and title to his good fortune.

All lands, which pay rent, have something more or less of the nature of monopoly. Different situations, different degrees of fertility, remoteness from the market, or nearness to it, these, and other circumstances, render it impossible for them to come into any competition with each other on equal terms. This fact is most remarkable in great commercial places, where the holders of convenient stands for business have greatly the advantage

over those in other situations, and they are obliged to pay for it in the form of rent. The same is true, likewise, though less obviously so, of cultivated lands remote or near, and of various degrees of fertility or improvement. The equalizing principle of rent, so clearly explained by Mr Ricardo, will place all capitalists and tenants, who are in the occupancy of spots thus more or less favorable, upon nearly the same level, and enable them to come into fair competition with each other in their employments, which otherwise would be impossible. We can easily thus ascertain what will be the true measure of rents. Those of the favorable stands for business, in a large and populous city, cannot be estimated with any exactness, because they must depend on the greater profits, which those places will throw into the hands of the tenants, who occupy them. But the fair rents of cultivated lands may be very clearly ascertained. The agriculturist must retain enough of the produce to pay himself for the wages, which he has employed or bestowed upon them, and enough likewise for a reasonable return of profit upon the capital invested by him ; all the residue, whether it be more or less, ought to go to the landlord for rent, or the tenant will have an undue advantage over those in similar situations with himself, and perhaps, too, over capitalists generally. The rent of a particular piece of cultivated land, is, in short, the difference between the amount of its produce, and the amount of produce from an equal quantity of the poorest lands, which can however be profitably cultivated. These remarks will show, that rent can in no case be assimilated, as Mr Cardozo thinks, to the interest on a loan of capital. Lands rented are essentially different from capital let, because the former are always unequal, while the same amount of the latter must be always equal. It is not till after the payment of rent, that any similarity exists between them.

But Mr Cardozo thinks, if this celebrated theory be true, rents will so encroach on wages and profits, that the accumulation of capital will be stopped, and population receive a fatal check at no distant period of time. And certainly the exact mathematical calculation, in which Mr Ricardo expresses his ideas on this subject, will lead many readers to the same erroneous conclusion. Mathematics are as deceptive in moral reasonings, as probabilities are in mathematics. The shades of difference between different kinds of land are faint, almost imperceptible, and not to be marked by numbers. Fluxional quantities

might more justly illustrate them, than the arithmetical progression, which Mr Ricardo uses. Let it be understood, however, that he uses it merely as an illustration of his principle. At any rate, the rise on the rents of cultivated lands is exceedingly slow. Many circumstances will occur to retard or change it. The effects of science in improving the art of cultivating lands, the improvement in the tools and machinery of agriculture, and several other causes, not at all inconsistent with this theory, as our author seems to think they are, will tend to keep down the price of produce and of rents longer than this simple statement of Mr Ricardo would lead one to anticipate. A farm will pass through several hands without any sensible addition to its value. Even when new lands are necessarily taken into cultivation, though they seem of an inferior quality, the great expense is often in the first outlay, in clearing, reducing, and bringing them to a state of improvement suitable for being occupied, and then perhaps they may be among the most fertile and productive. A new market may be thrown open in the vicinity. A near manufactory may raise its value. Many other circumstances may also occur, which will create a full demand for its produce, and thus raise its rent, or depress the rent of those, which were formerly thought the richest and most profitable. There can be little danger, that the increase of rent, advancing according to the principles of Mr Ricardo's theory, rightly understood, ever can become in any degree excessive.

From these reflections may also be deduced an answer to another objection of our author, against this theory of rents, namely, that it makes agriculture, including the landlord's advantages, the most profitable of all employments. Nothing can be more erroneous than this idea. It goes upon the supposition, that by the theory the purchaser of land takes no risk in thus investing his capital, that his profits are rapid and sure, not liable to fluctuation, change, or successful competition from the cultivators of new soils; none of which inferences are fairly deducible from the reasoning of Mr Ricardo, if they be carefully examined. Every body has heard of most unprofitable agricultural speculations. But this will not weaken the general conclusions in the theory of rents, for the reasons before given. Capital naturally seeks the most advantageous employment. When, from the competition of rival adventurers, the profits of stock shall have become small and doubtful, in commerce, manufacture, and other departments of industry, we may expect more to arise

from agriculture than at present; and this will probably be the case at no very distant period. It is a very common mistake among writers on this subject to suppose, that the rise of produce is the first and sole cause of the fall of profits. These would fall, however, for a variety of reasons, although produce remained unchanged.

In our remarks thus far, we have spoken of the rise in the price of produce. It may be, however, only a fall in the price of every other article; which amounts to precisely the same thing. All rise is comparative. Commodities rise merely because they will command more. There may be, in consequence of improvements in agriculture, a much greater supply of produce even in proportion to the demand than formerly; but the supply of other commodities, with which that produce is exchanged, and which measure its value, may be in still greater proportion; it will therefore command a larger portion of those, and for this reason, and this reason alone, it seems to rise in price. Smith speaks of the stationary nature of corn rents. It is difficult to tell, however, whether they are in fact stationary. For the reasons we have given they may have risen or have fallen materially. If tried by the labor which they command, and which is the best measure of value through long periods of time, they cannot have varied much. But there is some uncertainty about this, because the condition of the laborer, his food, habits, conveniences, and expectations are subject to such essential changes.

We look upon the rise of rent, which our author seems so much to dread, as the decisive proof, that a country is advancing rapidly in opulence. Observe any great commercial place, where there is a press of business and a crowd of population, and where there are vast amounts of capital accumulated. These are the causes of the high price of rents there, and they will not begin to fall until profits fall, business ceases to be flourishing, and the accumulation of wealth is checked. The same is observable, for similar reasons, of lands in every situation. It is true that while the country is still advancing, rents may in some places be stationary and even fall, but it is on account of their greater rise in other portions of it. Mr Cardozo thinks, too, that they are made unnaturally high, by the laws which encumber the titles to real estates, and make the transfer of them difficult and unsafe. We do not agree with him on this point. These restrictions have an opposite tendency, and make the

price of rents in some cases improperly low, and more in danger of that extreme than of the other. If the law could free lands from embarrassing questions about title, and render the transfer of them as simple and easy, as the transfer of personal property, they would be likely to fall into the hands of those, who could most profitably use them, or turn them to the best account in the hands of others. The landlord never can find it for his interest to charge his tenant too much, because he will make the tenant's business unprofitable, and thus ultimately reduce his own rents. He ought not to charge the tenant too little, because this is giving him an unfair and useless advantage over others in similar situations. It is in the nice calculation of asking of the tenant just so much, and no more than he can profitably afford to pay, that the true secret of assessing rent lies. Now who can make this nice and just calculation most advantageously to themselves, great landlords, who are obliged to keep possession of their estates whether they like it or not, or those who purchase in order to vest their capital productively, and who study to employ it so as to receive the greatest possible returns from it? There would, it is true, be a less number of large farm rents in the country, than before the restrictions were taken off, but the sum of the smaller ones must amount to vastly more than those; and, besides, they would be more accurately looked after and carefully paid.

The inferences deducible from this theory of rents seem to us very important. One of them is, that rents affect neither the wages of labor nor the profits of stock, and enter not into prices. We do not think this appears very clearly in Mr Ricardo's chapter on the subject, though it evidently must follow from his reasonings; and it was the object of our remarks upon some of his inaccuracies, to make it more plain. Produce, we have seen, first rises in price. Then, and not till then, do rents rise. It is evident, therefore, that the former cannot be enhanced by the latter, since it must take place before rents can be changed or affected. But it is often believed that rents do in reality make the heaviest part of prices. Landlords are sometimes represented as growing rich, and living idly and luxuriously by means of taxes indirectly levied upon the wages of the laborer, or upon the capital, which honest industry or enterprise has accumulated. But if they were to give up to their tenants all their rents, it could have no effect in reducing the prices of produce, because it would neither increase the supply nor diminish

the demand. There would be the same quantity in the market, the same number of sellers, the same number of consumers. The only result of such an injudicious act of generosity on the part of landlords would be, to introduce the greatest inequality among capitalists, and into employments of all sorts, and thus lead to a state of confusion and disorder such as we cannot easily describe. It appears more clearly, too, by this theory, that, in the natural course of things, that class of people, who are the most uniformly interested in their country's welfare, are sure, without peculiar efforts of their own to advance in opulence, as their country advances in opulence, and nearly in the same proportion. The prosperity of the landholder is justly represented by Smith as always in unison with the general prosperity of society. It is difficult to conceive of any great public or private improvement, which will not directly or indirectly benefit him. His success depends entirely upon the success of every class of people around him; while their interests, though never at variance with his, are frequently at variance with each other, and not unfrequently so with those of a great majority of the community to which they belong. He holds, too, an indissoluble interest; but citizens in other situations, merchants, or capitalists, who find that profits have fallen, because competition has been widely extended, may transfer themselves and their property to other places, where they expect to reap greater advantage. It is not without a very good reason, that the old English law, which has come to us, looks with an eye of peculiar favor on freeholders and yeomen.

In these remarks on rents, we have observed no difference between those of cultivated or farm lands, and those of lands in places crowded with population; and writers on the subject generally seem to pass it by unnoticed. It was not necessary for us to point to this distinction. The character of monopoly belongs more plainly and strongly, though not more justly, to the latter than to the former. But the same principles belong to both, and the same general reasoning, which we have applied to the one, will, with a slight difference of phraseology, be found equally applicable to the other.

Mr Cardozo is much more successful in some other strictures on Ricardo, and exposes one error, in particular, which has been copied, and implicitly acquiesced in, by Mr Malthus, and which we are now surprised could have so long remained unnoticed. That ingenious writer, in his great work on the Princi-

ples of Political Economy and Taxation, employs a whole chapter in drawing distinctions between the riches and the values of a country, and seems to think that the former may be indefinitely changed, increased, or diminished, while the amount of the latter remains unaltered. This is clearly an error. The following passage from Mr Ricardo contains, in brief, the argument by which that position is maintained.

'If an improved piece of machinery should enable us to make two pair of stockings, instead of one, without additional labor, double the quantity would be given in exchange for a yard of cloth. If a similar improvement be made in the manufacture of cloth, stockings and cloth will exchange in the same proportions as before, but they will both have fallen in value; for in exchanging them for hats, for gold, or other commodities in general, twice the former quantity must be given. Extend the improvement to the production of gold, and every other commodity; and they will all regain their former proportions. *There will be double the quantity of commodities annually produced in the country, and therefore the wealth of the country will be doubled, but this wealth will not have increased in value.*' *Ricardo*, p. 288.

It is very easy to see through the fallacy of this reasoning. The exchangeable value of the article, the production of which is thus made more easy, must, it is certain, be diminished; that is, the same quantity of it will not command the same quantity of other articles in the market, that it had been used to do before. Perhaps we might go farther, and admit that the exchangeable value of the whole amount of the article, so cheapened in price, has been diminished, though this is hardly possible. Admit it, however, for the sake of the argument. In the mean time, while the exchangeable value of this cheapened article is thus diminished, the exchangeable value of every other article, when compared with it, must be in the same proportion increased. Observe the remark in the last period of our last extract. Our inference from it would be, that the sum total of the exchangeable values was doubled; the whole of every commodity will command just double the quantity of every other commodity that it formerly would. In these reasonings both Mr Ricardo and ourselves have reference merely to the internal exchanges, which may take place in the same country, and to the exclusion of those arising from foreign commerce. Our author supposes him to have been led into the above mistake, by confounding value with price. But this explanation will not do, because the *real* price of an article must be the same as its exchangeable value. And we

think it impossible that Mr Ricardo can have confounded it with the *nominal*, or money price, since in another part of his work he gives us his reasons very fully, for estimating the value of a commodity by the amount of labor necessary to be expended in its production. This, in fact, will serve as an explanation of the whole difficulty. The values he supposes to remain the same, because they have cost no more labor. It is an error of reasoning, and not merely of a use of words, with which we are obliged to charge Mr Ricardo.

The distinction between wealth, or riches, and value seems to us very simple; yet it has been the ground of much discussion, and led to many mistakes. Take, for example, the following remarks, which are intended for a definition of the term *wealth*, by Mr J. B. Say, the most popular, and perhaps the most able writer on political economy, since the time of Smith.

'If we take the pains to inquire, what that is, which mankind in a social state of existence denominate wealth, we shall find the term employed to designate an indefinite quantity of objects bearing inherent value, as of land, of metal, of coin, of grain, of stuffs, of commodities of every description. When they further extend its signification to landed securities, bills, notes of hand, and the like, it is evidently because they contain obligations to deliver things possessed of inherent value. In point of fact, wealth can only exist where there are things possessed of real and intrinsic value. *Wealth is proportionate to the quantum of that value; great, when the aggregate of component value is great; small, when that aggregate is small.*' *Say*, p. 1.

Even the most superficial reader will see this to be an error. The intrinsic value of some things, of water, for instance, may be very great, though they are seldom to be ranked among articles of wealth, and many, which are so ranked, and highly, have in them little intrinsic value. The wealth, too, contained in some commodities, may continually vary, either increase or diminish, while their intrinsic value remains unchanged. It appears to us, that under the term *wealth* we class together those objects only, which have exchangeable value, whether they are useful or not, and that their wealth is just in proportion to this exchangeable value, without reference to their utility or to any other inherent quality whatever. If exchangeable value be given to the most common things, they become articles of wealth; if it be subtracted from even the richest, they cease to be so esteemed. A remarkable proof of this occurs in the example just cited, of

water, which in some places, in cases of great scarcity, has had a high exchangeable value, and then the possession of large quantities of it may have been wealth, but it is never thought such in common cases, because from its plenty it has no exchangeable value. It is said, however, that we are not to apply the term to notes, paper money, securities, &c. And why not? The owner of a warehouse full of raw produce, or of a chest of massive gold, or of coffers of metallic money, will find them of little service to him beyond their exchangeable value; and if the holder of a bank note, or bill of exchange, finds it possessed of the same extensive power, we know not why he may not give it as high a title. Let it be observed, that we are now insisting on what we take to be the common use of language. Perhaps it might have been more judiciously appropriated at first. But we have no right to limit it to suit our own ideas on the subject; and we cannot doubt that it is commonly, and, indeed, universally used, as we have explained it.

We have room to touch slightly upon one other theme suggested by our author, in the discussion of which he seems to have fallen into a singular mistake.

He represents a paper currency in all its forms, and with every convenient limit and restriction, as one of the greatest causes of national decline, wherever it is established. '*We find that nations become more thriftless in proportion as they depart from the use of a medium of circulation possessed of intrinsic value.*' That the use of a paper currency has been grossly abused, perverted to the purposes of fraud, made the instrument of bankruptcy, ruin, and distress to thousands, and that it ought, therefore, to be put under more severe legislative restrictions, than it has hitherto been, we presume no one acquainted with the history of it will deny. But the idea of abolishing it entirely is new to us. We know not indeed how this could be effected, whatever might be the expediency of such a measure. If it were possible to suppose a country, where it had never been particularly needed, and where the channel of circulation had always been conveniently filled with gold and silver coins, the holders of large portions of these might still find, or think it profitable to send them abroad; and then the deficiency would be felt at once. A system of credits must be established or extended throughout the community. It will, however, be very imperfect at first, because the facility of transfer is not understood, or not reduced to practice; the creditor, who has some

doubt about the ability of his debtor to pay, cannot easily dispose of the risk, while those to whom he is indebted, may feel the same doubts of him, have the same difficulty of transfer, and be also in their turn exposed to the same troubles in their transactions with others.

It is in this imperfect state of credit, and in order to relieve the embarrassments arising from it, that banks, or something in the nature of banking institutions, are introduced. They assume the responsibility of the debtor; they relieve the creditor of his anxiety and doubt; they enable him to divide into small portions, and transfer some of his risk to those with whom he deals, and so the system is carried among every class of people, as far as commerce of any kind extends. It is all an ingenious piece of machinery for establishing, dividing, regulating, and transferring credits, as substitutes in the place of money; for the holder of a bank note is a mere creditor of the bank to that amount. Now it is difficult to tell at what point Mr Cardozo would stop the progress of the natural course of things we have described. Would he prohibit the exportation of specie? Would he check credit, or the transfer of credit, or the evidence of this transfer, by paper or scrip? Would he order that no class of people in the community, however respectable and wealthy, should assume, for honest purposes, the debtor's responsibility, or the creditor's risk, although all the interested parties were desirous of their doing it? Every one of these measures must be taken, before a paper currency can be effectually prevented. But we know not how a government can take either of them, without such a gross infraction of private right, or such an improper interference with the fair bargains of individuals, as no free people of intelligence will voluntarily submit to. It has been thought by some very able writers, that the minute subdivision of these credits, or the issue of small notes by banks, ought to be prevented. We have our doubts about this however. In our own country we have experienced none of the inconveniences, which have been ascribed to them by the foreign journals.

It is now universally allowed, that a paper currency cannot be safe, unless it be convertible, at the pleasure of the holder, into gold and silver, either in the shape of coin or of bullion. And with this qualification it may be looked upon as decidedly the most important modern invention in the accumulation of wealth. It renders exchanges incomparably more rapid and easy. The wheels of commerce are rid of a superfluous load. Tedious,

laborious processes in business are dispensed with. In short every step of the progress, from the first production of commodities to their ultimate distribution, is wonderfully facilitated; and if, according to the ingenious speculations of a late writer on the subject, the quantity, or amount of the circulating medium must be in an inverse proportion to the rapidity with which it moves, and effects exchanges, a far greater sum in coins will be necessary for the purpose than in paper money. This is a substitute, too, of the cheapest for the most expensive material. A large portion of the supply of the precious metals is rendered superfluous, and the wear, tear, waste, and unavoidable losses upon those in use are in a great measure saved. Were it necessary to fill up the circulating medium wholly with them, as our author, together with many others, seems to think, so much capital must be withdrawn from profitable employments, and suffered to remain unproductive, and upon the decline. To procure it at the first, and to keep it good continually, must be an immense tax, though an indirect one, upon the whole community; and its effects will be visible upon their wealth. Their real profits of stock will be less; their real wages of labor less, their real rents of land less; and such a people cannot bring their commodities to market on equal terms with those who are free from that unreasonable tax, and whose circulating medium is cheaper and better. In the natural course of things nations tend to throw off the incumbrance, and hitherto their governments generally have encouraged them in it. We believe they will still continue to do it, notwithstanding the popular clamor we often hear against paper money.

The great public evil, which writers on political economy have feared from banks, is the over issue of their notes, by which they say the value of money may be indefinitely reduced, and the value of all other commodities of course in the same proportion raised. But there is a natural limit to this not generally understood, which must check it at an early stage in its progress, if not entirely prevent it. That limit is the cost and the exchangeable value of the precious metals. A coin is worth no more than the bill, which promises to pay it, for by the supposition the one is convertible into the other at the pleasure of the holder. Whatever amount therefore of paper currency is pressed into circulation, as long as this convertibility remains, the value of it will be regulated by the labor and expense necessary for procuring gold and silver from the mines, and passing them

through the mint. It can never continue for any length of time materially below this. If there should be such an excessive quantity of it issued as to raise the price of all other commodities, bullion, as a commodity, would rise also, the coins be melted down in order to form it, drafts made upon the bank to procure them for that purpose, and thus the over issue will be immediately checked, and the amount of the currency lessened both by the return to the bank of its notes in exchange for specie, and by an absolute diminution in the number of coins. The consequence will be, that prices will everywhere be brought down to their proper level. It has been lately said, that Adam Smith had wrong or confused ideas on currency; that the channel of the circulating medium can nowhere overflow nor be perfectly full; that it will easily receive and dispose of any amount of money, which may be thrown into it, however valuable it may be; and that the only effect of a great sudden increase or diminution of it, is to diminish or increase in just the same proportion the prices of all other articles in the country. And in support of this, it is urged, that, on the discovery of the mines in America, the different nations of Europe absorbed into their circulation a much larger portion of gold and silver than had been found sufficient for their purposes before.

These statements may lead to very erroneous conclusions. The amount in the *quantity* of the circulating medium we allow may be almost indefinitely enlarged, and all easily appropriated and used. But the amount in its whole *value* must remain nearly the same, and can be increased only with the growing wealth of the country. Its traffic and exchanges will absorb only a certain amount of value. It was the depreciation of this, we believe, which, on the discovery of the American mines, made a larger portion of gold and silver necessary for European commerce. It was merely a greater *quantity* of these, and not a greater amount of wealth, which was poured into the channels of circulation. If these remarks be true, an unnecessary number of bank notes of undiminished value cannot be kept abroad to serve the purposes of money. But while they are exchangeable for coins, their value never will be diminished. We have no great or lasting evil to apprehend, therefore, from an over issue of such notes, nor from the injurious effects on prices which it is said to produce.

If there are more notes issued from the banks than the exchanges of the country require, and thus the value of money is

lowered, and that of other things raised, yet not enough to lead to the melting of the coins, the evil will be remedied in other ways. A portion of the gold and silver will go abroad, and seek in foreign parts that profitable employment, which it cannot find at home. This will have a direct effect in lessening the sum in circulation, and an indirect effect also in doing it by limiting the issues of the banks. The high price of goods at home, too, may lead to the importation of goods that are cheaper, and the competition arising from these, together with the exportation of specie for various reasons, will all tend to bring about the same results; namely, to raise again the value of money, reduce that of commodities in general, and keep the circulating medium on its proper level. It is true, that banks have been often disposed thus to over issue; but, as Smith says, they are always much the greatest, if not the only sufferers by it, because they are obliged to have on hand a far greater amount of capital in proportion, and the returns of their notes to them in demand for specie, will be so rapid, that they are called upon at short intervals to replenish, in order to keep it constantly good. This is not the evil, however, in the administration of banking establishments, from which the public have to fear much, or long. It is one of a very different character. It is deception; artful mismanagement; sometimes deliberate fraud; discounts for personal favor; loaning notes on bad or insufficient security, and without enough metallic currency or bullion or capital of any sort to pay them off or redeem them when they are presented.

It is from these, and similar causes, and not from the indiscreet, unprofitable over issue of paper, that the great distresses and embarrassments connected with monied institutions have principally arisen. How they are effectually to be prevented, we are not prepared to say. In equable times, when business is regular and uniform, a large number of separate, independent banks have a great power in correcting it. It is the interest of each to check the others' issues; they, therefore, watch each other, often try each other; and their competition will have a powerful effect in regulating each other's transactions, and in making them all equal and fair. But business is not always regular and uniform; and the danger can never thus be entirely removed. It deserves consideration, whether some greater personal responsibility ought not to be thrown by law upon the managers or directors of these institutions.

In our remarks we have constantly observed a distinction between fraudulent issues, and fair over issues, of bank notes. They

are commonly spoken of together; but it is important that they should be kept separate, because the former alone require the control of government, and the latter, we have shown to be comparatively a slight evil, which will speedily bring about its own remedy.

We have not stated Mr Cardozo's arguments against a paper currency; and we approach them reluctantly, because they seem to us unworthy of him, and can do no credit to his work. He says, that on the first substitution of paper for the coins, that class of laborers and manufacturers, who were engaged in producing the commodities, formerly to be sent abroad in exchange for bullion, are immense sufferers; and that if, in consequence of rapidly increasing business, a country should suddenly want more coins to effect its exchanges than it has, it will soon be supplied with them from those other countries, which must 'necessarily' have been at the same time and in the same proportion retarded. This is to us very unsatisfactory reasoning. How? Is it the doctrine here, that the gain of one nation is necessarily the loss of some other? And that a whole people is to be heavily taxed in order to procure an article which it does not want, and support a class of men, who would otherwise be elsewhere more profitably employed, both to themselves and to all around them? For, as we have seen, the expense of the rich currency is a levy on the wealth of every one. The profits of every employment must be lessened by it, and those, who are engaged in procuring the articles, which are to be sent out for the importation of the precious metals, must be, in their proportion, sufferers with the rest. The above arguments, cannot be the deliberate sentiments of our author. If he has not formally disavowed them in other parts of his book, he has advanced principles, which are at variance and inconsistent with them.

On the whole, our readers will easily gather, from what we have said, our opinion of Mr Cardozo's pamphlet. It is generally interesting to us. It contains some very ingenious reasonings, particularly in the last chapter, on taxes. The errors of the author seem to be those of precipitancy, and want of care; and this remark applies as well to his faults of style, as to the opinions he advances. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain, in the beginning of a chapter, what he intends to do; and we are not quite sure, that we have found it all out, when we arrive at the end. But with all these faults, we have no hesitancy in recommending the book to those, who are fond of such inquiries, and who are willing to see the critics of Smith, and of the lovers of Smith in their turn also, severely criticised.

Art. XII.—*Russian Tales; from the French of Count Xavier de Maistre, Author of the 'Leper of Aost,' &c.* 12mo. pp. 197. Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1826.

The two Tales, which compose this volume, belong to the series of productions, of which a favorable specimen was presented to the American public, about a year since, in the 'Leper of Aost,' of which an account was given in this journal at the time of its appearance. They are from the pen of the Count Xavier de Maistre, a native of Piedmont, who, after having risen to the rank of general in the Russian service, is now living in retirement at St Petersburg. With two other tales, as yet untranslated, the three which have been now presented to the American public, in an English dress, constitute the Romantic works of the author. They have no pretensions to a rank among works of classical merit, and aim only at the character of short tales of inartificial structure, recommended by simplicity and nature. With the 'Leper of Aost,' the public is already too well acquainted, to require another allusion to it in our pages. We incline to give the Tales, which compose this volume, a preference over that which preceded them; and we cannot forbear to mention, as an additional commendation, that a beautiful typographical execution is in harmony with the contents of the volume. We confess ourselves so much the slaves of prejudice, as to like a neat volume; and have often thought we could enjoy the Waverley Novels, with a greater relish, if the American press had furnished us the first reprints of them in a style of publication, equal to that of the 'Russian Tales.'

The great attraction of these Tales (at least of the first of them), though it might not be fair to say the chief merit, resides in the scene. A faithful description of Russian manners, on Russian ground; the wastes of Siberia, the mountains of Caucasus, come to us with a fresh air of novelty. One is glad, at length, to escape from Portman Square and Bromley Park; from the banks of the Garonne and the passes of the Apennines, and all the rest of the traditionary geography, whose charms or terrors have been immortalized, in a hundred novels and romances. The regions, which furnish the 'local habitation' of these Tales, is not only new ground, but is in itself fertile of interest. Something of Oriental adventure attaches itself to whatever is Russian; while 'the fairy frostwork' of the North is superadded, with its glittering and brilliant imagery.

The first of the two Tales contained in the publication before us, is called the 'Prisoners of Caucasus.' The scene is laid in the mountain fastnesses of the unsubdued tribes, that inhabit the spots, to which philosophers now trace the whole proud family of the *homo sapiens Europæus*, and where the most perfect models of female beauty are still supposed to be found. Count de Maistre has sketched this landscape, no doubt, with a faithful, but with somewhat too sparing and rapid a hand. He traversed the region, at the head of his military command, and he has rather torn out a leaf of his book of surveys, than given us an amateur's painting. But we pay him the best compliment in our power by adding, that what he has done in this way, has but increased our wish, that he had indulged himself freely in these delineations. We much mistake, if the few following sentences do not place the reader on a field of action, new, peculiar, and awakening the hope of adventure.

'The Mountains of Caucasus have for a long time been included within the limits of the Russian empire, without forming a part of its jurisdiction. Their uncivilized inhabitants, divided by interests and unconnected by language, form a cluster of small tribes, who have little political connexion, but are equally animated by a love of independence and a spirit of rapine.

'One of the most numerous and formidable of these tribes, is that of the Tchetchengs, who inhabit the great and little Kabarda; two provinces, the high valleys of which extend to the summits of Caucasus. They are a handsome, spirited, intelligent people, but rapacious and cruel, and in a state of continual hostility with the "troops of the Line." Under this latter name are comprehended several military posts, occupied by the Russian troops, between the Caspian and Black Seas, from the mouth of the Terek to the entrance of the Kuban.

'It is in the midst of these dangerous hordes, and in the centre of this immense range of mountains, that the Russian government has opened a road of communication with its Asiatic possessions. Redoubts, built at intervals, secure the road into Georgia; but no traveller would be daring enough to traverse alone the intermediate space; twice every week a convoy of infantry, with a few field pieces and a strong detachment of Cossacks, affords an escort to travellers and to the messengers of government. One of these fortifications, erected at the entrance of the mountains, has insensibly assumed the appearance of a well peopled village; and, from its commanding situation, it is called "Wladi-Caucasus" ("Wladeti" signifying in the Russian language, to command, domineer); and it is the residence of the officer who

commands the troops engaged in the fatiguing service, which has been briefly described.' pp. 13—15.

We have not space to make copious extracts from this pleasing tale; nor is it worth while to reduce it to a skeleton of an abstract. It is, as presented to us by the author, a compressed narrative. The incidents given are enough for a full sized romance, with no greater expansion than the rules of art admit, and, to speak critically on the subject, the story is too full of adventure. The author, in the attempt to embody it in too small a compass, has not allowed himself sufficient room, either for scenery or character, and has been obliged to leave some parts of the story too little *motivés* to please. Thus the murder of Mamet, as related, seems an unnecessary piece of cruelty, not requisite to furnish out the composition of Ivan's character, nor seemingly required by anything else in the plot. With a little more care in the execution, it could have been avoided or shown to be necessary.

We have indulged ourselves in these strictures, because we fear we shall have to bestow unqualified praise on 'Prascovia Lopouloff;' a tale every way meriting the attention of the reader, and sure to reward it. This is the name of the heroine, whose adventures form the subject of Madame Cottin's charming romance. The incidents related in Count de Maistre's work were matters of notoriety in Petersburg; the residence and connexions of the author at that capital put it in his power to become acquainted with them, and the use made of the names of the imperial family, by a person of rank and character, is a sufficient guaranty for the authenticity of the facts. Here, then, is the real exploit, which, though it seems in Madame Cottin's novel to go beyond the bounds of possibility, is yet, in the authentic narrative, far more astonishing; inasmuch as an humbler education, than that ascribed to Elizabeth, makes the conception of her design more extraordinary, on the part of the wonderful girl, who undertook and achieved it. It appears from this narrative, that when she left her home, to traverse the Russian empire, a distance of three thousand wersts, to ask her father's pardon of the emperor, this poor female was unable to read or write.

We freely confess, that 'Prascovia Lopouloff,' although inferior in mere literary execution to 'Elizabeth,' is, in our opinion of the matter, infinitely before it in character and interest. In all the points of difference, the advantage is decidedly in favor of 'Prascovia.' Madame Cottin, fearing that the simple truth was neither

quite dramatic nor quite elevated enough, has given us rather more plot and a good deal more sentiment; and it would be certainly churlish to quarrel with her elegant performance. But what could be added to the truth of such an adventure? There were but two possible ways, in which a severe taste could admit of the treatment of this subject. It must either be told in its pure Doric simplicity, as Count de Maistre has told it, or it must be transfigured, by some Shaksperian power, beyond the reach of any common genius. Madame Cottin, of course, could not think of this way of proceeding, and she has, therefore, sacrificed the stern and chaste character of the truth, by adding to it the ordinary appendages of a novel. She has made of her subject a performance, which stands in somewhat the same relation to the reality (and that is the work, not of Count de Maistre, but of Truth and Fact), as one of Ducis' translations stands in, to the original of Shakspeare. As Quintilian tells his pupil, that *he* may be sure of having made good progress, who delights in Cicero, we would say to all our youthful readers, into all whose hands the 'Russian Tales' we trust will pass, that unless they prefer 'Prascovia' to 'Elizabeth,' their taste needs correcting.

The ingenious and distinguished translator, who has favored the American public with the version of these Tales, has, in his Preface, alluded to another heroine as a conception unquestionably suggested by the adventures of Prascovia. He expresses himself in the following manner.

'A comparison of the "Heart of Mid Lothian," and of "Prascovia Lopouloff," may, at once, illustrate the difference between the texture of mere imaginary tales, and romantic stories which have the recommendation of truth, and place in a strong light the distinctive and preeminent talent of the author of the Waverley novels. Both heroines are represented as uneducated, and are alike lovely in their native excellence. Their undertakings are the noblest display of female heroism; they come into contact with almost every class of society; they address monarchs and ministers, encounter numerous toils and dangers, experience a great variety of fortune, and succeed beyond their hopes. Yet, how different are the two works! Had the great novelist undertaken to write the history of the Russian heroine, he hardly could have avoided introducing probable though not actual events, fictitious incidents merely for the sake of their dramatic effect, and characteristic but extensive dialogues. Count Maistre was either conscious that he could not be successful in such amplifications of feeling, such developments of character, and such an unravelling

of action, or, confining himself to the simple duty of a biographer, he preferred to interest by mere sketches, chalked out with a vigorous and steady hand. Perhaps Retsch might not, in so masterly a manner, have illustrated some scenes of Göthe's Faustus, in finished engravings, as in his outlines. Yet, to real talent alone is it given to know the compass and strength of its own powers.' pp. 8—10.

These observations of M. de Wallenstein are just; and the allusion to Retsch's Sketches remarkably happy. Another inference also may be made from the comparison of Jeannie Deans with Prascovia, either in Count de Maistre's or Madame Cottin's personation. The enterprise really achieved by the Russian heroine, was incomparably more arduous, than that ascribed to Jeannie Deans. The difference in point of distance, between the journey from Siberia to St Petersburg and that from Edinburgh to London, vast as is that difference, is but a single circumstance, in which the true exploit exceeds the fictitious. But how different is the effect of their treatment; for more, far more than Count de Maistre has excelled Madame Cottin, does the purely fictitious Jeannie surpass even Prascovia. This is the triumph of creative, or as we have just called it, Shaksperian genius; and though the simple and devoted heroism of the forlorn Siberian girl was unquestionably the model, on which Jeannie's character was constructed, the production of the master mind exceeds even that of nature, in all the difference between an idealized statue and a portrait. To express all that we would say on this topic, we might compare Prascovia to a vigorous and faithful painting from life; Elizabeth to what is called a flattered likeness; and Jeannie Deans to one of those creations of the chisel or the pencil, where nature herself is outdone by the genius of her great lord, selecting, combining, and ennobling her most lovely features.

We would not entirely dismiss this work, without a well deserved compliment to the success, with which the translation has been executed. Let the reader, who wishes to judge of this, and we will suppose him to be one of the well educated, accomplished young men, who talk of knowing French, Italian, and Spanish, on the score of being able to exchange a salutation in those tongues, let him make the experiment of translating an English book, into either of them, and submit his performance for revision to a native Frenchman, Italian, or Spaniard. The defects in language, in this version, are neither so numerous nor

so considerable, as may be found in most of the fashionable productions of the English literature of the day. Nor is mere grammatical correctness its sole merit. It is possible, as every scholar knows, that a translation, without violating the sense of a single passage, should amount, after all, to anything but a faithful image of the literary character of the original. The *tone* of Count de Maistre's mode of writing is one of its great merits, and this is very successfully reproduced by M. de Wallenstein.

ART. XIII.—*Report from the Commissioners appointed to Revise the Statute Laws of the State of New York, prepared in Obedience to a Resolution of the Honorable the Assembly. Communicated March* 15, 1826. pp. 112. Albany.

THERE are few questions of internal improvement, upon which sound and liberal minds are more divided among us, than upon the expediency and practicability of substituting a general code for the whole mass of common and statute law. We cannot pretend to much consistency in our own pages upon this topic, having already found occasion, as has happened to some lawyers, to argue both sides of the case, before the question is well settled. There is no great evil in this, as respects ourselves or the public, since we do not set up for an inflexible character of individuality; and as in regard to matters of commerce between men, it is more important to the community that the rules of law be plain and certain, than what those rules may be, so upon general questions of policy and morals, it is far more important that they should be well discussed, than that this or that set of opinions should be uniformly maintained in a journal.

The sense of the profession in this country, we think, is against this great scheme of legal reform. Technical jurists are probably less sensitive than others to the alleged inconveniences of the present system; they are at any rate better aware of the difficulties and dangers of the proposed change; and they perhaps feel a more solemn attachment to the venerable fabric of the common law, which has sheltered and protected them and their ancestors for a thousand years. Even from the profession, however, we do not hear an undivided voice. On the contrary,

learned and eminent counsellors are ranged on both sides of the controversy; and in Louisiana, where the task has been entered upon, under the sanction of legislative authority, and is now prosecuting with great zeal, the code has nevertheless been attacked, and is defended with a warmth approaching to bitterness. If we may be allowed to exercise a little of the spirit of prophecy, we think we can perceive in this the coming shadow of a mighty war. The Louisianian controversy we take to be the beginning of a legal feud, which is not to be kept within the narrow pale of a State sovereignty, or bounded by the banks of the Mississippi. Codes are to be proposed, discussed, assailed, defended, throughout the union; and we look to see the day, when *codifiers* and *anticodifiers* will wage a war as fierce and interminable, as that which raged of yore between the Doctors of Admiralty and his Majesty's servants of King's Bench. We do not mean to hasten hostilities; and having already given our opinion on each side, we choose now to reserve ourselves for decided measures, until we shall have an opportunity of witnessing the affray, and putting out our strength to some purpose on the best side.

The subject presented to our consideration by the pamphlet before us, is of a very different character, or at least of a more limited extent, presenting a question respecting which, in the abstract, there will doubtless be far less diversity of opinion among professional men. We cannot suggest it to the reader's mind more profitably, than by a short history of the origin of this pamphlet, and a statement of its contents. It will be recollected, that in 1824, the people of New York revised and made some considerable changes in their State constitution; consequently some alterations of their statutes became necessary; and by an act of the legislature passed on the 27th of November, 1824, three commissioners were appointed to prepare a revised edition of the general laws, with such amendments as might be conformable to the new constitutional requisitions. By an additional act passed on the 21st of April, 1825, the powers of these commissioners were much enlarged; they were authorized to consolidate all acts and parts of acts relating to similar subjects; to distribute the revised and consolidated acts methodically under proper titles and divisions; to omit what had been repealed, or had expired, or was repugnant to the constitution; to suggest the best mode of reconciling apparent contradictions, and supplying defects, and amending what needed

amendment; to designate what ought to be repealed as mischievous or useless, and recommend the passage of such new acts as might either be advantageous in themselves, or necessary to the system; and finally to complete the revision in all other respects in such manner as they might think expedient, in order to render the laws more plain and easy to be understood; and they are required moreover to lay portions of the revised and newly arranged acts before the Assembly, from time to time, to be examined, and if approved, to be made laws.

This extensive, and, as some think, dangerous power, was confided to able hands. The commissioners appointed under the first act were Erastus Root and Benjamin Butler, together with the learned exchancellor Kent. This last gentleman having declined the trust, John Duer was appointed in his room. Mr Root afterwards resigned his place at the board, and it was filled by Mr Wheaton, the well known and indefatigable reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States.

This pamphlet is the first report of the commissioners, prepared in obedience to a resolution of the Assembly, calling upon them to exhibit an account of their progress, and state when they should probably be in readiness for a final report. It contains some account of the labor they have hitherto accomplished, with a partial exhibition of its result. The first steps, of course, were to make a classification of the subjects of the public laws, and a brief analysis or digest of the whole, according to their proposed scheme. A subdivision of the first class of laws into a convenient number of chapters was next effected; and after this the commissioners proceeded to prepare particular chapters at large, subdividing each still farther into convenient articles and sections. A considerable portion of the first great division has been thus prepared in something less than a year from the commencement of their labors, and was ready to be presented to the legislature in March last. But the commissioners justly esteem it important, considering the natural connexion which exists between its chapters, that the whole of this part be completed, before any portion of it shall be reported for consideration and enactment. As a specimen of their work, however, they subjoin two complete chapters; the first, containing the whole proposed statute law, regarding 'elections other than for town officers;' the second, respecting the 'powers, duties, and disabilities of towns.' To these are appended a collection of the principal existing laws on those subjects, as they now stand

in the Statute Book; so that the reader has a fair opportunity of instituting a comparison between the new and the old, and of noting the character of the changes and innovations, which the revisers may have introduced.

That the convenience and utilityof the plan may be more extensively understood, we suppose it may be useful for us to present to our readers, distinctly, a general view of the sources and condition of the existing law of New York, a brief history of her legislation on the subject matter of the proposed code, and a more particular analysis of it as exhibited by the present commissioners.

The law of New York, as of most of the United States, has for its basis the common law of England. By the thirtyfifth article of her Constitution, the Convention of 1777, 'by the authority of the good people of the State, ordain, determine, and declare, that such parts of the common law of England, and of the statute law of England and Great Britain, and of the acts of the legislature of the Colony of New York, as together did form the law of the said Colony on the 19th of April, 1775, shall be and continue the law of this State, subject to such alterations and provisions as the legislature of this State shall from time to time make concerning the same;' excepting, however, such laws as regarded the ecclesiastical establishment of England, or the preservation of allegiance to the British crown, or such as were otherwise repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution. This was little more than declaring, that the laws of the Colony, whencesoever derived, should continue in force, until altered or abrogated by the legislative will. The statutes enacted by the British Parliament seldom extended in express terms to the plantations, and had consequently no intrinsic authority over them. So much of the statute law of England, as was created before the colonization of America, may, throughout the States, be considered as having been originally imported into the country by our English ancestors. They brought with them for their common law the existing law of the mother country, whether written or unwritten, rejecting only such parts as applied exclusively to a condition of things not known, or incapable of existence on this side of the Atlantic. To these are commonly added those British statutes of later growth, which have been considered declaratory or emendatory of the English common law, and as therefore naturally incorporating themselves into the unwritten law of the Colonies; and a few others, not coming

strictly within this class, may have been adopted with no other sanction than tacit consent and general conformity. Local usages, morever, must have existed in this as in the other Colonies; some of which may have had their origin in the notions of law, which were brought by the Dutch settlers from the continent of Europe, or in obsolete ordinances of the early colonial authorities; and others must naturally have grown out of the condition and circumstances of the people, at different periods of their colonial history. These particular customs, with the vast accession made to the common law of England by the rapid growth of commerce, and consequent adoption in the courts of entire new systems of maritime and commercial jurisprudence, probably completed the body of the common law, existing in New York at the era of the American Revolution. We are not sufficiently conversant with the niceties of local law in New York, to know how extensive was the above supposed infusion of continental law from a Dutch original, or how much of it can still be distinctly traced. The Dutch articles of capitulation of 1664, confirmed by treaty ten years after, expressly provide, among other things, that 'the Dutch shall enjoy their own customs concerning their *inheritances;*' but the Charter of Liberties, promulgated by the first colonial assembly, in 1683, settles, that an estate of inheritance *in lands* shall thenceforward be 'according to the customs and practice of his Majesty's realm of England;' and the Constitution of 1777, before cited, seems to allow no operation to existing usages as a part of the law of the land, excepting such as either appertained to the common law of England, or had received express sanction from colonial legislation. Yet the same act of the people, which admitted the common law of England, itself a curious aggregate of usages, customs, traditions, and adjudications, to prescribe to them their rules of civil conduct, could hardly have excluded, by mere implication, the particular customs of the Colony; and we cannot suppose, that while the traces of this foreign origin are yet distinctly visible in other relations, its impress should have been utterly obliterated from the whole body of the laws of this people.

Such being the condition of the common law of New York at the time of the Revolution, we are not aware that it has since undergone any greater change, than what may be called its natural growth by new combinations and applications of its principles, or else such limited alterations as belong to

the usual progress of legislation, in this country, except, that by an act passed in 1788, entitled 'an act for the amendment of the law, and the better advancement of justice,' it was enacted, 'that none of the statutes of England, or Great Britain, shall be considered as laws of this State.' It would be a delicate task, and somewhat foreign to our present purpose, to consider how far this general repudiation of the English statutes fairly extends, and what effect it has had, if any, upon the common law of the State, as existing at the time of its formation; and whether it has really been, conformably to the title of the act, an amendment of the law, and calculated for the better advancement of justice.

The statute law now in force in New York, is, of course, composed of the Constitution, treaties, and public laws of the United States, and the acts of its own State legislature. These last, with the exception of local and private acts, are in a great measure derived from British statutes of a date preceding the Revolution; in many instances they are copied verbatim from the English Statute Book, and in others its provisions are adopted with slight alterations of phraseology. The colonial statutes, declared by the Constitution to be a part of the law of the State, have never been rejected, like the British statutes, *en masse;* many, on the contrary, have been formally reenacted; and others probably mingle, unseen, in the current of legislation, and still have a silent operation in pointing out the just construction of existing laws. A large body of new statute law must, of course, have been the immediate growth of the Revolution. Government was to be organized; courts were to be instituted; the administration of justice, civil and criminal, was to be regulated; forms of process and of judicial proceedings to be provided; the whole future course of legislation and judicature to be determined. This sudden influx of new matter, somewhat hastily contrived for the present exigency, must, of course, have led to many errors and imperfections, which were to be remedied from time to time, as experience should suggest them, by additional acts, modifying the former provisions, or wholly repealing them, and substituting something new, destined itself probably to be in like manner the subject of future amendments, additions, and repeals; for 'it is most certain,' says a learned judge, who was more attentive to his law than his grammar, 'that time and long experience *is* much more ingenious, subtil, and judicious, than all the wisest and acutest wits in the

world coexisting can be.' Besides supplying the defects and repairing the errors necessarily incident to first experiments in legislation, the unexampled prosperity of the nation, and of no part of it more than this distinguished State, the almost incredible growth of population, and immense extension of commerce, a vast and rapid accumulation of wealth, wonderful inventions and discoveries in mechanics and the arts, great public schemes of internal improvement, and innumerable private associations for the employment and security of large capitals in trade and manufactures, have for these forty years past combined to create a real demand for new laws, adapted to the improved condition and modern exigencies of society. It would have been well for the community, and a great relief to courts and counsellors, as well as to revisers and digesters, if the growth of the Statute Book, had arisen wholly from such causes, and only kept pace with the natural demand. But the frequency of popular elections, the minute representation of sectional interests, and the Athenian fondness for novelty among us, have given rise to a very mischievous facility of legislation.

It is notorious that a great proportion of the changes made in our public laws, even those of the most important and extensive operation, are made for particular cases, and are sometimes very ill adapted for any other. It is equally notorious, that an act of incorporation is commonly granted to any set of men, who ask it, for almost any purpose, and with almost any powers, which they are pleased to have inserted in their bill. We do not mean to insinuate, that this is owing to improper influences; although there has been a shrewd suspicion of such operating, in one or two cases, to a small extent upon the legislature of New York. We apprehend that such instances, if they exist in any legislature of the Union, are extremely rare; but we think there is in all of them a slovenly and careless mode of legislating, to a degree almost as culpable; for it is a good maxim of the common law, that gross *laches* is tantamount to fraud. Private bills are commonly drafted by the petitioner, or his counsel; are often read by their titles only, and pass, almost of course, without amendment, and in fact without any effectual notice of their contents to the house. Important changes of general laws, to subserve a particular, though perhaps honest end, are sometimes artfully thrust in by their friends among the matters of little moment, to be hurried through, at the end of a session, without debate, and consequently often without due intelli-

gence of their necessary operation; and in other cases, where the principles of a law have been fairly discussed and are well understood, the acts themselves are yet so inartificially and inaccurately penned as to beget great doubt and uncertainty of their true intent; giving rise to perpetual litigation and innumerable emendatory acts. The legislators themselves are often as much surprised as the courts, to find what has become law; and the chief business of each succeeding legislature is to patch up or repeal, what was ill done by its immediate predecessor.

These remarks are not intended to apply to New York alone; they are quite as true, perhaps more so, of other State legislatures; and, indeed, the whole foregoing history of the origin, progress, and condition, both of the common and statute law of New York, is, with little exception, a history of the law of all the other States of the old confederation.

If our statements are not greatly overcharged, it can readily be imagined what a mass of useless rubbish a few years of such legislation must accumulate in the Statute Book; how many acts are to be consulted, and how many doubts of construction resolved, before the most experienced lawyer can instruct his client in what ought to be so plain a matter as the operation of the written law; and how necessary some system of revision and consolidation must from time to time become.

There are few, if any, of the States in which something of this sort, more or less extensive, has not been attempted. In some of of their legislative assemblies, as in the Congress of the United States and the British Parliament, all acts relative to the same subject are occasionally reviewed and consolidated into one, with such amendments as experience of their practical operation may have suggested. In others, the whole Statute Book has been put into the hands of commissioners to be arranged for reenactment. Virginia, especially, deserves great praise, both as a Colony and a State, for her uniform attention to the reformation and republication of her statute laws. She has made, according to the statement of Mr Henning, who, as a reporter of her courts and a reviser of her laws, is well known to the profession generally, no less than twelve entire revisions; the first of them as early as 1632; the last in 1808. She has besides, under the superintendence of the gentleman abovementioned, recently achieved a great work, of a different character indeed, but sufficiently connected with our topic to allow us to notice it, as one of great importance to the history of the country, as well as the

administration of her own municipal law. We allude to the publication of her 'Statutes at Large; being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in 1619;' occupying thirteen octavo volumes, of five or six hundred pages each. No similar work has as yet been attempted in any other State. Maine also deserves commendation for embracing the opportunity afforded by her erection into a separate State, to make great improvements in the Statute Book of Massachusetts. One of her first acts was to appoint a Board of Jurisprudence, consisting of eminent lawyers, to superintend the publication of the laws, with authority to classify and arrange the whole as to them might appear most convenient. They pursued the authority given them by consolidating all laws then in force relative to the same subject, and rejecting all which were repugnant and contradictory, so as to comprise the whole in a single moderate volume, containing everything useful for ordinary purposes, which was to be found in the four volumes then existing of Massachusetts laws. Massachusetts, we regret to say, has done less in this matter than she might have done with perfect safety and great usefulness. There has been no extensive revision of her laws for more than forty years; nor any preceding the last for more than a century. We, of course, do not consider mere collections and republications, by authority, as revisions. The collection of Ancient Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, in a single volume, though highly valuable to the historian, and perfectly convenient to the profession, is still but a meagre substitute, as a collection of legal and historical documents, for the statutes at large. The last edition of the General Laws of the Commonwealth, from the adoption of the Constitution, though published after the publication of the Laws of Maine, has none of the improvements of that book, but consists of two considerable volumes, and abounds in acts additional, restraining, extending, repealing, restoring, and rerepealing, without consolidation or method, other than belongs to chronological arrangement, and frequent references from act to act. The fault is in the authority given; not in the execution of the task.

But it is time to advert again to the laws of New York. 'The era of legislation,' as it has been called, in that Colony, was 1683. But the colonial acts of that and several subsequent years, with a few exceptions, are not to be found in any printed edition of the laws extant; and it is stated by learned gentlemen,

who had occasion to make the research in 1813, that but few of them are preserved in the Secretary's office. The earliest edition known of the colonial laws, is Bradford's, published in 1710, and containing the laws from 1691. He published another edition in 1726, bringing the laws down to that time. In 1762, the colonial laws then in force, were collected, revised, and published under the authority of the General Assembly, by William Smith, Junior, and William Livingston. Another authoritative revision and republication of the colonial laws took place in 1774. The first revision and collection of the laws of the *State* of New York, was published in 1789, by Samuel Jones and Richard Varrick, containing, in two volumes, the laws passed from the adoption of the Constitution in 1777, and an appendix of certain colonial laws. No other general revision by direction of the legislature took place until 1801, when James Kent, the late Chancellor, then Chief Justice, and Jacob Radcliff, then a Justice of the Supreme Court, were appointed 'to prepare for the press, and to cause to be printed in as many volumes, and under such heads, or divisions, as they shall think proper, all the acts and parts of acts of the legislature of this State *now in force*.' This labor was accomplished in two volumes, published the following year, and commonly known in the reports as the *Revised Laws* of New York. These took effect from the 1st of October, 1801, from which time all acts and parts of acts, coming within the purview and operation of the revised acts, were repealed. In 1813, a similar authority to revise and arrange the laws, was conferred on William P. Van Ness and John Woodworth; and the result of their labors, exhibiting the actual state of the statute law of New York at that date, appears likewise in two volumes, published the same year. This edition, commonly known as the *New Revised Laws*, contains references to all the preceding editions of Colonial and State laws, to the English and British acts of Parliament, *in pari materiâ*, and also to the English and American reporters upon points of construction. Both in this edition and that of Messrs Kent and Radcliff, all the provisions then in force relating to the same particular, are consolidated into separate acts; but there is little attempt at a scientific arrangement or classification of the subjects. A considerable accumulation of laws, passed since 1813, must now remain wholly without arrangement; yet what has been done by the former revisers will doubtless abridge considerably the labors of the present commissioners, whose plan, as developed in the Report, we now propose to consider.

The whole Statute Book is divided into five parts, arranging and classifying the laws as follows.

'I. Those which relate to the territory; the political divisions; the civil polity; and the internal administration of the State.

'II. Those which relate to the acquisition, the enjoyment, and the transmission of property, real and personal; to the domestic relations; and generally to all matters connected with private rights.

'III. Those which relate to the judiciary establishments, and the mode of procedure in civil cases.

'IV. Those which relate to crimes and punishments; to the mode of procedure in criminal cases; and to prison discipline.

'V. Public laws of a local and miscellaneous character; including the laws concerning the city of New York; acts incorporating cities and villages; and such other acts of incorporation as it may be deemed necessary to publish.' p. 7.

This general arrangement, borrowed apparently from Blackstone, is simple, and adequate to its end.

The first part is then subdivided into nineteen chapters, the titles of which sufficiently indicate the nature of the classification.

'Chapter I, to be entitled, Of the boundaries of the State and its territorial jurisdiction.

II. Of the civil divisions of the State.

III. Of the census, or enumeration of the inhabitants of the State.

IV. Of the public officers, their qualifications, privileges, and disabilities; the mode of their election or appointment; and the tenure of their respective offices.

V. Of elections other than for town officers.

VI. Of the duties, privileges, and disabilities of the legislative and principal executive officers of the State.

VII. Of the powers, duties, and privileges of towns.

VIII. Of the powers, duties, and privileges of counties.

IX. Of the salaries and fees of the several offices of this State, except those connected with the judiciary.

X. Of the public property and the funds of the State.

XI. Of the assessment and collection of taxes.

XII. Of the militia, and the public defence.

XIII. Of the public health.

XIV. Of public instruction.

XV. Of agriculture, trade, and manufactures.

XVI. Of highways and bridges.

XVII. Of ferries.

XVIII. Of the internal police of the State.

XIX. Of the publication and construction of the statutes of this State.' pp. 9—12

We regret, that our limits will not allow us to extract one of the chapters, exhibited in the pamphlet as a specimen, entire. We can, however, briefly exhibit something of the mode of farther subdivision. Chapter VII. 'Of the powers, duties, and privileges of towns,' is distributed under six titles.

'Title I. Of the powers and rights of towns as bodies politic, and the mode of exercising them.

Title II. Of town meetings, and the time, purposes, and manner of holding the same.

Title III. Of the qualifications of town officers, and the tenure of their offices.

Title IV. Of vacancies in town offices, and the mode of supplying them.

Title V. Of the duties of certain town officers.

Title VI. Of town charges, and the mode of defraying them.'

Some of these titles are again subdivided into several articles; and each article, or title not divided into articles, is again subdivided into sections. Title II. for instance, consists of the four following articles.

'Article I. Of annual and special town meetings.'

This article directs when and where the meetings shall be held; what officers shall be chosen; what notice shall be given; and defines the powers of the electors at such meetings.

'Article II. Of the mode of conducting town meetings.'

This article directs, who shall preside at such meetings; defines the powers of the presiding officers; prescribes the duties of the clerk; fixes the duration of the meeting, the mode of determining questions by vote, &c.

'Article III. of the election of town officers.'

This directs the manner in which the polls shall be opened and closed, the form of the ballot, the mode of counting, and declaring, and recording the votes.

'Article IV. contains all such miscellaneous and local provisions concerning town meetings as could not well be disposed of under the foregoing heads.'

As a short specimen of the phraseology, we will cite the whole of the first title of this chapter.

'1. Each town in this State is a body politic, and as such has capacity

'To sue and be sued, in the manner prescribed in the laws of this State;

'To purchase and hold lands within its own limits, and for the use of its inhabitants; subject to the power of the legislature over such limits;

'To make such contracts, and to purchase and hold such personal property, as may be necessary to the exercise of its corporate or administrative powers;

'And to make such orders for the disposition, regulation, or use of its corporate property, as may be deemed conducive to the interest of its inhabitants.

'2. No town shall possess or exercise any corporate powers, except such as are enumerated in this chapter; or shall be specially given by law; or shall be necessary to the exercise of the powers so enumerated or given.

'3. All acts and proceedings by or against a town, in its corporate capacity, shall be in the name of such town; but every conveyance of lands within the limits of such town, made in any manner, for the use or benefit of its inhabitants, shall have the same effect as if made to the town by name.

'4. The powers of a town, as a body politic, can only be exercised in town meeting, or in pursuance of a resolution there adopted.'

No enacting clause is proposed to be introduced, excepting at the beginning of each of the five general divisions, where it is preceded by a short preamble, setting forth the expediency of simplifying, consolidating, arranging, and amending the statutes relative to the subjects of that division.

The commissioners have not yet proceeded in their analysis beyond the first general division, the preparation of which, with the necessary preliminary studies and inquiries, they state had furnished them sufficient employment between the periods of their appointment and of the report. Indeed they add, that more than three fourths of the existing public statutes fall under this head, now occupying nearly one thousand two hundred pages, which they hope to reduce, however, notwithstanding the addition of many new provisions, to about half their present extent. The task they have undertaken, with the scrupulous fidelity of execution, which we doubt not belongs to them, is indeed a prodigious labor not to be accomplished in a day. Some of its intrinsic difficulties cannot be better set forth than in their own words.

'In the progress of the work, many changes in the arrange-

ment originally contemplated; frequent transpositions in the order of the subjects; and new divisions and subdivisions of the different parts, became necessary. It is not until successive experiments have been actually made, that it can be satisfactorily ascertained, under what general head the subjects of some of the acts, may most properly be comprised. But the most serious portion of our labor is the drawing up of the text itself. To reduce the sections to a proper brevity; to distribute them in a suitable manner; and to simplify the language in which they are written; it becomes absolutely necessary to write the whole with our own hands, and often to give our draughts several revisions, before we can so far satisfy ourselves, in regard to arrangement and expression, as to authorise the employment of a copyist. We can therefore derive but little aid from clerks or amanuenses; nor have we thought it consistent with the great importance of the trust confided to us, to leave to any one of our number exclusively, the completion of any part of the work, though by such a division of labor, our progress might have been hastened. To preserve uniformity of expression, and to make our performances in every sense of the words, joint and several, we have adopted the plan of alloting to each other, from time to time, convenient portions of the statutes; of committing the draughts prepared by each to the separate and critical revisal of the others; and then of subjecting them to the joint examination of all.' p. 14.

From the brief outline we have given of this scheme, and the foregoing account of labor bestowed upon it by the commissioners, the professional reader can duly estimate the magnitude of the task, and perceive at once the great practical convenience of a code so digested, by such hands, when compared with the clumsy and confused mass of contradictory materials, which now encumbers our statute books. For the difficulty is hardly less with us, than it was with the English in the time of James; and Lord Bacon, in his proposal to that monarch, for the amending of the laws of his realm, takes occasion to press upon his Majesty a vigorous *argumentum ad hominem*, by reminding him, that 'there is such an accumulation of statutes concerning one matter, and they so cross and intricate, as the certainty of the law is lost in the heap; as your Majesty had occasion to experience last day upon the point, whether the incendiary of Newmarket should have the benefit of his clergy.' Still there is always room to fear, that in the general methodizing and amending even of the statute law alone, too much of substance may be sacrificed to mere method; or rather too much

new law may be suddenly introduced, from the great temptation of filling out a noble outline and erecting a perfect system; in short, there is some reason to fear lest systematizing should degenerate into absolute codification. It is remarkable that two such minds, as those of Lord Bacon and Lord Hale, should have concurred, at periods when many of the evils they complain of were certainly less sensibly felt, than at the present day, not only in favorable disposition towards what may be called moderate reform in the law, but in devoting themselves to consideration of the means by which it might best be effected. Indeed the latter, as far as we can gather from his preface to Rolle's Abridgment, seems to have contemplated the formation of a sort of *corpus juris communis* 'out of the many books of our English laws, for the public use, and for the contracting of the laws into a narrower compass and method.' Perhaps, however, regarding the extreme jealousy of innovation, which he elsewhere expresses, we should understand him here as intending nothing more than was proposed by Lord Bacon; whose plan, in regard to the common law, was first, to compile a select volume of forms and precedents from the ancient rolls; secondly, to make a perfect collection of adjudged cases, omitting all that were doubted or overruled, or mere repetitions of former decisions, or which were entirely antiquated and obsolete, as well as 'all idle queries, which are but seminaries of doubts and uncertainties,' and reducing into a compendious form such as were reported with unnecessary prolixity; thirdly, to form a book of institutes, and a few other auxiliaries to the study of the law, which he probably would not have thought necessary to propose, had he lived to the days of Sir William Blackstone, certainly not had he seen all the labor saving machines of the present age. In regard to the statutes, his design was simply to repeal and discard from the books all that were dormant or obsolete, to mitigate the penalties of many, and to consolidate into one clear and uniform law all those which regarded like subjects. The most strenuous opposer of codes would hardly disagree to these modes of amendment.

But the gentlemen of New York are going a step farther, in regard to the reformation of the statute law. They propose, not merely a consolidation, but an entire new order of arrangement, accompanied by changes of phraseology, with a view to greater clearness and precision, and even by provisions wholly new, to supply and remedy what are in their judgment palpable

omissions and imperfections. The title, for instance, which we have cited at length, does not contain a single sentence, nor indeed a single provision, which is to be found in any former volume of the laws; on the contrary, the first section is avowedly extracted from a decision of the Chancery Court of the State; the third section was suggested by decisions at common law, establishing certain principles in regard to counties, 'that would probably be extended to towns under like circumstances;' and the other two sections are wholly their own. Now it must be confessed, that this is exercising the powers confided to them in their greatest latitude; and it is not wonderful, that those who are timid on the subject of innovation, or at least abundantly careful, that every change of the laws 'be demonstrable to be for the better, and such as cannot introduce any considerable inconvenience in the other end of the wallet,' should be somewhat apprehensive of unforeseen consequences.

It is but just, however, to state, that the extract we have given is not a fair sample of the two proposed chapters in this particular. It is the only title which is composed entirely without the aid of the existing statutes. Neither do the commissioners themselves consider these chapters, which contain doubtless a great deal of novelty, as specimens, in this respect, of the whole work. They justly consider, that there is a great distinction between statutes regarding electoral franchises and modes of public proceeding, and those which concern private rights more nearly, regulating the distribution of property and the domestic relations. With the former, they have felt themselves at greater liberty to fill up what was wholly unprovided for by the existing letter of the Statute Book, under the idea that these laws are of a character peculiarly simple in themselves, and such as ought to be expressed in a form level to the comprehension of all capacities, leaving little or nothing to be supplied by inference or by mere conjecture. They are besides, careful in every section to point out what is substantially new, and to refer, if it be an old provision newly clad, to the precise source from whence it was derived. They admit that these chapters 'can hardly be called revisions of existing laws,' and consider them rather as suggestions to the legislature in the most convenient form.

With respect to the class of statutes falling under the second general division, namely, 'those which relate to the acquisition, the enjoyment, and the transmission of property, real and personal;

to the domestic relations; and generally to all matters connected with private rights,' the commissioners appear to be duly sensible of the increasing difficulty of their task, and by no means indicate an overweening confidence of success. These are statutes of which they say, 'almost every line has been the subject of judicial interpretation;' and by a salutary provision in the act from which they derive their authority, they are expressly restrained from making any change in the phraseology or distribution of the sections of any statute, that has been the subject of a legal decision, by which its established construction might be affected or impaired. If in this portion of their labor, they should observe the same scrupulous regard to the duty of forbearance as they have thus far to a most diligent and indefatigable exercise of their extensive powers upon the first class of laws, and yet succeed in reducing them into an equally simple and methodical arrangement, they will have achieved a work which will do infinite honor to them and their constituents, and be of great service not only to the profession, but to the community at large. We have little apprehension, from their guarded and deliberate labor, taken in connexion with their known professional learning and practical skill, as well as the specimen they have laid open to our examination, of dangerous innovations; and we believe, that the final completion of this great work will constitute a new 'era of legislation' in New York, the benefits of which will be experienced, ere long, by the necessary force of example, in her sister States, if not in other portions of the civilized world. Yet, not being prepared to go all lengths with the reformers of the day, and perceiving a disposition in the commissioners to exercise their right of suggesting new things to the legislature pretty extensively, we cannot take our leave without recommending moderation in this particular, and reminding them, in the language of Lord Hale, that 'the business of amendment or alteration of the laws is a choice and tender business, neither wholly to be omitted when the necessity requires, and yet very cautiously and warily to be undertaken though the necessity may, or at least may *seem* to require it.'

Art. XIV.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Francis Berrian, or the Mexican Patriot.* 2 vols. 12mo. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. 1826.

This novel, if we except one or two introductory pages, purports to be drawn up in the form of a narrative, by the hero, of his own adventures. He represents himself as a native of Massachusetts, who, on coming of age, about the year 1821, sets out to seek his fortune in the Western country. After descending the Ohio and Mississippi, he proceeds on a trading expedition to the Spanish provinces in the vicinity of Louisiana. In the course of his rambles, he visits the Commanche Indians, a tribe who reside near the Rio del Norte. Here he finds the heroine of the work, Doña Martha, daughter of the governor of Durango, a lady who has been taken prisoner by the Commanches, and whom he soon rescues from captivity and restores to her friends, though not without exposing his life to imminent peril, and receiving several severe wounds. This last circumstance compels him to take up his abode for a while, in the mansion of the Conde Alvaro, father of Martha. Berrian, of course, soon falls in love with the young lady, but is exposed to perpetual annoyance and persecution from Father Joseph, the priest of the family, and from a rival called Don Pedro, a young Spanish nobleman. After completely recovering from his wounds, he is induced to prolong his stay in the house of the Conde, in the capacity of a teacher of English, till Don Pedro finally procures his banishment.

He departs and joins himself to a body of Patriots, who are then rising in Texas, fights several battles and combats, meets more wonders, not than a man, but than a hundred men, and after various alternations of fortune, becomes second in command of the Mexican forces, which drive Iturbidé from the throne, and is the most efficient instrument in that important revolution. He then marries Martha, while Don Pedro and Father Joseph are torn in pieces by the mob, conducts her in triumph to his native village in Massachusetts, and finally returns with her to Durango.

Such is a brief sketch of the main story of this novel. It is certainly constructed, in many respects, with a very moderate degree of skill.

In the first place, the hero begins his discourse, by stating, that his adventures are now over, and have terminated happily, a statement, which relieves us from all anxiety for his fate; and

we thus enter on the perusal of the story with the same kind of unlucky knowledge, which is sometimes acquired by looking over at once to the last page of a novel, an expedient, which every true novel reader holds in utter abhorrence. Our author has made a mistake of much greater consequence, in fixing the period of his story so near our own times, a blunder of the same kind with that committed by Miss Edgeworth, in making Lord Oldborough prime minister of Great Britain in 1808. The adventures of Francis Berrian are of themselves sufficiently marvellous, but when they are related as happening in the years 1821 and 1822; when we are informed (vol. II. p. 235.) that though Santa Anna held the supreme command, Berrian possessed coordinate authority (a distinction not extremely clear); when we are further told, that Mr Berrian really originated every measure, which overthrew the despotism of Iturbidé, our thoughts are driven in spite of ourselves, from the tale before us to actual history, and we are compelled at every step to recollect the discrepancy between them.

We shall not go into any difficult questions respecting the kind and degree of illusion, produced by a well wrought fiction in the reader's mind. But some illusion there certainly must be, and everything of the kind is effectually precluded in the present case, by the notoriety, as well as the recent date, of every material event connected with the Mexican Revolution; and as if all this were not sufficient to dispel the charm, which it is the business of the author to create and sustain, he has, as we have already stated, actually brought Francis Berrian and Doña Martha to one of the villages in one of our own states. We strive in vain, while reading a story like this, to shut our eyes even for a moment on its palpable incredibility. Every line suggests to us, that if any citizen of Massachusetts had performed, in any part of Mexico, one half the warlike achievements of Francis Berrian, and then returned homeward through our Western country, all the inhabitants of the states through which he passed, would have been thoroughly acquainted with his story, and eager to manifest their sense of his heroic valor. He would have been escorted from town to town by independent militia companies, would have received the degree of Doctor of Laws from a dozen colleges, and been compelled to go through a long campaign of public dinners, far more dangerous to life and health, than all his Mexican adventures.

We have noticed with the more severity our author's mistakes in the conduct of his story, because modern novelists seem to consider this part of their business as of very little consequence. The author of Waverley is notoriously careless in this respect,

and we find inferior authors availing themselves rapidly of the authority of his example. Indeed we fear, that it will soon be as discreditable for a great novelist to frame a good story, as it was a few years ago for a great man to write a good hand. We forbear to notice any of our author's minor faults, but cannot help remarking on the letters of Doña Martha, as singularly unfortunate specimens of epistolary composition.

His principal and only very striking merit, is his talent for description. This alone is, however, sufficient to redeem his greatest faults, and to entitle his work to a thorough perusal. We recollect no author, except Irving, who has painted American scenery with equal power. The descriptions of the Ohio and Mississippi, of the valley of the Commanches, and many other passages of the same kind, are such as would do honor to any author. It was a well known practice of many of the greatest masters of landscape painting, to confine themselves to the representation of inanimate nature, and to procure other artists to draw such figures, as might be necessary to complete their pictures. We should think that our author might derive a useful hint from this practice, did we not believe, that his defects in the construction of his story and the delineation of his characters were those of negligence, and that a writer, who has shown such talents in one branch of his art, and that a very important one, could scarcely fail of success in others, if willing to seek it by proper exertion.

2.—*The Appeal for suffering Genius, a Poetical Address for the Benefit of the Boston Bard; and the Triumph of Truth, a Poem.* By Daniel Bryan. 8vo. pp. 80. Washington. Way & Gideon.

To the poetical parts of this volume, the author has attached a Preface of considerable length, in which he explains his purpose, and a large part of which is taken up in apologizing for 'his juvenile effusions' published some years ago under the title of the 'Mountain Muse, or the Adventures of Daniel Boone.' That work, 'the wild offspring of a rude undisciplined fancy,' his maturer judgment tells him contains imperfections, and he thinks some persons have formed a false estimate of his powers as a poet, from an ignorance of the circumstances under which his early genius expanded itself.

Mr Bryan is moreover apprehensive, that certain readers and editors, into whose hands the 'Mountain Muse' happened to fall,

have suffered the films of prejudice so far to gather around their vision, as not to be able to see clearly the merits of his later productions. Of this he gives some strong instances in point. How far the author's impressions are in reality well founded we know not, but he is certainly right in his position, that the aberrations of a youthful muse ought not to stamp a man's fame forever, in defiance of the vigorous and mature efforts of manhood. Among the great names at the head of English poetry, he cites those of Shakspeare, Pope, Byron, and justly asks with what propriety their merits would be decided by their first productions. These it would be idle to call up at the present day; they are forgotten. And so in other cases, like that of our poet, for instance, a generous criticism would throw a veil over the imperfections of youth, and rejoice that better fruits have sprung from maturity of years; or, to express the same thought in the poetical numbers of the author,

> 'Shall golden ore be spurned because it came
> From mines whence baser metals once were drawn?
> Shall eyes reject the sun's unclouded flame,
> Because dark mists obscured its struggling dawn?'

No, we say, not so; grasp the gold where you can find it, and enjoy the light when it comes. We agree, therefore, with Mr Bryan, that if any one, whether through prejudice or perverseness, has passed judgment on his later works, merely from an opinion derived from a perusal of the 'Mountain Muse,' written fourteen years ago, he has done essential injustice to the author.

The present volume contains two poems; the first is an 'Appeal in Behalf of the Boston Bard,' with the benevolent design of exciting the sympathy of the public for 'suffering genius;' the second is called 'The Triumph of Truth,' and was occasioned by the establishment of the censorship over the press in France. The 'Appeal' touches on several topics calculated to kindle a strong interest in the case of the suffering bard, and the deep sensibility and kind feelings of the author blend themselves closely with his poetical imagery, and give a melancholy tone to the utterings of his muse. It is rather as a poet of feeling, than of high descriptive powers, that we should characterize our author. He is patriotic, too, as will be seen by the following extract.

> 'But England's bards are blessed with patrons now,
> And freedom blushes while the Muse proclaims,
> That sons of genius from Columbia's shore,
> Beneath Britannia's fostering kindness, find
> The favor, which they vainly seek at home.
> Our Wests, our Allstons, and our Leslies, there,
> And there our Newtons, and our Bowmans, too,

> The enlivening sunshine of her smiles enjoy;
> Their pencils catch the kindling glow of hope,
> And on the canvass life and beauty start
> At their creating touch. Columbians, rouse!
> Your mental bondage burst; be free in thought;
> In taste and judgment free.' p. 62.

In 'The Triumph of Truth,' Mr Bryan draws a vivid picture of that political state of a country, in which it is necessary to impose restrictions on the press, to prevent the diffusion of knowledge, and the operation of free principles. His muse here speaks with becoming indignation, and 'crowned oppressors,' and 'sceptred tyrants,' who use their power to perpetuate ignorance, and entail slavery, are treated with very little respect. Considering that the subject is not altogether of a poetical cast, the author has managed it with a good deal of address; and if the flowers of poesy are less profusely scattered here, than in some other of his productions, this deficiency is in part at least atoned for, by the truly independent and patriotic spirit, which breathes through the whole poem.

We take pleasure in noticing the beautiful manner in which this volume is printed; it is highly creditable to the Washington press, and we could wish to see it made an example for printers in that quarter, as well as in some others.

3.—1. *Collections of the New York Historical Society, for the Year* 1826. Vol. IV. pp. 308. Being a Continuation of Smith's History of New York by the same Author.

2. *History of the State of New York.* By Joseph W. Moulton. *Part II. Novum Belgium.* New York. Bliss & White.

There is hardly such a thing, as a good history of any of the American Colonies before the Revolution. Those, which are respectable as narratives of events, are exceedingly deficient in the most important branches of history, philosophical and political research. Before the Revolution, indeed, no good history could be written, for events had not so far unfolded themselves, as to enable the historian to detect their bearings and relations towards the great issue of the independence of the colonies. Such a history might now be written, if all the materials could be collected; but here again a serious difficulty arises. The best materials are in great part lost, except such as have been preserved in the office of Trade and Plantations, in London.

It is very probable that many of the most valuable may be there. In the archives of the different States may be found the remnants of the old Journals of Assembly, or, as they were commonly called, 'Votes and Proceedings,' and also Journals of the Councils. But these are often dry and meagre as historical records, particularly the latter. The original orders and decrees of the government in England, and especially the correspondence with the governors of the Colonies, are materials of greater importance than all others; yet an exceedingly small part only of the papers of this description is now to be found in this country. Till copies of them shall be obtained from England, a full and accurate colonial history can never be written.

The materials in New York are as abundant, perhaps, as in any other state, yet very few remain of the kind here mentioned. The series of Dutch records, recently translated into English by Mr Vanderkemp, amounts to twentyfour manuscript folio volumes, embracing the period between the years 1638 and 1674. The 'Council Minutes' in manuscript are comprised in twentyfive folio volumes, extending from 1683 to 1775, with a few broken records afterwards, during the time the British held possession of the city of New York. The Journals of the Colonial Assemblies have been printed. Gaines's edition is a valuable work, in two large volumes, the first printed in 1764, and the other in 1776, embracing together the period between 1691 and 1775, the end of the colonial government. The papers in the Secretary's office relating to the Revolution are very full, till the close of the year 1777. After the new government was formed, near the end of that year, George Clinton was chosen governor, and the executive papers from that time during the war have never been returned to the public archives. The Minutes of the Proceedings of the first committee of safety in New York, of the subsequent Conventions, Provincial Congress, intermediate committees of safety, and of the Convention, that formed the Constitution of the State in 1777, are carefully copied out, and bound in ten folio volumes. These records have never been printed. When the new government went into operation, the Journals of Assembly and Senate were printed, and have thus been continued ever since. A valuable selection might be made for publication from the early minutes, particularly the proceedings of the Convention, which formed the Constitution. All the papers above mentioned have been collected, and are preserved with remarkable care in the Secretary's office. The State has made liberal appropriations for this purpose, as well as for reprinting the Journal of the Assembly, during the interesting period between the years 1766 and 1776. It only remains now to print a judicious selection

from the minutes of the early committees, provincial Congresses, and Conventions.

Smith's well known 'History of New York' was first published in the year 1756. The style is plain and the narrative perspicuous. The author in his preface calls it a *narrative*, and adds, 'it deserves not the name of history, though for brevity's sake I have given it that title; it presents only a regular thread of simple facts.' This is a just description of its character, and the work answers fully to the author's own opinion of it. He seldom goes aside to look for remote causes, or pursue consequences, or engage in political discussions. The great questions, which were always agitated more or less under some form, between the mother country and the colonies, and which at last produced a separation, he seldom touches. What we now want in the way of history is, that the state of these questions, interwoven with the narrative, should be traced step by step from the very beginning, and the gradual changes in popular institutions, feelings, and habits distinctly marked, till the great crisis of the assertion of independence. When such a history shall be written, it will be seen that the principles of freedom and self government were brought hither by the first colonists, and that they never ceased to be active, and to increase in energy and effect, till they came to their result in breaking the bonds of union, or rather the chains of servitude. It will be seen, that the American Revolution began with American colonization.

Smith's History, as published by himself, reaches from the first discovery of New York to the year 1732. An edition was published in Albany twelve years ago, which professes on the title page to be accompanied with a 'continuation from the year 1732, to the commencement of the year 1814;' but which does not in reality come down later than 1747. A short apology appears in the conclusion, and a promise that 'at some future day the chasm will be supplied in a manner worthy of the subject.' We believe that 'future day' has never come. This is the less to be regretted, however, since a continuation by the original author has now been brought before the public by the New York Historical Society. It is numbered as the fourth volume of the Society's Collections. After publishing his first work, Smith, it seems, wrote a continuation of his history down to the year 1762, which has remained in manuscript till lately, in the hands of his son, William Smith, who resides in Canada, and is one of his Majesty's Council for that province. By this gentleman the manuscript has lately been presented for publication to the Society. It is in all respects worthy of the patronage of that body, and is a valuable acquisition to the historical literature of the country. We

shall forbear any further remarks at present, as we intend to take some future opportunity to recur to this volume with a view to the celebrated Convention, which met at Albany in 1754 to devise a plan of union for the colonies. There are points of history connected with that event, which have a claim to more notice than any writer has yet given them.

About two years ago, a volume was printed in New York, entitled, 'History of the State of New York, including its Aboriginal and Colonial Annals; by John V. N. Yates, and Joseph W. Moulton.' This purports to be the first part of the first volume, and Mr Moulton has recently issued the second part, the title of which we have copied at the beginning of this notice. His plan is comprehensive, it being his 'design to comprise, within four or five volumes, the History of the Colony and the State to the era of its Canal policy.' This second part, we suppose, completes the first volume, and it brings us down to the year 1633, about twentyfour years after the discovery of Hudson's river, through a region, which he calls the 'terra incognita' of New York history. It certainly is dark, and not the most delightsome to the traveller; but a cloudy morning often precedes a bright day, and it is reasonable to expect, that Mr Moulton's future labors may afford more entertainment, if not more instruction, to his readers. We would gladly stipulate one thing with him however, which is, that, when he publishes another volume, he will bethink himself of a table of contents, an index, or some contrivance for guiding us to such parts as we may have a particular fancy to consult, without our being compelled to look through all his chapters to gain our object, and then perhaps in vain. Mr Moulton quotes authorities, it may be, more frequently than is necessary; but it is much better to be in the extreme on this side than the other. He gives evidence incontestible of his industry, and of his deep research into all the parts of his subject. On the general character of his work, and the success of its execution, it would seem not proper to comment, till he has advanced further in his enterprise. He must guard against such minuteness and prolixity as will become tedious; nobody reads a dull history.

We ought not to omit to state here, that Dr Samuel Miller once contemplated writing a history of New York, and made considerable progress in collecting his materials. Other pursuits diverted his attention from this project, but the fruits of his inquiries, as far as they were pursued, he deposited in the library of the New York Historical Society, of which he was an early and active member.

4.—*New Ideas on Population; with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus and Godwin. Second Edition. To which is prefixed a New Preface, containing a brief Examination of the Opinions of MM. Say and Sismondi on the same subject.* By Alexander H. Everett. 8vo. pp. 125. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

The first edition of this work was largely reviewed in our Journal, its principles stated, and its main positions defended. [See Vol. XVII, for October, 1823]. To the general considerations and arguments there advanced, in explanation of the objects and merits of the work, nothing more needs to be added. In his Preface to this second edition, Mr Everett has examined at some length the opinions of Say and Sismondi, which run counter in some respects to his own views, and to what he believes important truths in political economy.

The eminent talents of Mr Malthus have given currency to a curious theory, or rather paradox, concerning population. This author supposes it to be a law, in the economy of human existence, that 'population tends to increase geometrically and food arithmetically, and that of course the former is always pressing on the latter.' This mathematical proposition Mr Malthus has set himself to demonstrate in various ways, and he draws from it very important conclusions, as affecting the organization, progress, and condition of society. He holds, that there is a perpetual tendency to starvation in the world, on account of the unceasing operation of the law, which is striving to multiply mouths to devour food faster than the labor and ingenuity of man can gather it from the productions of the earth. In this mischievous law he sees the germs of the hosts of evils which afflict humanity. He would banish the evils by circumventing the law; he would save the world from poverty, privation, and the sufferings that grow out of them, by putting a check to this law of increase, in discouraging the goodly custom of marriage, which from time immemorial has been so much in vogue with all the world. He judges rightly that the smaller the number of people born, the fewer there will be to suffer; and, to keep up a proper balance, he would make it the duty of governments to take care, that no more than the right number should be born. So much for the theory; next for the consequences. According to Mr Malthus's doctrine, it is quite a false exercise of humanity to build up institutions for the aid of the poor, or to dispense charity of any sort to relieve privation and sufferings, which spring from want, or inability to procure the means of a comfortable subsistence. Such misplaced philanthropy is in fact an injury to society, by keeping

up an excess of devouring population, which has somehow forced itself upon the world, when there was no possibility that its demands could be supplied. Genuine benevolence would cut off this excresence, or at least leave it to waste itself away. There are also political consequences, which we have not time to pursue.

To common minds this theory would seem ludicrous enough, were it not supported by grave philosophers, and writers deep in the science of political economy. To confute this doctrine on the fair ground of argument, and to establish the contrary, is the object of Mr Everett's tract; that is, he undertakes to prove, that there is no such tendency in population, as Mr Malthus contends for; that the means of support will always be adequate to the numbers to be supported; that poverty and want depend on other causes than the pressure of population; they depend on local circumstances, on the ability and skill of individuals, fertility of soil, commercial advantages, virtues and vices, political and social institutions. Take these circumstances into consideration and there will be no difficulty in accounting for all the misery in the world; and these would still exist, even supposing population to be checked in any given ratio. Mr Everett's arguments are triumphant, and amount to a complete demonstration. As a specimen of a clear philosophical style, and elegant ratiocination, we know of no treatise on any of the branches of political economy, which can be read with more satisfaction than this. The new preface will furnish a good deal of interesting matter to those who have seen only the first edition.

5.—*The Cause of Education in Tennessee; an Address delivered to the Young Gentlemen admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, in Cumberland College, at the Anniversary Commencement, October 4th* 1826. By Philip Lindsley, D. D. President of the College. 8vo. pp. 36. Nashville, Tennessee.

We have before had occasion to examine some of President Lindsley's views of education, and to express our high commendation of them. The same practical good sense and close investigation, the same zeal for improving the systems of teaching, appear in this Address, as in his former publication; and we are glad to observe, that all reasonable success attends his exertions in the present important sphere of his action.

The direct object of the Address, to which our attention is now drawn, was to give suitable counsel to the young gentlemen

of Cumberland College in Nashville, who had just completed their academic course; and the President took this opportunity to make a few remarks generally on the subject of education, and particularly on the means of instruction in Tennessee. His aim is chiefly to suggest the best modes of improvement, both in regard to common schools and higher institutions. In reference to the former of these he uses the following language.

'How important then to human happiness is it, that the first school—the infant school—the parental school—should be a good one. Here is the great nursery of human weal or woe. Now, I care not whether children ever go to a public school or not, if parents will keep a better school at home, and do their duty to their offspring. I care not whether our youth go to college or not, if parents can and will teach them more effectually by their own firesides. But, unfortunately, the great mass of parents have shown themselves but sorry instructers and faithless guides to those who ought to be dearer to them than their own lives. They are themselves, in general, too ignorant, to say no more, to do much. Hence, in our day, INFANT SCHOOLS have been established in many places, to supply this radical defect. And report speaks well of them wherever they have been tried. How far it may be practicable or beneficial to introduce them into our country, except in large towns or manufactories, I shall not stop to inquire.

'In order to furnish the community at large with the next best aid to parental instruction, and as a substitute for it, after the first period of infancy, COMMON SCHOOLS prefer the strongest claims to our regard. We hear a great deal, at the present day, about *common schools;* and one would imagine that they had already become the favorites of the people. If so, then the cause of liberty and virtue has gained much in our land, and we need not despair of the republic. Upon this ground we can all meet and harmoniously cooperate. In this grand enterprise, all the advocates of colleges in our country will go hand in hand with the humblest of the people, not merely in declaiming about the necessity and importance of common schools, but in organizing and putting into practical operation the best system that can be devised. I have no fears that any of the alumni of Cumberland College will ever prove recreant or backward in this good work.

'Common Schools, then, are needed in Tennessee. How shall they be established? Let the people decide. What character and form shall they assume? Let every county be divided into such a number of school districts or departments as will conveniently accommodate all the inhabitants. Erect comfortable and commodious school houses. Attach to each school house a lot of

ten acres of land, for the purpose of healthful exercise, gardening, farming, and the mechanical arts. For the body requires training as well as the mind. Besides, as multitudes must live by manual labor, they ought betimes to acquire habits of industry, economy, temperance, hardihood, muscular strength, skill, and dexterity. Employ teachers qualified to govern and instruct children in the best possible manner. Pay them according to their merit. Pay any sum necessary to command the services of the best and most accomplished teachers. Parsimony in this particular is not only impolitic; it is mean, it is absurd, it is ruinous. Better have no teachers, than to have incompetent, immoral, lazy, passionate, or indiscreet ones; however cheaply they may be procured. Their influence will not be merely negative; it will be positive and most powerful. I have often looked with horror upon the kind of common schools and teachers to which thousands of children, during several of their best years, are cruelly and wantonly subjected in the older States. But it is or was the fashion, in many places, to hire a blockhead or vagabond, because he would teach a child for a dollar and twentyfive cents per quarter! Now, if there be anything on earth for which a parent ought to feel disposed to pay liberally, it is for the faithful instruction of his children. Compared with this, every other interest vanishes like chaff before the wind—it is less than nothing. And yet, unless the world has suddenly grown much wiser, there is no service so grudgingly and pitifully rewarded. The consequence is what might have been expected. Every man of cleverness and ambition will turn his back with scorn upon the country school. He will become a lawyer, a physician, a merchant, a mechanic, a farmer, or a farmer's overseer, in preference. Until school keeping be made an honorable and a lucrative profession, suitable teachers will never be forthcoming in this free country.'

pp. 9, 10.

These observations, on the character and qualifications of teachers, have peculiar weight In nothing are we so deficient in our New England schools, as in good teachers. Nine times out of ten, we venture to say, the cheapest man has the preference. By this most ill judged parsimony the standard of school keeping is kept down; men of talents and high qualifications seek for better employment. Thus the schools fall into the hands of a class of persons, who are more fit to be pupils than teachers. The man, whose recommendation is, that he will teach cheaper than any body else, is the very last man that should be employed. He, who values his own services at little, will do little, and that badly. The effect of this is a thousand times worse in teaching, than in any other employment. A clumsy mechanic may make a

clumsy piece of workmanship, or may spoil it entirely; and there will be the end of it; nobody needs buy or use it. But when the children of a school are subjected to his tutoring, and the mischief he inflicts, from his ignorance and inaptitude, is on the mind, the evil is irreparable. Such workers of ruin should be avoided, and turned over to pursuits in which at least they can do no harm. Legislative aid in favor of education is wanted in nothing so much at present, as in providing some means for creating a better supply of teachers in the common schools.

In speaking of the general advantages of an enlightened education, President Lindsley has the following just remarks on its influence politically considered, and as aiding the cause of freedom and good government.

'Now there can be no better or stronger evidence in favor of the general beneficial tendency of learning, however obtained, than the fact, that, whenever, in ancient or modern times, endeavors have been made to procure liberty to a people, and wherever it has been acquired, those endeavors were made, and that acquisition secured, by men of superior knowledge. Such is the language of history from Moses to Bolivar. And among the most enlightened philanthropists on the continent of Europe at this moment, the grand cause of their discouragement and despair in regard to liberty, is, that the people are too ignorant to be entrusted with liberty; and hence they feel constrained to remain inactive. They fain would give instruction to the people, in order to prepare and qualify them for free and liberal institutions, would their masters permit them.

'When our fathers commenced their almost hopeless controversy with the mother country; who were the kindred spirits attracted to our shores and to our aid by the native charms and legitimate claims of liberty? Not the degraded serf or feudal slave—not the illiterate farmer or mechanic—but such men as might have adorned the proudest court in Christendom—men of whom their own country was unworthy—men who understood the full import of the glorious cause to which they were ready to sacrifice titles, and honors, and fortune, and life;—they were Pulaski, Steuben, De Kalb, Kosciusko, La Fayette.

'And who, allow me to ask my republican auditors, or, if they please, to remind them of what, purchance, they may have forgotten—who were the prompters, the mainsprings, the leaders of our memorable Revolution? The answer to the question is upon every schoolboy's tongue. He will recount a catalogue of patriots who, for profound knowledge and practical wisdom, were never surpassed in any age or country. Such were the friends of our own liberties, at a time too, when they were not only stigma-

tized as rebels, but were in hourly danger of being hanged as rebels. They were the master spirits who aroused the people to resistance. They were honest men, and they united in promoting the permanent welfare of their country. Happily, the people, having been generally educated at common schools, were sufficiently informed to comprehend their rights, when those rights were ably explained to them, and wise enough to be guided by their superiors in wisdom. But had the intelligent, the learned colonists of those days combined with the English aristocracy in maintaining the ancient government in all its plans of oppression, the people would never have thought of a Revolution. Had they been enlisted on the side of the British ministry, we had this day been the loyal subjects of his majesty, George the Fourth. pp. 14, 15.

The account of Cumberland College contained in this Address, and of the improvements proposed, exhibits that institution under a very encouraging aspect. The effects of the energy and zeal of the President appear in these, as well as of the liberal and active cooperation of the trustees. The author states, that

'The trustees of Cumberland College have purchased one hundred and twenty acres of land to meet the various purposes of their contemplated university. It is proposed immediately to commence the erection of a series of buildings for the accommodation of students, instructers, and stewards; consisting of five additional colleges, each sufficiently commodious for a hundred students and three assistant professors or tutors, and of seven houses for as many principal or head professors. We shall then have six colleges, and twentyfive instructers, and accommodations for six hundred pupils. To each college will be attached a refectory or boarding house, with eight or ten acres of land for gardening and exercise. The colleges will be erected at such distances from each other as to prevent the usual evils resulting from the congregation of large numbers of youth at the same place. Professors will occupy houses on the intervening lots; and there will be at least three officers resident within the walls of each college. We shall thus have six distinct and separate families, so far as regards domestic economy, internal police, and social order; while one *Senatus Academicus* will superintend and control the whole.

'Gardens and mechanics' shops will be interspersed among the various edifices, in such manner as to be easily accessible to all the youth for improvement and recreation. Whenever the present ground shall be thus occupied, it will be necessary to procure fifty or a hundred acres more, for a model or experimental farm; that

agriculture, the noblest of sciences and the most important of the useful arts, may be thoroughly studied and practised. At a future period, or as soon as the means can be obtained, other suitable edifices, both useful and ornamental, may be erected. The plan admits of indefinite extension; and in proportion to its enlargement, its advantages will be increased, while the expense of its maintenance will be diminished.

'In order to execute our present design, only about $200,000 will be required.' pp. 25, 26.

'The average number of students in the regular classes of Cumberland College, during the past year has been between seventy and eighty. These classes are so divided and subdivided, for the purpose of study and recitation, that every individual is enabled and constrained to advance according to his actual ability. Such a variety in their studies and pursuits is provided, as to promote cheerful exertion, without distracting or confusing the mind. There are only two vacations in the year—consisting of five and a half weeks each—the one commencing on the first Wednesday in April, and the other on the first Wednesday in October. There are no intermediate holidays; and no vacation is allowed to the senior class, previously to graduation, as is customary in other colleges. As there are no honors or prizes to animate a few to extraordinary efforts and to discourage the majority altogether, so the whole are very desirous to avail themselves of every privilege up to the last moment of their collegiate life; and they find no difficulty in preparing appropriate exercises for the public Commencement.

'In the Preparatory Grammar School, attached to the college, there are, at this time, about ninety pupils.' p. 36.

Let the generous enthusiasm of President Lindsley, on the subject of education, prevail generally in Tennessee, and let the community second his ardent efforts, and the time will soon come, when nothing will be left to desire in the modes and means of teaching in that State.

6.—1. *History of the United States, from their first Settlement as Colonies to the Cession of Florida, in the year* 1821. By William Grimshaw. Revised edition, stereotyped. 12mo. pp. 307. Philadelphia. John Grigg.

2. *History of England, from the first Invasion of Julius Cæsar, to the Accession of George the Fourth, in the year* 1820. By William Grimshaw. Stereotyped Edition. 12mo. pp. 292. Philadelphia. John Grigg.

3. *The Grecian History, from the earliest State to the Death of Alexander the Great, by Dr Goldsmith; Revised and Corrected, and a Vocabulary of Proper Names appended.* By William Grimshaw. 12mo. pp. 322. Philadelphia.

4. *An Etymological Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language, containing the Radicals and Definitions of Words derived from the Greek, Latin, and French Languages; and all the Technical and Polite Phrases adopted from the French and Latin.* By William Grimshaw. Second Edition. 12mo. Philadelphia.

Till very lately our schools have been poorly supplied with suitable books of history, particularly the history of our own country. This important branch of study has been neglected to a degree hardly to be accounted for, not only in our subordinate schools, but in the academies and colleges. There are few things of which the American youth are more ignorant, than the history of this country. Nine times in ten they can tell you more about the fabulous ages of antiquity, the first settlements of Greece and Rome, and the heroic exploits of Greek and Roman warriors, than they can of what was done two hundred years ago to colonize the new world, or of the events attending the progress of these northern colonies, or of the great deeds by which our independence was established. We ascribe this apathy and ignorance in a good degree to the want of books suited to early instruction. This defect is beginning to be remedied by various works of this kind. Within a few years several histories of America, and histories of the United States, have appeared, purporting to be designed for schools; and a future generation may be expected to be wiser and more learned in these matters than we of the present day.

Among the elementary books of American history, we do not remember to have seen any one more deserving approbation than Mr Grimshaw's 'History of the United States,' embracing the period from the first settlement of the colonies, to the year 1821. It is a small volume, and a great deal of matter is brought into a

narrow space; but the author has succeeded so well in the construction of his periods, and the arrangement of his materials, that perspicuity is rarely sacrificed to brevity. The chain of narrative is skilfully preserved, and the author's reflections are frequently such, as make the facts more impressive, and lead the youthful mind to observe causes and consequences, which might otherwise have been overlooked. As a school book it may justly be recommended.

What has been said of this volume will apply generally to the two other historical works, whose titles we have copied. They are each nearly of the same size as the one just noticed, and designed for the same object, that is, the use of classes in schools. The 'History of England' is an original composition, but the 'Grecian History' is an abridgment from Dr Goldsmith. All these books are accompanied with very full and well digested tables of questions for the benefit of pupils, and also with keys to the same for the convenience of teachers.

The 'Etymological Dictionary' is a small volume, of which the title gives a very good account. Like the other books it is intended for schools and young persons. Etmology is a study of great utility in forming a knowledge of the structure and use of language; and Mr Grimshaw has so arranged this work, by selecting the roots of words and attaching to these the etymology and definitions, as to exhibit the subject in a condensed view, and at the same time afford every desirable facility for easy acquisition.

7.—1. *Atlantis. Journal des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten aus dem Gebiete der Politik, Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik, Culturgeschichte und Literatur der nord und südamerikanischen Reiche, mit Einschluss des westindischen Archipelagus.*—Herausgegeben von Eduard Florens Rivinus, in Philadelphia. Leipzig, 1826. J. C. Hinrichssche Buchhandlung. Nos. I. & II. pp. 208 & 192.

Atlantis. Journal of the latest and most interesting Facts relating to the Politics, History, Geography, Statistics, General Improvement, and Literature of North and South America, including the West Indies. Edited by Edward Florens Rivinus, Philadelphia. Published by J. C. Heinrich. Leipzig. 1826.

2. *La Revue Américaine; Journal Mensuel.* 8vo. pp. 159. No. I. Paris.

We are very glad, on several accounts, to see the establishment of works of this kind, which appear, as far as we have yet had

opportunity to examine them, to be edited with talent and a real desire of usefulness. The want of correct information in Europe, with regard to the progress of events and the actual state of affairs in America, has been productive of many evils, which can be removed by no other means perhaps so well, as by periodical accounts of what is taking place among us. In the first place, we have the presumption to believe, in common, we suppose, with the majority of our countrymen, that the nations of the continent might learn something beneficial to themselves, from the study of our political institutions, and of the history of their establishment. They might learn, if they could give attention to the subject, that the excesses and horrors of the French revolution are by no means chargeable upon the principles or the example of America; that republicanism does not mean anarchy, nor the want of a court imply the absence of government. Rulers might learn, that they would but advance their own interests, by consulting those of their people; and subjects might be convinced, that some authority must be established over them, and that something of their natural rights must be exchanged for the advantages of society.

We believe it would occasion some surprise to many a European admirer of liberty, even among those who esteem themselves well informed, to be told, that there is any limit at all, in this country, to our liberty of action, any restraint whatever imposed by law. To many it would be strange news that we pay any taxes, support any poor, or have any prisons. This ignorance is by no means without its consequences. The tendency ascribed to liberal opinions is used as a reason for binding still closer the fetters of despotism, and many a disappointed emigrant has bewailed the false hopes, which induced him to abandon the home of his fathers. We know of no better mode of dissipating these delusions, than the dissemination of correct information, by means of such periodical publications as the *Atlantis*, and the *Revue Américaine*, the one published in Leipzig, and the other in Paris. The design of these works, and the mode of effecting this design, are almost precisely the same. A selection from the most interesting public documents, and a brief account of events possessing a general or important influence either in our own republic or the more youthful ones of South America, is given in each, and with so much fairness and correctness, as to be highly honorable to the conductors of both.

We think, however, that the German Review, if we may so call it, has the advantage in having an editor in this country, who can judge for himself of the relative importance of occurrences, and discern the real from the apparent causes and conse-

quences of events, with more accuracy than any one at a distantance can be supposed to do. He is also freed from the influence of the European style of thinking, upon political subjects, which, however correct it may be in what concerns themselves and their own mutual relations, is very often erroneous when applied to America. There is a certain set of political opinions, which, in Europe, have come to be considered established by experience as axioms, but to which the experience of this country offers little or nothing analogous; those who are surrounded by one school can hardly appreciate with fairness the lessons of the other.

We have referred to the advantages to be derived by Europe, from a better knowledge of the character of our institutions; but the benefit of this knowledge will by no means be confined to that side of the Atlantic. It will produce very favorable effects upon ourselves to be aware, that our acts are observed, and our character understood abroad. We may cease to be so captiously tenacious of our rank as a nation, and so boastful of the progress we have made, when we find others not unwilling to allow them. And the consciousness that all our proceedings are vigilantly watched, may render us more careful of our reputation and more attentive to the consequences of our national conduct, than we have hitherto been. Thus far we have regarded the point merely, or principally, in its bearing upon ourselves; but now that our relations are extended, and that the knowledge of us is to be spread abroad by works like those we have noticed, it will become us to take care of our European reputation, and to look with wide circumspection upon the consequences of all we do or omit. With these views, we cannot but wish well to every effort of the kind, and we believe the period has now arrived when works like the *Atlantis* and the *Revue Américaine* will meet with deserved approbation and success. Both of these Journals are sent out in a handsome style. The *Revue Américaine*, in particular, is more neatly executed than any other from France, which we have seen. Every American will hope for the prosperity of these enterprises.

8.—1. *The Atlantic Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Offering.* Philadelphia. 1827. Carey & Lea. pp. 360.
2. *The Memorial; a Christmas and New Year's Offering.* Boston. True & Green. pp. 268.

The publishers of the Atlantic Souvenir deserve great praise, for having been the first to prepare, from native materials only, a

work similar to those beautiful little gift-books, which are so common in England and on the continent. Nor was their imitation a feeble one. They advanced at once to a high degree of excellence, both as it respects the literary merit and the embellishment of their offering. The appearance of a second volume is proof that the public have encouraged their enterprise as it deserved; indeed, they acknowledge in their Preface, that they have met with flattering success. We cordially wish them joy, and a continuance of patronage.

We observe with pleasure, that there are not only more engravings of American scenery in this volume than in the last, but that they are executed in a better style. The view of New York is engraved by Maverick as well as we could wish. Trenton Falls and Passaic Falls by Ellis, are also well done; but he has succeeded in the latter of these better than in the former. The water of Trenton Falls, especially where it is tumbling and boiling below, is hard and stiff. Imagination, by Ellis; the Lady and the Merlin, by Longacre; and the Legend of the Grisons, by Humphrys, are beautiful. Longacre has also engraved the Infant Napoleon pretty well, after a statue of Canova's in the Pennsylvania Academy; but the boy is rather clumsy, and the marble is too dark.

We are convinced from these, and the two other specimens in the volume, that our engravers need nothing but practice and patronage to carry them to the highest honors of their delightful art. Patronage and practice will of course go together, for the one will secure the other. For this reason, we regard the Souvenir not merely as a pretty book for a New Year's present to one's friend, but as a means of exciting public attention to the fine arts, as an encouragement to our painters and engravers, and as a pledge of future excellence in a department of art which has hitherto been greatly neglected. The American pencil and the American burine ought to be more devoted than they have been to American scenery. We have talked enough about our scenery; and we have often talked about it in a boastful, bragging manner, as if we were either afraid that the inhabitants of other countries should think we lived in a desert, or were of opinion that we had got all the masterpieces of nature to ourselves. Sufficient declamation has gone forth about our noble lakes, rivers, and cataracts, our ancient forests, and our picturesque villages. It is time that we should send the portraits of some of these things to those foreigners who cannot come here to see them face to face. It is time that correct and finished illustrations of our scenery were published. It is time that our wealthy men encouraged such designs, and that a public taste for them was cul-

tivated. All countries have fine scenery. The beauties and glories of nature are liberally scattered through the world. There is no doubt that we have our portion of them. There is no doubt that nature with us is sublime and fair. Let art then be enabled to go on frequent pilgrimages to her shrine, and offer his homage worthily. Let the sketch book and portfolio be seen more frequently among our solitudes. Let the tools of the engraver be employed on something else beside door plates and visiting cards.

It is chiefly on account of our desire to see the improvement of art and taste among us, that we hope that the publishers of the Souvenir, and of all similar works, may always receive ample remuneration from the public, so that they in turn may amply remunerate the artists in their employment, and stimulate them to a cheerful and vigorous exertion of their powers.

Respecting the literary merit of the present volume of the Souvenir, we shall only observe, that it does not fall below the standard to which the last attained. Paulding is here again with his eccentricity and humor; and Miss Sedgwick affords us the pleasure of reading another of her interesting and elegantly written narratives. Not much of the poetry rises above mediocrity. Percival's piece, which we give below, entitled 'To the Eagle,' is perhaps the best.

'Bird of the broad and sweeping wing!
Thy home is high in heaven,
Where wide the storms their banners fling,
And the tempest clouds are driven.
Thy throne is on the mountain top;
Thy fields—the boundless air;
And hoary peaks, that proudly prop
The skies—thy dwellings are.

Thou sittest, like a thing of light,
Amid the noontide blaze:
The midway sun is clear and bright—
It cannot dim thy gaze.
Thy pinions, to the rushing blast
O'er the bursting billow spread,
Where the vessel plunges, hurry past,
Like an angel of the dead.

Thou art perched aloft on the beetling crag,
And the waves are white below,
And on, with a haste that cannot lag,
They rush in an endless flow.
Again, thou hast plumed thy wing for flight
To lands beyond the sea,
And away, like a spirit wreathed in light,
Thou hurriest wild and free.

Thou hurriest over the myriad waves,
And thou leavest them all behind;
Thou sweepest that place of unknown graves,
Fleet as the tempest wind.
When the night-storm gathers dim and dark,
With a shrill and a boding scream,
Thou rushest by the foundering bark,
Quick as a passing dream.

Lord of the boundless realm of air!
In thy imperial name,
The hearts of the bold and ardent dare,
The dangerous path of fame.
Beneath the shade of thy golden wings
The Roman legions bore,
From the river of Egypt's cloudy springs,
Their pride, to the polar shore.

For thee they fought, for thee they fell,
And their oath was on thee laid;
To thee the clarions raised their swell,
And the dying warrior prayed.
Thou wert, through an age of death and fears,
The image of pride and power,
Till the gathered rage of a thousand years
Burst forth in one awful hour.

And then, a deluge of wrath it came,
And the nations shook with dread;
And it swept the earth, till its fields were flame,
And piled with the mingled dead.
Kings were rolled in the wasteful flood,
With the low and crouching slave;
And together lay, in a shroud of blood,
The coward and the brave.

And where was then thy fearless flight?—
"O'er the dark mysterious sea,
To the lands that caught the setting light,
The cradle of Liberty.
There, on the silent and lonely shore,
For ages, I watched alone,
And the world, in its darkness, asked no more,
Where the glorious bird had flown.

But then came a bold and hardy few,
And they breasted the unknown wave;
I caught afar the wandering crew;
And I knew they were high and brave.
I wheeled around the welcome bark,
As it sought the desolate shore;
And up to heaven, like a joyous lark,
My quivering pinions bore.

And now that bold and hardy few,
Are a nation wide and strong,
And danger and doubt I have led them through,
And they worship me in song ;
And over their bright and glancing arms,
On field and lake and sea,
With an eye that fires, and a spell that charms,
I guide them to victory." '

'The Memorial' is a volume of the same kind as the Souvenir, which was prepared in Boston at a short notice, and which reflects credit on the diligence and taste of the editor and publishers. We hope that these works will not interfere with the sale of each other; and we do not believe that they will. There ought to be abundant support for both. Though a handsome book, the Memorial cannot vie in beauty with the Souvenir. The engravings in it are few, and not very well executed. Its literary contents, however, may come into competition with those of the Philadelphia publication. The prose may not be quite so good, but the poetry is better. From this department we select a specimen of more than common beauty, entitled, 'On the Axe with which Anna Boleyn was beheaded, still exhibited in the Tower of London.'

'Stern minister of fate severe !
Who, drunk with beauty's blood,
Defying time, dost linger here,
And frown with ruffian visage drear,
Like beacon on destruction's flood—
Say ! when ambition's giddy dream
First lured thy victim's heart aside,
Why, like a serpent, didst thou hide
'Mid clustering flowers, and robes of pride,
Thy warning gleam ?
Hadst thou but *once* arisen in visage dread,
From glory's fearful cliff, her startled step had fled.

Ah ! little she reck'd when St Edward's crown
So heavily press'd her tresses fair,
That with sleepless wrath its thorns of care
Would rankle within her couch of down.
To the tyrant's bower
In her beauty's power,
She came, as a lamb to the lion's lair,
As the light bird cleaves the fields of air,
And carols blythe and sweet, while treachery weaves its snare.

Think! what were her pangs as she traced her fate,
On that changeful monarch's brow of hate?
What were the thoughts which in misery's hour,
Throng'd o'er her soul in her dungeon-tower?
Regret, with pencil keen,
Retouch'd the deepening scene;
Delightful France, whose genial skies,
Bade her gay childhood's pleasures rise,
Earl Percy's love,—his youthful grace,
Her gallant brother's fond embrace,
Her stately father's feudal halls,
Where proud heraldic annals deck'd the ancient walls.

Wrapt in the scaffold's gloom,
Brief tenant of that living tomb,
She stands,—the life-blood chills her heart,
And her tender glance from earth does part,
But her infant daughter's image fair,
In the smile of innocence is there,
It clings to her soul 'mid its last despair,
And the desolate queen is doom'd to know,
How far a *mother's* grief transcend's a *martyr's* woe.

Say, did prophetic light,
Illume her darkening sight,
Painting the future island-queen;
Like the fabled bird, all hearts surprising,
Bright from blood-stained ashes rising,
Wise, energic, bold, serene?
Ah no! the scroll of time,
Is seal'd, and hope sublime
Rests but on those far heights which mortals may not climb.

The dying prayer with trembling fervor speeds,
For that false monarch by whose will she bleeds,
For him who listening on that fatal morn,
Hears the death-signal o'er the distant lawn,
From the deep cannon speaking,
Then springs to mirth, and winds his bugle-horn,
And riots while her blood is reeking:
For him she prays, in seraph tone,
"Oh! be his sins forgiven!
Who raised me to an earthly throne,
And sends me now from prison lone,
To be a saint in heaven.

H.

9.—1. *The Classical Reader; a Selection of Lessons in Prose and Verse. From the most esteemed English and American Writers. Intended for the use of the Higher Classes in Public and Private Seminaries.* By Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood and G. B. Emerson. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands. pp. 420.

2. *The Class Book of American Literature; consisting principally of Selections in the Departments of History, Biography, Prose Fiction, Travels, the Drama, Popular Eloquence, and Poetry; from the Best Writers of our own Country. Designed to be used as a Reading Book in American Schools.* By John Frost. Boston.

Books of this description have within a year or two been multiplied amongst us. The earliest in our recollection of a former period, were 'Webster's Third Part,' the 'Columbian Orator,' and the 'American Preceptor.' Notwithstanding the many associations with which the memory of these last is blended, we cannot but acknowledge, that the more recent collections seem to answer the design of such works much better than the earlier. This design is to teach the true art of reading. We say *art*, because reading, in a very just sense, is one. If natural reading be contended for, nothing more can be meant by it than reading correctly without arbitrary rules; and there are individuals, who can so read. These individuals we believe are not many; and to instruct is nothing more nor less than an arbitrary application of the correct and natural method, where this is in a great measure wanting.

If we are required to define the best and most natural method of reading, we should say, that is so, which most nearly approaches the ordinary conversation of an individual. He will speak with most effect, who gives the truest account of the effects which have been produced upon him by the whole external world, and of all the strictly intellectual operations to which they have given rise. And he will read best, whose whole manner of reading shall best correspond with the effects of all these upon himself. It is then as one would relate to another his experiences, or his reflections, that he must read, if the whole effect of reading is to be produced. The question now fairly occurs, Of which of the two periods before referred to, do the works best answer the purpose of teaching this art? and this involves the character and a comparison of the collections of each. In making the comparison, the ages of the individuals for whom the collections are made, are to be borne in mind.

The earlier books were made up principally of declamatory and passionate prose, and of solemn and not unfrequently dull poetry. The Conquest of Canaan, the Vision of Columbus, and verse of the like cast, contributed much to the poetical department, while the prose was principally extracted from the popular political writers of the day, the orations which commemorated the Boston massacre and the fourth of July. Shakspeare, and Milton, and Pope, filled a few pages, and the pathetic and beautiful writings of Mackenzie and Sterne, and of a far inferior school, contributed a share. The patriotism of the day had much influence in the choice from many of these writers. But it was a harsh, though then a commendable patriotism, and produced a style of eloquence, which was anything but good taste, and which it has been the labor of the succeeding years to get rid of as fast as possible. As an objection to the selections from the other writers named, it has been said, that they wanted adaptation to the classes for whom the collections were made, that they did not always supply what was understood, and that what was best comprehended by the reader, was not very frequently felt. These objections might be obviated with ease. But we shall only say, that if these portions were not fully understood, and were badly read, they were still doing something as good, if not better; they were filling the memory of the young from the fullest and best treasuries to which the human intellect has ever contributed, and creating and cherishing a sympathy with the great and the good, which nothing might destroy.

Our later selections for school reading have been made from better sources, and with a better taste. They retain much that was the most valuable in the earlier; particularly extracts from the best of the older English poets, and have added much from more recent authors of the same class. The prose department is especially changed for the better works; of mere temporary interest are rarely used, and the very best of our own country and of Europe only are admitted. There is perhaps less variety than formerly, and grave pieces abound. But these are not really objections, if there be variety enough; and if a moral use may be made of what the work contains, the intelligible and the serious cannot be objected to. Of the works named at the head of this notice, the 'The Classical Reader' appears to us especially to deserve the above commendations. It is selected from the very best authors, and the quantity from each, or the number of pieces of a similar character by different authors, affords all that can be required for classes; and in sufficient variety, too, of manner, to facilitate greatly the formation of correct habits of reading, and a good taste. From each of these considerations we give it our cordial recommendation.

The 'Class Book' has something more in view, than 'to improve youth in the art of elocution.' Another purpose of the work, according to the author, is 'to cherish the love of liberty, of virtue, and our country.' The latter considerations appear to have had a special influence on the author in the choice of his materials, and in part of the title. His work consists of selections 'from the best writers of our own country,' and is 'designed, to be used as a Reading Book in American schools.' Now, however praiseworthy these motives may be in their general application, we are by no means sure, that they will produce their best effects as applied by the author. They have led him to exclude entirely from his work everything, however valuable, which is foreign to our own country. His chief purpose should have been to make the best selection possible from the whole and the best literature of the language, and it has not been left for us to determine what this is or where it is to be found. We may claim some of it, in some departments, but as a whole, and as various as full, we must look for it abroad. Under these impressions, we cannot but say, that we regard the 'Class Book' as less valuable from the voluntary restrictions of the compiler in selecting his materials; and farther, that if we would not only aid by such works to form correct habits in reading, but aim also to affect vividly and permanently the minds of the young, and excite in them the perception and enjoyment of the sublime and beautiful in our literature, our selections must always be made from the whole and the best of that literature.

10.—*Report of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs to the Congress of Buenos Ayres, as contained in the 'Mensagero Argentino' of July 6th,* 1826.

The document here mentioned relates to the new form of government, which the Congress of Buenos Ayres have had it in agitation to adopt for the Argentine Provinces. It is well known, that among the different kinds of government, which have prevailed in these provinces, since their release from the tyranny of Spain, none has been attended with complete success. For about two years a Congress, composed of delegates from the provinces, has been in session, for the greater part of the time, in the city of Buenos Ayres, deliberating on the general concerns of the country, and endeavoring especially to institute a constitutional system, which shall meet the views of the people, and attain the desired objects of union, strength, and prosperity.

As early as April 14th, 1825, the Congress recommended to the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, a speedy preparation of a plan for a constitution; but the committee in their first conferences soon found, that too many difficulties were in the way of their proceeding to arrange any systematic plan, which would be likely to be approved by all the provinces. It was deemed essential, that, as a preliminary step, the opinions of the people on certain important points should be obtained, as far as this could be done. Accordingly on the 20th of June a law was passed, containing the three following directions; first, that application should be made to all the provinces, with a view to ascertain the form of a constitution, which each preferred; secondly, that the mode of obtaining the opinion of the provinces should be through their representative assemblies, and that where such assemblies did not exist, they should be created for the purpose; thirdly, that the opinions thus indicated by the provincial representatives should not in any way restrict the authority delegated by the people to the congress, for preparing and sanctioning a constitution best suited to promote the general interest; and that the right of accepting it should at the same time be preserved to the provinces, in conformity with a previous law.

After waiting a suitable time for returns from the provincial assemblies, the result was, that Córdova, Mendoza, San Juan, and Santiago del Estero, were for having a federal, representative government, or one similar to that of the United States; those of Salta, Tucuman, and Rioja, decided in favor of a representative republican government, but one of a central, consolidated form, like that of Colombia; those of Catamarca, San Luis, and Corrientes expressed no opinion, but confided wholly in the wisdom of the congress; and those of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fe, Entre Rios, Misiones, and the Provincia Oriental, had sent to the congress no opinions, at the time the Report of the Committee on the Constitution was made. By various indications, however, the sense of the people in these last provinces was pretty well known, some of them being for the central, and others for the federative system.

In this stage of the business the Committee on Constitutional Affairs presented a Report to the Congress on the 4th of June last, in which they recommend a central form of government, and support their decision by a series of arguments. Some of these we shall here translate, and, in addition to the general views of the committee on the subject of government, they will convey to our readers a good deal of information respecting the present state of the country. After such preliminary remarks as the subject required, the Committee proceed as follows.

'In relation to the nature of the government that is most suitable for the provinces of the Union, the people have decidedly and constantly called for the representative republic. This is not one of those momentary opinions, that are for the most part erroneous, and always dangerous; it is the perpetual, deliberate, and permanent wish of the whole nation. The question only turns on the form of administration, and may be accurately couched in these terms; Are these provinces to be governed under a federal, or consolidated form of administration? Will the order, the liberty, and prosperity of the Republic be better maintained, by dividing it into as many states as there are provinces, which, politically leagued under a federal government for the direction of national affairs, may yet reserve to themselves the residuary sovereignty necessary for their own particular management; or by forming all the provinces into one state, consolidated under a central government, and charged with the interior administration of all? Which of these forms will be most proper to organize, preserve, and make happy the Argentine Republic?

'This question at first sight appears very simple, but it is, in truth, exceedingly complex. No form of government has an absolute value; the value of each one is relative to the state of society to which it must be applied. The different kinds of government have been instituted to guaranty to man his rights, and without doubt, that is the best, which best secures them. But, as the form of government, which is proper to secure the rights of the citizen in one society, is not perhaps proper to secure them in another, for each association is composed of different elements, to which its government must be accommodated, it is important to know ours, to feel all its relations, and practically to consider its physical, moral, and political circumstances, in order to arrive at success in the resolution of this great problem.

'Among the physical circumstances of our country, the most remarkable is that which is presented by the thin population of its provinces. Many of those, that bear this name, either have not, or scarcely have fifteen thousand inhabitants, thinly scattered over an extensive surface. The most are poor, and some in extreme poverty. If all have, in the fertility of their respective territories, the ingredients for future riches, at this day they enjoy only scanty productions, which cannot distribute among them a fund of public revenues capable of providing for the first necessities of the community; and will it be prudent to break up the nation into the smallest fractions, with the name of states, when of all these, there can hardly be formed one small republic of five hundred thousand inhabitants? Since the history of the ancient governments, and the experience of the modern, have made us ac-

quainted with the defects of the turbulent democracy of Athens, the proud aristocracy of Venice, the rigorous monarchy of Russia, it is already a proverb among politicians, that no simple government is good, because simple forms are degraded and vicious. Simple monarchy, for example, is the supremacy of a monarch, who collects all power in himself. Oligarchy is the supremacy of the rich, the noble, the illustrious, who refer every thing to these qualities, at the expense of the oppression of the poor. Democracy is the supremacy of the multitude, who, proud of their numbers and their strength, discard propriety, knowledge, and virtue, and seek to govern in disorder. Mixed forms alone suit modern societies; because separating the vices of each one, they accumulate the good qualities of all. Thus every government, which degenerates too much into a simple form, is dangerous, for it is not compatible with the present state of political societies. Such would be that of federation in the depopulated situation of our provinces. With such a reduced number of inhabitants, they can never maintain a suitable representation; for they must either select it from among every class of men, even those incapable of exercising political rights, or they must concentrate it in the small number of the powerful. The first would terminate in a destructive democracy, the second, in an oppressive oligarchy. But the committee will return to this point, so worthy of the meditation of the legislators to whom the nation has confided her destiny.

'The moral circumstances of the country, are in most open opposition to the form of a federal government. The committee will say nothing of the silent resistance, that may be made to this species of government by habits acquired from ages of subjection to the Spanish government, which was so much further removed from a similar organization, as it was more absolute. They will not insist on the propensity, or instinct, by which at the moment that the provinces shook off the yoke of ancient domination, they were led to identify themselves in unity of government, until the periods of anarchy awoke the idea of federation. Nor yet will they attach much importance to the danger of suddenly abandoning ancient customs, while they prejudice not the desired liberty, or of claiming that new laws should at once form new customs, although nations in their infancy, like men, should leave their cradle with care, and only in proportion to their powers. The committee will only dwell on those more palpable inconveniences which the moral state of the country presents.

'The deficiency of intellectual light among our people, is notorious. If our former provincial capitals maintain some establishment of public education, the smaller towns have none. The

great mass of their inhabitants are destitute of that instruction, which a federal government demands for the discharge of public duties. Representative, instead of collective and tumultuary assemblies of the people; the separation and marked distinction of the three powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary; and the balance, by which the legislative departments are counterpoised, are the three grand discoveries which have been made in the art of constituting a free government. Without this essential equilibrium, every government must experience frequent convulsions, as they were suffered by the small republics of Greece, till they reached the period of their entire ruin; and, with this system alone of constitutional balances, England, and the United States of North America, have practically taught the world the mode of establishing and preserving a government free, and, at the same time, tranquil.

'Were our provinces federatively constituted, each one should establish its three powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, should perhaps divide the legislative power into departments, should create the employments, that policy exacts, the system of revenues and the other branches of a regular interior administration; while the most of them have no men who can discharge such duties, nor revenues that can defray their expenses. Here it is that the committee appeal to the practical testimony, the familiar conviction, the consciences of the honorable the Representatives and of all their fellow citizens. Let it be observed how far the provinces have advanced in the six years of their separation. There are some that have not as yet established a permanent assembly. The most are destitute of tribunals of justice; they have no men, who can serve them, nor salaries to support them. Various citizens of Tucuman have claimed the right of bringing appeals in their law suits, to the tribunal of this capital, and an honorable deputy from Santa Fe has evinced similar solicitude before the National Government. It is impossible that, in the nascent state of education and wealth, there could be constituted in each one of our provinces, an interior administration capable of warranting the liberty and rights of the citizens.

'From what they have effected and what has happened in the period since their separation, it is very easy to predict, what will occur in the case of federation. Without powers divided, and independent, the first ambitious man, who may know how to profit by the favor of circumstances, will seize on all public power, and this is insupportable tyranny; or the power will always vibrate between the smallest number of men remarkable for their capacity or riches, and this is a miserable oligarchy; or it will be disputed among ambitious competitors, at the expense of the

multitude, unfortunately a mere personal instrument, as has grievously happened in some provinces within our sight.'

'There are not wanting some who affirm, that in the last six years of their separation and independence, the provinces have been predisposed for federal government; but quite the contrary is lamentably the case.' 'Six years have passed; the provinces have held in their hands the elements and power for organizing themselves; yet, with the exception of a few, the most have advanced in nothing, and many have gone backwards in this respect. There are some, who have no institutions, good or bad, and who hear no law but the caprice of him who governs. It is impossible to feign ignorance of the fact, nor is it right longer to conceal it. Let us consult our own conviction; let us hear the clamor of the citizens who suffer; the echo of distress is loud; it penetrates into these precincts, where sits the majesty of the nation, and whence alone thousands of men await the remedy and relief.

'Among other defects, that have originated from the dissolution of the general government, has been the separation of nearly all the cities from their ancient capitals; a separation sustained by an irrevocable resolution to become more united. Many honorable deputies bring decisive instructions from the people on this point. Such a lacerated state of the whole country may be amended by the system of republican unity; but it would be necessary proportionally to mark out the provinces, equalizing the population and the territories, in order to shun the ridiculous metamorphosis of desert fields and wretched people into sovereign states.

'Far from the provinces having been, in their isolated state, predisposed for the form of federal government, there has been felt, on all hands, the necessity of consolidating in one homogeneous mass, the dispersed fractions of the union, bringing them to a common centre of authority. Permanent habits are not contracted in six years of disorder. It is certain, that, in this unfortunate interval, the people incurred the alternative of a servile obedience or an anarchical disobedience. It will not happen thus, as soon as they may place their interests and rights in the hands of the whole nation, who, represented by citizens of her immediate choice, cannot contemn the rights and the necessities of one portion of the people, without contemning those of all; and those that are not as yet capable of governing themselves, will have a safeguard, a certain protection, in the general administration of the Republic.

'If circumstances of a moral nature resist the institution of a federal government, political considerations imperiously oppose it. The two great objects of all political association, are security and

liberty; but, as it is impossible to obtain the one, without having first fortified the other, security ought to precede, and prepare for the degrees of liberty, that a nation is capable of enjoying. Security is interior or exterior. The interior security of our republic, can never be sufficiently consulted in a country like ours, of an immense and unpeopled extent, unless by giving to the power of the government, an easy, rapid, and strong action, which can not be had in the complicated and weak organization of the federal system. Exterior security calls all our attention and cares to a neighboring government, monarchical and powerful; which possesses real advantages over us, and, at this very day, makes war against us, to sustain the scandalous usurpation of a large province of our territory; a government, whose pretensions are ancient, and a principal object of whose policy will be, to make these pretensions interminable, and so much the more violent, as our republic may be the weaker.

'The national constitution ought to provide for the preservation of the state in peace, and its greater defence in case of war. Thus, in forming ours, all reasons of policy should carry our consideration to the states that surround us, with whom we are in contact, and must maintain immediate relations. Let us refer to the republics of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, and we shall be admonished that the Argentine Republic should be constituted under a government analogous to those governments with which it must form and maintain a permanent friendship, that suits the interests, the policy, and the general cause of free America. But, as a fatality, prepared in the contingencies of futurity, might disturb the peace, that ought to be perpetual, it is proper to observe that we are surrounded, on the one part, by a powerful empire, and, on the other, by consolidated republics.

'A legislative body may, in certain respects, be compared to a skilful architect, who, though he cannot depart from the plan, that has been given him for the design of the edifice, ought, nevertheless, to form, in his mind, the model of the best, in order to approximate towards it as much as may be possible in the execution. The plan that the provinces have, with mutual consent, given us, is that of a representative republican government, but in relation to the best form of this kind, they are not agreed. The Congress is the architect; it ought to perfect the plan, with that form, which is most congruous to the purposes and objects of its constituents.

'Thus, after having felt the circumstances of the country, consulted our own experience, and profited by the documents, which the history of others presents to us, the Committee do not hesitate to offer to the House, the opinion, which a con-

science, faithful to its sacred trusts, dictates. The representative republic, consolidated in unity of government, is the only one, which levels, on the one hand, the obstacles already designated, and guaranties, on the other, all social rights, combining the advantages of all free governments, and separating their abuses and defects.

'The Committee would desire, that the Congress, and all citizens, the friends of a practical and rational liberty, would attentively pause on this last expression; for it removes the fears by which it is endeavored to alarm the people against the system of unity. This is not the unity which characterizes absolute governments, in which the universal law, is the single will of one man alone; it is the unity of representation and power, in which the law, that binds all, must emanate from the general will, representative of the rights of all.' 'A representative republican government of unity, certainly renders all these rights safe; under it the nation governs itself; the law, which it dictates, through the medium of its representatives, is its only sovereign, safeguard, and friend; the incapacity of some, is supplied by the capacity of others, and no one portion of the people can lose its liberty, unless it is lost by the whole nation.

'Far from the Committee, is the antisocial thought to establish unity of power to bind the nation and individuals, depriving them of the faculty of providing for their wellbeing. On the contrary, the committee think that, after securing national and individual rights, the constitution should leave in the hands of the provinces themselves, those powers, which they alone, and none better than they, can exercise for the improvement of their physical and moral situation, for the necessary or useful establishments, that they may create, for the enjoyment of their local advantages, in everything that may not be essentially dependent on the general administration of the nation. This central power should be a beneficent power, whose authority may only foster, and never blight the principles of prosperity in each province; like the activity of the sun, which, scattering light and heat through all nature assists, and does not obstruct it, vivifies and fertilizes, that it may germinate, produce, vegetate, and ripen.

'We have, already, practically observed the little, that most of the provinces can effect towards governing themselves in an isolated situation; and we have, as yet, no lesson from experience against the government of unity, which the Committee propose. It is true that the multitude, whose philosophy is uniformly fixed on effects, feeling all the weight of the calamities, with which the country was afflicted, in the governments anterior to the year '20, imputed to forms what ought to be attributed to persons

alone; but it is likewise true, that this central power was absolute and abusive, and, at this day, no one can condemn, by practical arguments, the effects of unity of government. If any positive testimony can be opposed, with the appearance of reason, it is the example which is offered us by the federal government of the United States of North America; but no one denies the enormous difference that exists between the circumstances of that country, at the time of its establishment, and those of ours. The thirteen states, which, at the moment of their emancipation, were constitutionally confederated, did not make a perilous and violent transition to a new form of government; they did nothing more than perfect an organization as ancient as their existence. Instruction was there propagated through all the extremities of the territory, and above all, each state was a numerous nation, in respect to our desert provinces.'

Such are the arguments used by the Committee in favor of a central government, in preference to a confederated one. They are specious, but to us they do not appear altogether sound. The recent success of Mexico and Central America, where the population and other circumstances bear a strong resemblance to those of Buenos Ayres, affords a practical confutation of these arguments in the main. Federative systems have been established in those Republics, which have thus far proceeded with harmony, and a good promise of durability. All the Republics will inevitably come to this form at last, and it will be of great advantage to be placed on the true basis as soon as possible.

11.—*Address on Church Music, delivered by request, on the Evening of Saturday, October 7, 1826, in the Vestry of Hanover Church, and on the Evening of Monday following in the Third Baptist Church, Boston.* By Lowell Mason.

This is on the whole a sensible pamphlet, on a much neglected, but interesting subject. We say interesting, for though it is unfortunately too true, that this part of the public religious services of our country is generally esteemed unworthy of the attention and encouragement of the best educated portion of the community; yet it seems to us, that the frequent recurrence of the performance of church music of itself makes it of some importance to society at large. There are indeed those among us, who would degrade this, as well as every other species of musical performance, by treating it as a mere address to the senses. The combinations of language are the only means of addressing their understandings, or of furnishing them with intellectual occupa-

tion. The cry of grief, uttered by a being incapable of expressing its emotions in articulate sounds, the convulsive sob and the low moan of exquisite suffering, convey to the feelings of such persons no distinct impressions.

Mr Mason's pamphlet, if it has no other tendency than to correct opinions so obviously erroneous, and to excite attention to the subject of church music, will be highly useful; for if it be true, that 'music is only a refined species of elocution, and as such its office is to enforce upon the heart the sentiment which is sung,' all who would have the services of the church attended with the greatest effect, are concerned in the proper performance of this part of them. We, however, are disposed to go farther; we see no good reason for neglecting to make the church attractive, and we have no objection to the use of any means not incompatible with the solemnity of the place and purpose, to draw round the altar the gay, the frivolous, and the profligate. They may go to church indeed, not for the doctrine there, but to listen to the rich harmony of the organ, or the tones of some melodious voice, and yet this motive may not be very much lower than that, which carries to the same consecrated place some of their more insensible neighbors; and it is to be presumed, that none will go there, for whatever reason, who will not be in some degree benefited by the religious exercises. 'Music is said by some of the Fathers to have drawn the Gentiles frequently into the church through mere curiosity; who liked its ceremonies so well, that they were baptized before their departure.' But as Dr Burney, by whom this fact is related, observes, the generality of our parochial music is not likely to produce similar effects; being such as would sooner drive Christians with good ears *out* of the church, than draw Pagans *into it*.

The remedy of the general indifference, which prevails among us, to the improvement of church music, Mr Mason thinks, should be devised and applied by that portion of the religious community technically called *the church*. We do not, however, at once, see the propriety of charging this body exclusively with such a commission. This and every other department of art or science should, it seems to us, be committed to the management of those who are best informed upon the subject; and though we might admit the truth of the maxim, *non posse esse oratorem nisi virum bonum*, we think a man may be a very good psalm singer, though he may not be distinguished for his piety or religious zeal.

Mr Mason condemns, in strong terms, the deportment of many church choirs, which he states to be often highly irreverent and indecorous, and thinks that the improprieties he complains of are principally owing to the youth of the persons composing the choir. Without admitting the fact, for which we believe there is but little foundation, we should not wish to see any others em-

ployed, than well instructed and agreeable singers, to conduct the music of the church; and as the powers of the voice, like all others, decline and decay as the age advances, the best vocalists of the parish will generally be found among the younger part of it.

We entirely agree with Mr Mason's remarks on the question, whether the whole congregation should be encouraged to join promiscuously in this exercise, or whether it should be committed to a select choir.

'If,' says he, 'the devotional effect of music depends upon the mere circumstance of a person's engaging audibly in singing; or if it depends upon the quantity of noise produced; the congregational mode is undoubtedly to be preferred. But if, as has been suggested, there is an analogy between the arts of rhetoric and music—if the effects of each are to be produced by means somewhat similar, all will agree, that from such a jargon of sound as will be produced by a large assembly of all ages and descriptions engaged each one in singing as seems good in his own eyes, but little benefit can he expected. Wherever congregational singing has prevailed, there has been neither good tone, correct intonation, distinct articulation, nor proper emphasis or expression.'

It is indeed a great abuse, that a considerable number of an audience should be interrupted and diverted from the perception of the musical effect intended to be produced by a fine choir, by the vainglorious exhibitions of some ignorant or discordant singer in their vicinity. The general pretence for this practice is, that one must sing or shout the words audibly, in order to feel the full force of the sentiment of the hymn. It would not be more absurd to insist on joining audibly in the prayers or the sermon for the same reason.

We have not room to notice Mr Mason's remarks on the nature of musical adaptation, which we think very judicious, and sincerely hope his observations on the whole subject may have the weight they deserve, with the musical part of the community. We have only to add, that in some future edition of the valuable collections of sacred music published in Boston by the Handel and Haydn Society, we trust we may see an illustration of Mr Mason's remarks on assimilating the musical expression with the sentiment conveyed by the words. A most striking instance of inattention to this important particular, in the means of giving effect to the words sung, occurs in a chorus of Mozart contained in the first volume of the large work published by this Society. In the clause, 'We give thanks to thee for thy great glory,' a powerful emphasis is repeatedly given to the particle '*for*,' thereby destroying the musical expression of the whole clause.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

A Map of the Heavens, delineating the Heavenly Bodies on a Plain Sphere, &c. Utica, N. Y.

Meteorological Register for the Years 1822, 1823, 1824, and 1825, from Observations made by the Surgeons of the Army at the Military Posts of the United States. Prepared under the Direction of Joseph Lovell, M. D. Surgeon General of the United States Army. Washington. Edward De Krafft. 8vo. pp. 63.

American Natural History, Vol. I. Part 1; containing Twentytwo finely engraved Copperplates. By John D. Godman, M. D. Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea.

American Journal of Science and Arts. Conducted by Benjamin Silliman. Vol. XI. No. 2, for October, 1826.

The present number completes *eleven volumes* of this Journal, and all the friends of scientific improvement among us must regret to find, by a circular from the editor accompanying this number, that so slender and inadequate encouragement is afforded to the work. As a production of such national interest, and embracing as it does the results of the labors of our most eminent men of science, it demands a patronage as universal as its objects and utility. The editor's remarks, in describing the influence of this Journal, set the subject in so strong a light, that we shall quote them.

'Perhaps the editor,' says he, '(since he is much more the organ of his correspondents, than his own) may be pardoned for quoting, on this occasion, the opinion of eminent men at home, with the expression of which he has often been gratified; that the American Journal has contributed to elevate the reputation of our country abroad; that it has become identified with the interests and progress of science and the arts, throughout the civilized world; and that it forms an important member of the great intellectual machinery of the age. In exchange, it receives a large number of the principal foreign Journals, and their pages often contain matter derived from the American Journal. Its character, as an authentic record of original American communications and discoveries, has caused it to be sought abroad with peculiar interest, and to be received with uncommon favor. In proof of this, it may be stated, that, among the learned associations and eminent men in Europe, who have addressed kind and commendatory letters to the editor, or have transmitted their works or Journals in acknowledgment or in exchange, are; in Sicily, Professor Ferrara; in Geneva, the late Professor Pictet; in Bavaria, the Chevalier De Martius; in Halle, Germany, Drs Schweigger and Meinecke, besides other German Professors; in Sweden, Professors Berzelius and Sefstroem; in France, Brogniart, father and son, Dr Majendie, Brochant, Gay-Lussac; Julien, Editor of the Revue Encyclopédique; Baron Ferussac, Editor of the Bulletin des Sciences; the Council of Mines: the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts; that for the promotion of National Industry; the Linnæan Society, &c. In London, the late Dr Tilloch, and the late Mr Parkes; Arthur

Aikin, Secretary of the Society of Arts, &c.; H. Heuland, Secretary of the Geological Society; the Editors of the Annals of Philosophy; of the Philosophical Magazine; of the Journal of Science of the Royal Institution; of the Mechanic's Oracle; the Mechanic's Magazine, and several literary Journals. In the university of Oxford, Professors Kidd, Buckland, and Conybeare, with Mr Philips, the distinguished coadjutor of the latter. In Edinburgh, Professor Jamieson, Dr Brewster, and the late Dr John Murray; and in Glasgow, Professor Thomson. At home, the American Journal is considered as an equivalent, in exchange, for our various literary and scientific publications; it enjoys the support and countenance of a great number of our able scientific, and public men, and its pages sufficiently evince how far it has proved auxiliary to the developement of native talent, and to the creation of useful effort in science and the arts.

'It remains, however, for the editor to state, that to *this hour, the existence of the American Journal,* now in its ninth year, *is perpetuated only by continued personal sacrifices.*'

This is a very discouraging picture for an editor to contemplate. He adds, moreover, that '*five hundred subscribers are necessary simply to pay the expenses of the work;* and that the present number, being somewhat under that amount, pecuniary advances have continued to be occasionally necessary, in addition to the editorial labor and responsibility.' This exposition should stir up the men of science in the country, not merely to contribute their share to the materials of the work, but to take a lively interest in extending its circulation. The scientific character of this Journal necessarily gives it a less popular air, than one having a greater latitude of topics and discussion, and it must look for encouragement exclusively to that portion of the community, who can estimate the importance of scientific progress, and of drawing out the talents of the country to act upon subjects intimately connected with the useful arts, and the means of social enjoyment. To men of science, then, the editor may appeal with earnestness and confidence, and we hope not in vain. A little individual exertion on their part, would not fail to procure a liberal subscription, and give a new and permanent impulse to a work, calculated to be so honorable and useful to the country.

A Compendium of the Flora of the Northern and Middle States, containing Generic and Specific Descriptions of all the Plants, exclusive of Cryptogamia, hitherto found in the United States, North of the Potomac. By John Torrey, M. D.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Ministers and other deceased Members of the Society of Friends, in the State of New York.

EDUCATION.

The Juvenile Miscellany. For the Instruction and Amusement of Youth. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2. Boston. J. Putnam. 18mo. pp. 107.

Simple Truths in Verse, for the Amusement and Instruction of Children at an Early Age. By Mary Belson. New York. S. Wood & Son. 18mo. pp. 108.

The Grecian History, from the Earliest State to the Death of Alexander the Great. By Dr Goldsmith. Revised and corrected, and a Vocabulary of Proper Names appended, &c. by William Grimshaw. Philadelphia. J. Grigg. 12mo. pp. 322.

An Abridgment of Milner's Church History, for the Use of Schools and Private Families. By Rebecca Eaton. Second Edition. Charleston, S. C. William Riley. 12mo. pp. 324.

Tyro's Friend; consisting chiefly of easy Lessons in Spelling and Reading; designed for Children from Three to Eight Years of Age. Brookfield. E. & G. Merriam.

Rudiments of Geography, on a New Plan, designed to assist the Memory by Comparisons and Classifications. By William C. Woodbridge. New Edition. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 18mo. pp. 208.

A Key to the last New York Edition of Bonnycastle's Algebra; containing correct Solutions to all the Questions. By James Ryan. New York. Collins & Hannay. 18mo. pp. 261.

The Practical Analyst, or a Treatise on Algebra; designed for the Use of Schools. By Enoch Lewis.

Rudimental Lessons in Etymology and Syntax, in which these two Parts of Grammar are exhibited in Parallel Columns, carefully adapted to the Capacity of Young Learners. By Manasseh Robbins. Providence. 12mo. pp. 69.

The Classical Reader; a selection of Lessons in Prose and Verse, from the most esteemed English and American Writers, intended for the Use of the Higher Classes in public and private Seminaries. By the Rev F. W. P. Greenwood and G. B. Emerson, of Boston. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands. 12mo. pp. 420.

An Epitome of Geography, with an Atlas. By J. E. Worcester. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 165.

Mr Worcester's success as a geographer renders it unnecessary for us to say anything more of this little work, than that it bears all the characteristic marks of his former productions. He is accurate, clear, and remarkably happy in condensing the most important particulars, and bringing them down to the ready apprehension of children. The subjects are divided with precision, and appropriate questions are prepared as a guide to the learner.

The author has one merit almost peculiar to himself. He has taken unwearied pains to designate the accurate pronunciation of the names of places in various countries. This is of great utility, for if a child becomes accustomed to a right pronunciation at first, the thing is done forever, and he will have no more trouble about it; whereas, if he begins wrong, he is embarrassed and doubting all his life, and in his intercourse with men must often be subject to mortification on account of his ignorance. There is no better test of an accurate education, than a right pronunciation of proper names, both ancient and modern; and the use of marks of accentuation in recent school books is an essential improvement. We have seen no writer, who attends to it with so much particularity as Mr Worcester; and it is for this reason, that we shall notice what we deem a few slight errors. Some of them may possibly be misprints. He writes *Oconee'*, *Darien'*, *Para'na*, *Poto'si*; we believe they ought to be accented *Oco'nee*, *Da'rien* [or Dah'rien], *Parana'*, *Potosi'*. He spells *Carac'cas*, *Guatima'la*, *Valparay'so*. In South America the orthography of these words is *Carac'as*, *Guatema'la*, *Valparai'so*. He writes *Tennessee'*, and *Michigan'*; we suspect the more common pronunciation in the Western country is *Ten'nessee*, and *Mich'igan*. As a general remark, there is a growing tendency in pronouncing Indian names to throw back the accent.

There will be much fluctuation in the pronunciation of the names of places in South America for a long time to come, owing to our imperfect acquaintance with the sounds of some of the Spanish letters, and the habit, which has been acquired of pronouncing words as we see them in books, after the English sounds of the letters. But so much intercourse is now growing up between that country and this, and so many persons are daily coming among us, who pronounce after the Spanish mode, that the ear will gradually become accustomed to this pronunciation, and it will at length prevail universally. Now as the only rule for pronouncing the names of places, is the custom of the people who inhabit those places, we believe it would be best for geographers to adopt at once the Spanish pronunciation of South American words, particularly those where the sounds can be easily uttered by English organs. For instance, we would inculcate the Spanish pronunciation of *Chile* (*Chee'-le*), *Lima* (*Lee'mah*), and other words of a similar kind.

And by the way, we think it is quite time for geographers, and all other writers, to introduce the true orthography of *Chile*, and no longer sanction the old corruption, *Chili*.

Mr Worcester has attempted to give the sounds of some Spanish words in which he has failed, by not attending to the exact power of two or three letters. Take for examples *Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato*, which he pronounces Guah-da-lax-ah'-ra; Gwah-nax-wah'to. This gives the words very imperfectly. It would be nearer to write them *Gwah-dah-lah-ha'ra*, and *Gwah-nah-hu-ah'to*. As the words are originally written, the *x* has the sound of a strongly aspirated *h*. Sometimes *j* is used instead of the *x*, with the same sound. Thus the name of a city, from which the term *jalap* is derived, is written promiscuously *Xalapa*, or *Jalapa*, and in either case is pronounced *Hala'pa*, with the *h* aspirated. There is another class of words with the Spanish *ll*, which presents a difficulty, but one which can nearly be conquered; thus, *Truxillo*, may be very well represented by *Truh-hael'-io;* or perhaps more nearly by *Truh-heel'-yo*, letting the tongue rest a little upon the *l* in the accented syllable.

A Key, containing Answers to the Examples in the Sequel to Intellectual Arithmetic. By Warren Colburn, A. M. Stereotyped at the Boston Type and Stereotype Foundery. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 70.

Essays upon Popular Education; containing a Particular Examination of the Schools of Massachusetts, and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers. By James G. Carter. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 60.

The Class-Book of American Literature; consisting principally of Selections in the Departments of History, Biography, Prose Fiction, Poetry, &c. from the best Writers of our own Country. Designed to be used as a Reading-Book in American Schools. By John Frost. Boston. J. H. A. Frost. 12mo. pp. 288.

Manual of Mutual Instruction; consisting of Mr Fowle's Directions for introducing in Common Schools the Improved System adopted in the Monitorial School, Boston. With an Appendix, containing some Considerations in Favor of the Monitorial Method, and a Sketch of its Progress, &c. By William Russell. Boston. Wait, Greene, & Co. 12mo. pp. 131.

The First Book, or Spelling Lessons for Primary Schools. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 120.

Conversations on Common Things; or, Guide to Knowledge. With Questions for the Use of Schools and Families. By a Teacher. New Edition. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 288.

Lights of Education, or Mr Hope and His Family; a Narrative for Young Persons. By a Lady. Part II. Baltimore. E. J. Coale.

An Introduction to Algebra upon the Inductive Method of Instruction. By Warren Colburn. Stereotype Edition. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 276.

A History of the United States of America, on a Plan adapted to the Capacity of Youth. By the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. A New Edition. Hartford. S. G. Goodrich. 18mo. pp. 316.

The Mercantile Arithmetic. By Michael Walsh. A New Edition. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 307.

A Spanish Grammar. By A. De Letamendi, late Consul of Spain for East Florida. Price $1,50. Charleston, S. C. W. Riley.

Marci Tullii Ciceronis Orationes quædam Selectæ, in Usum Del

phini, cum Interpretatione et Variantibus aliquot per singulas Orationes Lectionibus, &c. With English Notes. By John G. Smart. Philadelphia.

Arithmetic on the Inductive Method of Instruction; being a Sequel to Intellectual Arithmetic. By Warren Colburn, A. M. Stereotype Edition. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 245.

Geography for Beginners, or the Instructer's Assistant in giving First Lessons from Maps; with an Atlas, adapted exclusively to the Work. By Emma Willard, Principal of the Troy Female Seminary.

Outlines of Modern Geography, on a new plan, carefully adapted to Youth, &c. By the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Second Edition. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 18mo. pp. 252.

Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger. Cambridge. Hilliard & Metcalf. 12mo. pp. 252.

This is one of the pleasantest and best selections we are acquainted with, for the purpose of introducing a beginner to the knowledge of a foreign language. The object of it, as stated in the preface, is to give a collection of examples illustrative of the rules and peculiarities of the language from works of acknowledged classical rank, and at the same time to afford the learner a foretaste of the modern German literature. This object is, we think, well attained; and though a task of no very formidable nature, yet it is one not unworthy of the attention of the learned scholar who has prepared the book, and to whom we are indebted for contributing his efforts to increase the means of cultivating one of the most useful and important languages of the present day.

GEOGRAPHY.

An Atlas of the State of South Carolina, made under the Authority of the Legislature; prefaced with a Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of the State. By Robert Mills, Engineer and Architect. 4to.

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The Acting American Theatre. No. VI. Containing the Honey Moon, a Comedy. Philadelphia. 12mo.

A Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, &c. By the Rev. David Blair. New Edition. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 18mo. pp. 214.

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The Beauties of Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Moore, Esq., selected from their Works; with Historical and Explanatory Notes. Philadelphia.

PROPOSED WORKS.

It is proposed to publish in New Orleans, THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE. By GEOFFROY DE VILLE-HARDOUIN, Marshal of Champagne. Translated by A. DAVEZAC.

In his general Prospectus of the work the translator speaks as follows.

'There exists no English translation, I believe, of the *Conquest of Constantinople;* and the silence of Gibbon, who sometimes cites the text, and and at others translates the original, warrants this conclusion.

'This translation will be prefaced by a concise history of the Crusades, which preceded that of the French and Venetians. A rapid sketch of those memorable expeditions, too short to fatigue those who have studied the eventful history of the middle ages, and yet sufficiently full to present a general view of that epoch, will give additional interest to the narration. This will be followed by a short biography of Ville-Hardouin. I remember, that, after perusing the history of the Conquest of Constantinople, I felt solicitous to be informed of the subsequent estinies of the Chronicler—of the Daring Knight—who had hurled the gauntlet

of defiance at the feet of an Emperor, seated on his throne, and surrounded by his guards and courtiers, and that obsequious train of slaves and eunuchs, the inseparable attendants of oriental greatness. I have thought that the result of my researches would gratify the curiosity of those readers who might feel the same desire.'

CAREY & LEA, Philadelphia, will publish, in March, the first number of a new periodical Journal, to be entitled THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

'Their design is *national*, as far as it can be so extended. For that object, impartiality, as well as breadth of survey and variety of subject, will be invariably studied. In Philadelphia, the aid of many gentlemen of superior ability and scholastic and scientific acquirements, has already been secured; but as it is desired to bring into action talent and knowledge wherever situated, contributions are invited from writers throughout the Union, to whom personal application may not be made; and the publishers pledge themselves to pay liberally for such articles as shall be inserted in the work. The duties of editorship will be confided to a gentleman of high literary reputation.

'With regard to the subjects which are embraced in the design of the American Quarterly Review, its title and the common and known contents of the existing models bespeak them sufficiently. Preference must be given to works and materials, to principles and opinions, especially interesting and useful to our own country, whether they be of domestic or foreign origin. Mere party or local politics, polemical theology, involving injurious and irritating imputations, and whatever tends to disturb essential morals, fundamental Christian faith, or republican theory, will be rigorously excluded. As the work is not meant to be devoted to the views or favorite ends of any member or section of the Union, neither will it be to any exclusive or partial doctrines in any of the admitted subjects. The utmost latitude of opinion and discussion will be allowed, that is compatible with the limits, temper, and general merit to be required in each article. The resources and connexions of the proprietors are such, as to place within their reach copious information of the contemporary literature and public concerns of the principal countries of Europe and America; and they will sedulously avail themselves of all the means of the kind, which they can command, for the enrichment of the Review. They scarcely need to add, that the work will be truly *American* in spirit and drift; patriotism, alert, emphatic, resolute, militant even under certain circumstances, is a trait which should distinguish it and every similar production of this country.'

S. G. GOODRICH, Boston, will shortly publish, ELEMENTS OF MINERALOGY, adapted to the Use of Seminaries and Private Students, 1 Vol. 8vo. By J. L. Comstock, M. D.

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Also preparing for Publication, The WORKS of CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, with a SKETCH of the LIFE of the AUTHOR.

SPECIMENS of AMERICAN POETRY, with CRITICAL and BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

ERRATA.

Page 42, line 37, for *derive*, read *driven*.
" 70, " 12 " *Brathand* " *Brathaud*.

WORKS JUST PUBLISHED

BY

HILLIARD, GRAY & Co.

THE LEAGUE OF THE ALPS, The Siege of Valencia, The Vespers of Palermo, and Other Poems. By Mrs. Felicia Hemans.

The volume of Mrs. Hemans's Poems now published contains about eighty pages more than were promised in the Proposals. It is believed that no handsomer or more correct reprint of any foreign author has appeared in our country. Its price, at the same time, is less, in proportion to its size, than the prices at which Mrs. Hemans's publications, printed in a style not superior, are sold in London.

The shorter miscellaneous poems have not appeared before in any volume of her works. They were furnished by the author at different times. Their number was, at last, found to be such, as to make it necessary to omit the selection proposed from her former volumes. Her two tragedies are, probably, as little known in this country, as any of her writings; not admitting of being circulated in the various ways, through which so many of the finest of her smaller poems have been given to the public.

"The Forest Sanctuary" is in the press, and, it is hoped, will be published in a few weeks; in the same style of printing as the present volume. A double tittlepage has been given with this volume, as the first of her works. If a sufficient number of her writings should be published by the editor uniformly with the present, to make a second or a third volume, of the same size, a corresponding tittlepage will be given, for the convenience of those who may procure a complete set. Those who possess a single volume only, can easily cancel the added title.

Mrs. Hemans is now engaged in preparing another volume, to be entitled "Records of Woman." Many of the poems, of which it will be composed, have already appeared separately in the New Monthly Magazine, and have been reprinted in this country. None of them, of course, are contained in the present collection. Whenever the volume may appear, it is the intention of the present editor immediately to republish it. All the republications by him are under the direction, and for the benefit of the author; who has done him the honor to accept the offer of his services.

The publication of this volume has been retarded by difficulty and delay in procuring the means for executing it in the manner desired. No similar delay, it is believed, will take place in regard to "The Forest Sanctuary."

It only remains for the editor to avail himself of this opportunity to express the great pleasure which he has felt in the interest taken in the republication of Mrs. Hemans's writings; and his sincere thanks for the very friendly and gratifying exertions, which have been made to promote the subscription for this volume. A. N.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE OF CIVIL ENGINEERING. Translated from the French of M. I. Sganzin, Inspector General of Bridges, Roads, and Naval Depots, late professor in the Royal Polytechnic School, officer in the Legion of Honor, and Knight of the Royal order of Saint Michael. From the third French edition. With Notes and applications adapted to the United States.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The object of the translator in presenting this work to the public is to do something to supply what seems to him a great deficiency in the books on practical science in this country. He is acquainted with no work in English, which contains within a small compass, and in a form intelligible to common readers, those elementary principles of Engineering, which relate to building in stone, brick, or wood, and making roads, bridges, canals, and railways. Nearly all the books to be found on these subjects are suited only to the professed Engineer, and are either too voluminous, or too much involved in mathematical language to be accessible or intelligible to the greater part of learners and practical mechanics.

The work of Sganzin, of which he now offers a translation, seemed better suited than any other to the object he had in view. It has long had a high reputation in France, and has been used as a text book in the department of Civil Engineering at the Royal Polytechnic School in Paris ever since it was written. In 1823 it was adopted at the United States Military Academy at West Point, and is still used there.

To suit it better to the wants of his countrymen, the translator has omitted such parts of the original as were applicable only to France, and, in their place, introduced facts and examples which he thought particularly adapted to the state of things in the United States. He has added notes where they seemed necessary, and has described the instruments and modes of proceeding in surveying, as practised by the United States Topographical Engineers; the instruments made use of in France, as described in the original, being somewhat different. He has added a Chapter on the subject of Railways, compiled from the best English authorities, together with a short description of Marine Railways, and Prony's celebrated graphical method of determining the thickness of walls necessary to support embankments. He has also added some new plates and omitted some of those in the original, and has adopted a different title.

In its present form the translator hopes it will be found useful not only to the professed student of Civil Engineering, but to all persons engaged in any kind of building, in forming a road or railway or digging a canal. While so great an interest is felt, and such sums of money are expended by the nation and by individuals in public and private works, very many persons, who have no leisure or inclination to go deeply into the study, must be desirous of obtaining sufficient knowledge of these subjects to form opinions for themselves. To such persons the translator trusts he has rendered a useful service, in offering them a short work, of the best authority, capable of being understood with little study or previous knowledge of the subject.

Every person who has occasion to erect or purchase a house or other building is interested in being able to judge of the proper materials, and of the marks of skill or fidelity exhibited in its construction. Every one who is called upon to superintend or assist in building a bridge or laying out a road ought to be somewhat acquainted with the safest and most economical way of doing it. The style of building

which has prevailed hitherto has been suited to an infant country. As property has become more secure, an inducement has arisen to render it more permanent. Wood is giving place to brick as a material for building, and brick to stone, and this should be laid according to the principles of art and science gathered from many experiments. It becomes a wise nation and prudent men to profit by the experience of those who are farther advanced in the arts of life. Love of our country will lead us to build more generously, for posterity. The principles of this science should therefore be as widely spread as possible. The more numerous those are who judge well of the materials and style of building, the less danger is there from the ignorance or craft of mechanics, and the more security that the money of the nation and of individuals will be well laid out and carry advantage to future times. Knowledge of the principles of Civil Engineering may thus be a national benefit, and he who has endeavoured, however humbly, to advance this knowledge, will not be thought to have laboured in vain.

Boston, Dec. 4, 1826.

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CHAP. XXVI.—Culverts.—Drains and Waste Weirs.—Bridges of communication, fixed and moveable.—Tunnelling for Canals and Feeders.—Small navigation.

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RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major DENHAM, Captain CLAPPERTON, and the late Dr. OUDNEY. Extending across the Great Desert to the tenth degree of Northern Latitude, and from Kouka in Bornou, to Sackatoo, the Capital of the Felatah Empire. With an Appendix, published by authority of the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesties principal Secretaries of State, and dedicated by permission to his Lordship. By Major DIXON DENHAM, of His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Foot, and Captain HUGH CLAPPERTON, of the Royal Navy, the survivors of the Expedition.

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Y si te acercas mas a nuestras dias,
O Clito, en las historias
Veras, donde con sangre las memorias
No estuvieren borradas,
Que de horrores manchadas
Vidas tantas estan esclarecidas,
Que leeras mas escandalos que vidas *Quevedo.*

A DISCOURSE pronounced before the PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY, at the Anniversary Celebration, on the 31st of August, 1826. By JOSEPH STORY.

A GENERAL ABRIDGMENT AND DIGEST OF AMERICAN LAW, *With occasional Notes and Comments.* By NATHAN DANE, LL. D. Counsellor at Law. *In 8 vols. 8vo.*

THE design of this work is to furnish the profession with a complete body of American Law, in so cheap and compendious a form, and at the same time so comprehensive, that it cannot fail to be practically useful, especially to those lawyers and students, who cannot afford to purchase many books.

In November 1819, the work was submitted to Judge Story, to be examined by him as far as his duties would allow. The parts he had to inspect were the generel plan and the parts deemed the most difficult to be executed well; as divisions 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 28, and some other parts, in all about one third of the work. The result of his examination was the opinion subjoined.

The Hon. Nathan Dane, of Beverly, has prepared for publication a new Digest, or Abridgment of the Law. I am entirely satisfied with the plan, which proposes to separate that portion of the Com mon Law, which is applicable to and in use in our country, from that which exclusively concerns England. The decisions and doctrines of the most important American Reports are also incorporat-

ed into the work. I have examined, with as much care and attention as my other duties would allow, several leading titles of the work, and can without hesitation declare, that they exhibit a far more complete and methodical view of the law, than the corresponding titles of any abridgment now in general use. To those who are acquainted with the great learning, diligence, and high professional character of the author, who has expended the leisure of more than thirty years on the enterprize, it might be useless to say more; but to those, who are not in this predicament, I beg to state, that from my knowledge of the author and the work, I hazard nothing in stating that it will be found of great utility to American Lawyers, and will peculiarly facilitate the labours of students in the profession.

JOSEPH STORY.

FROM THE HON. WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

I have examined, with some care, the chapter on Insurance in the new Digest and Abridgment of the Law compiled by the Hon. Nathan Dane. His division and arrangement of the different subjects appear to me methodical and perspicuous. Principles upon which the cases in the several points depend, are concisely and clearly stated, and I believe all the cases of any importance, which have been decided by the Courts in England and the United States, are quoted, and most of them either judiciously abridged, or the points stated.

I know of no Digest of the Law of Insurance, equally compendious with this chapter, so useful as I think this will prove to the profession.

I have not had leisure to peruse the other parts of the work, but from this chapter, and from the plan of the work exhibited in the concise view of it, which the author has published, as well as from my long and intimate knowledge of his talents, industry, and great learning, I have no doubt that to American Lawyers and Students it will prove a more useful and valuable Digest and Abridgment of the Law, than any now in use. WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

FROM THE BOSTON MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

"The work of Mr. Dane is of no ordinary class; nor can any reviewer of the present age expect to have an opportunity of noticing another of the kind. We can only regret that it could not appear sooner, to guide, assist, and encourage the student. We well remember when we were directed to read the whole of Bacon's Abridgment, and the confusion and perplexity we suffered while groping through the dark labyrinths of copy-holds, heresies, feudal warranties, and court leets, "loca nocte silentia late." But in the work before us, the student will be able to see, at once, that part of the English law which is applicable to this country, and thus escape those perplexing uncertainties as to what part of the old common law has been adopted here, which formerly made the first years of study full of doubt and obscurity. The arrangement of the work is excellent for the student.

"The insertion of several hundred cases, decided mostly in Massachusetts, from 1775 and before, to 1804, when our Reports commenced, collected and preserved by the industry of the author, and not to be found in any other book, is of itself sufficient to give great value to this work."

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VI.

CUMMINGS'S TESTAMENT, a new and improved edition is now in the press, and will be published in the course of the next month. The applications for this work have been such, as to induce the publishers to incur the expense of stereotyping it.

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THE ELEMENTS OF GREEK GRAMMAR, with notes. By R. VALPY, D. D. F. A. S. Sixth American edition.

THIS Sixth American, is from the last London edition, and comprises the valuable Notes recently added by Dr. Valpy It is printed with a new and beautiful type, and some errors in the preceding editions have been corrected.

THE

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New Series.

VOL. XV.

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ART. I.—*Coleccion de los Viages y Déscubrimientos, que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV, con varios Documentos inéditos concernientes á la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias, coordinada é ilustrada por* DON MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE. Madrid, 1825. Tom. I. *Viages de Colon: Almirantazgo de Castilla.*—Tom. II. *Documentos de Colon y de las primeros Poblaciones.* [8vo. pp. CLI. 455 and 455.]

THIS work is the commencement of a projected series of publications concerning the voyages and maritime discoveries of the Spaniards. It is published under the patronage of king Ferdinand; and in this respect, if in no other, would deserve to be considered a remarkable book. We are not prone to expect from that unhappy prince at any time, and least of all, in the present distracted state of his kingdom, any very enlightened acts for the promotion of learning. The occurrence of a prominent exception to the illiberal policy, which is accustomed to sway his counsels, is therefore in itself a political phenomenon of considerable interest. And the exception was most wisely chosen, as constituting a truly acceptable addition to our literary treasures, a durable monument of Spanish greatness and power, and a work containing attractive instruction for the inhabitants of both hemispheres.

Spain, amid the ruins of her magnificent empire, stripped of those mighty colonial possessions, which were at once her pride and her shame, her glory and her disgrace, the source of all her riches and the instrument appointed to work her downfall,—Spain still appears to derive a melancholy gratification from contemplating the fortunes and elucidating the history of her lost America. Under the auspices of that proud and bigoted, but chivalrous and highminded nation, it was the destiny of Columbus to discover the New World; and its history is therefore inseparably associated with her language and literature. We must look to that language for the only original and perfectly authentic records of the splendid achievements of the great navigator, as well as for the knowledge of later events in the history of this continent. The prolific invention of the Spanish people poured forth, in the days of their greatest glory, a golden tide of poetry, of romance, of productions in every branch of letters; but afterwards, when the influence of superstition fettered their genius, it luxuriated the more richly in those directions, where its efforts were still unchecked. Hence their literature abounds in works on the early history of the New World. Not a few of the adventurous voyagers and undaunted soldiers, who first explored this continent, and bore the Spanish arms in triumph over its broad expanse, were themselves accomplished writers, who described their own fortunes and the exploits of their compatriots in the frank, simple, and engaging style of brave men, schooled in the toils of the camp and the vicissitudes of active life. Most of the narratives thus composed were published by their authors, and became the foundation of digested history in after times. But others of still greater value, not having been originally written for the press, remained long in manuscript. Among the rest, the Spanish historians have continually referred to contemporary accounts of the voyages of Columbus, which were thus known to be still in existence, but lay buried in the archives of the state or of noble families, accessible only to the researches of a few favored individuals. These precious documents are now rescued from obscurity, and perchance from speedy destruction, by the publication before us, of whose contents we propose to give a cursory account.

Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, the editor of the work, holds a respectable office in the marine department of state. The design of his compilation appears to have grown out of a

plan, originated in 1789, for the establishment of a nautical library and repository of manuscripts relative to the marine, at Cadiz. Señor Navarrete then received a commission from Charles the Fourth to explore the archives and libraries of the kingdom, both public and private, for the purpose of collecting exact and authentic copies of whatever should be deemed suitable for the abovementioned object. His researches began at Madrid, in the royal library, the archives of the noble houses of Santa Cruz, Villafranca, Medina Sidonia, and Infantado, and the libraries of St Isidore, and the Escurial. Afterwards he extended his inquiries to other places, particularly to the various public registries in Seville, and the famous archives of Simancas, so jealously closed against the industry of Robertson, and where Muñoz found the most valuable and abundant materials for his unfinished history of the New World. He was very successful, too, in the discovery of letters and other documents concerning Columbus, many of them in his own handwriting, preserved in the archives of his descendant and family representative, the duke of Veragua. These investigations were frequently interrupted, either by reason of the official duties of Señor Navarrete, or still more in consequence of the protracted civil and foreign wars by which his illfated country has been so cruelly agitated. He resumed his labors, however, from time to time, as circumstances would permit, and, during the prosecution of his original design, was induced by the great historical value of the documents he collected, to undertake the present publication.

In respect to the order of arrangement in his compilation, Señor Navarrete has pursued a very natural and proper course. Columbus being the first navigator into the waters of the West, and having discovered the New World, and thus given impulse, direction, and dignity to the maritime enterprises of the Spaniards, his voyages and the documents relating to his personal fortunes, his family, and the primitive establishments in America, justly occupy the first place in this great national work. Following the order of discovery, the third volume is to comprise the early voyages to the Spanish Main and to Florida, the fourth the conquests of Cortez, and the rest, in succession, the expedition to the river of La Plata, and the straits of Magellan, to Chile, Peru, and California, to the South sea and the Asiatic islands. Of the competency of the editor to pursue the laborious track thus marked out, the volumes already printed fur-

nish ample evidence, in the wise selection of subsidiary documents, the judicious disposition of his matter, the utility and erudition of the notes and other illustrations, and the general propriety of the introductory account of the origin, nature, and value of the compilation.

It would be a poor compliment to the discernment of our readers, to enter into any discussion of the general value of publications of this description. Suffice it to say, that all the authenticity of history depends upon such documents. Writings of finished elegance, and composed expressly for popular perusal, are more inviting, undoubtedly, to a large class of readers, and, it may be, more immediately and universally profitable in the diffusion of knowledge; but original narratives or other writings, however repulsive to some by reason of their antiquated, rude, or unpolished style, are the only genuine sources of historical truth. And independently of this consideration, we freely confess, that, in our estimation, no elaborate beauty of composition, as applied to the description of events, is so enchanting as the native and racy simplicity of style, the businesslike directness, force, and truth, with which Xenophon and Cæsar, Sully and Clarendon, Columbus, Vespucci, and Cortez, and our own Winthrop, relate the important affairs wherein they were eye-witnesses, active participators, or the leading and controlling principals. We speak not of the ordinary tattling memoirs of ordinary persons, the chronicles of *the first person singular*, of no use but to minister gratification to the morbid appetite for private scandal which too widely prevails, and so rudely pushes itself, with coarse and reckless curiosity, into the sanctuary of private life. But we have in view those compositions in which great men have narrated the great events of their time. For those, therefore, who duly prize such writings, and who postpone the incidental ornaments of history to its rich substance, the glitter to the gold, the publication before us possesses a charm superior to any factitious allurements.

The longest document contained in this collection is a minute and careful account of the Admiral's *first voyage*, which is a literary curiosity of great intrinsic interest. It is in the form of a journal of the transactions and observations of each day, abridged from the original written by Columbus himself, and introduced by an explanatory prologue addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella. Señor Navarrete accidentally discovered this

invaluable manuscript, while searching for another purpose in the archives of the duke del Infantado. It is throughout in the handwriting of the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, who possessed many papers written by Columbus, which he made use of in the composition of his unpublished *Historia de las Indias*, and who unquestionably abstracted this journal from the Admiral's log-book, giving a literal copy of the most important passages. Not the slightest doubt of its authenticity can exist. Indeed Las Casas inserted an abridgment of it in his manuscript history, which served as the basis of the works of Herrera and other standard historians of the New World.

The introduction to the journal exhibits in the very words of Columbus, the views and feelings with which he set sail upon this memorable voyage. We translate it word for word, leaving the original arrangement of the sentences untouched, because it would be difficult to break them without taking serious liberties with the text.

'In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi.—Whereas, most christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful princes, our lords, king and queen of the Spains and the isles of the sea, this present year 1492, after your Highnesses had ended the war against the Moors who reigned in Europe, and had finished the war in the great city of Granada, where this present year on the second day of January I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses planted by force of arms on the towers of Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said city, and saw the Moorish king come out of the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses and of my lord the Prince; and then in that same month by the information which I had given your Highnesses of the lands of India, and of a Prince called *Gran Can*, which signifies in our language King of Kings, how he and his predecessors had often sent to Rome to solicit teachers of our holy faith to instruct him in it, and the holy father had never provided him any, and thus many people were lost by believing in idolatries, and harboring doctrines of perdition;—your Highnesses, as catholic christians, and Princes, who are lovers of the holy christian faith and promoters of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to said regions of India, to see the said princes, and the people and country, and the disposition of them and of the whole, and the course to be adopted for their conversion to our holy faith; and ordained that I should not proceed by land to the East, as it hath been customary to go, but by way of the West, in which direction we have to this day no certain evidence that any person has passed. So

after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and seignories, in the same month of January, your Highnesses commanded me to proceed to those regions of India with a sufficient armament; and for this granted me great favors, and ennobled me so that thenceforth in time to come I might style myself *Don*, and should be high admiral of the ocean, and viceroy and perpetual governor of all the islands and mainland which I should discover and acquire, and which should thereafter be discovered and acquired in the ocean, and so my oldest son should succeed me, and from degree to degree for ever; and I left the city of Granada the 12th day of the month of May of the same year 1492 on Saturday: I went to the town of Palos, a seaport, where I equipped three vessels very suitable for such a purpose; and departed from the said port, well supplied with much provisions and many seamen, the third day of the month of August of the said year on Friday, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for the Canary islands of your Highnesses, which are in the said ocean, thence to take my departure, and navigate until I should reach the Indies, and deliver the embassy of your Highnesses to those princes, and thus accomplish what you had commanded me; and therefore I thought to write all this voyage very exactly from day to day, every thing which I should do, or see, or experience, as will be seen in the sequel. And beside describing every night what passes in the day, and every day how we sail in the night, I design to construct a new chart for navigation, in which I will mark the waters and lands of the ocean in their proper places under their points; and moreover to compose a book, and represent the whole by picture, in latitude from the equator, and longitude from the West; and above all it is very necessary that I forego sleep and attempt much in navigation in order to accomplish it, which things will require great toil.'—Tom. I. p. 1—3.

The first thing, which strikes us in the journal, is the artifice, to which Columbus was continually driven, to sustain the sinking courage of his crews. Nowhere is the exalted character of this truly great man more strikingly displayed, than in the fortitude and magnanimity with which he bore up against the manifold obstacles to the prosecution of his magnificent undertaking. He had suffered the hardships of penury and oppression, with spirits unbroken, with hopes unrepressed. Animated by the conviction that undiscovered worlds lay hidden in the western sea, and that he was the instrument ordained to discover and explore them, he had happily overcome the superstitions of the priesthood, who in the outset stigmatized his hypothesis by the odious name of heresy. The incredulity of the govern-

ment had yielded to the force of truth; and its parsimony was melted by his ardor. The narrowminded individuals, who, unable to rise themselves, hung the weight of their jealousy around his neck as usual, to hold down his lofty genius to the level of their own lowly career, he had shaken off at last in triumph. He was now floating upon the full tide of adventurous experiment. But here also the ignorance and envy of his fellows pursued him at every hour. His unalterable belief in the existence of the lands he sought, would have availed him little, had not his preeminent nautical skill exacted the confidence of those around him, and his intellect and courage proved equal to any emergency of fortune. For when his daring prow was pointed to the west, and his companions felt themselves on the bosom of the great deep, leaving home if not life behind, and sailing they knew not whither, it demanded a rare combination of extraordinary talents for one man, an obscure foreigner, to retain the obedience of his turbulent but fainthearted followers.

Their terrors began to be troublesome a few days after quitting Gomera, on perceiving the variation of the magnetic needle. Columbus deserves the honor of being the first to observe this phenomenon, which still remains among the unexplained mysteries of nature. The surprise and consternation of his officers and men on the occasion are sufficient proof that it was unnoticed until then. Some writers have ascribed the credit of making this observation to Cabot, in 1497; but Las Casas, Ferdinand Columbus, Herrera, and Muñoz had all concurred in claiming it for the Admiral; and the following extract from the journal of his *first voyage*, dated September 13th, taken in connexion with a passage in his account of his *third voyage*, is considered by Señor Navarrete as establishing the fact. He succeeded in quieting the apprehensions of his people by an ingenious explanation, which, however, was unsatisfactory to his own mind. In reading the passages we are about to cite, it should be observed, that they are not taken from the original journal of Columbus, but from a mere abstract in the words of Las Casas; and as it appears from Muñoz's unfinished *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo*, that Columbus kept two journals, one private and authentic, and the other with false reckoning and specious statements, it would seem that both were used in making this abstract, the phrase 'the Admiral says' often introducing not what he thought, but what he wished his compan-

ions to believe. Las Casas has given some long passages in the very words of Columbus, but such are accompanied by a notice to that effect, and in Señor Navarrete's book are distinguished by inverted commas.

'*Thursday, Sept.* 13*th.*—This day and night, continuing their course West, they sailed 33 leagues, and counted 3 or 4 less. The currents were contrary. This day, at the commencement of night, the needles varied (noruesteaban) to the Northwest, and they also varied somewhat to the Northwest in the morning.'

'*Monday, Sept.* 17*th.*—Continued their course West, and sailed in the day and night fifty leagues and upwards; noted down but 47; the current favored them; they saw many weeds and very frequently; it was rockweed, and came from towards the west; they judged that land was near. The mates took the North by marking it, and found that the needles varied to the Northwest (las agujas noruesteaban) a whole quarter, which terrified the mariners, who stood in suspense, without saying for what. The admiral perceived it, and ordered them to mark the North anew at daybreak, and they found that the needles pointed aright; the cause was that the star which appears has motion, and not the needles. At daybreak this day saw many more weeds, which appeared to be river weeds, in which they found a live crab, which the Admiral kept, and says that these are sure signs of land, because they are never found 80 leagues from shore. They found the sea water less salt since they left the Canaries, the air more and more mild; they were all in good spirits, and the vessels contended which should go fastest, to be the first to descry land; they saw many tunny fish, and the crew of the Niña killed one. Here the Admiral says those signs were from the West, where I hope in that high God, in whose hand is all victory, that he will very soon give us land. This morning he says he saw a white bird called *Rabo de junco*, which is not wont to sleep at sea.'

Sunday, Sept. 30*th.*—At night the needles varied a quarter to the northwest, and at daybreak they agreed exactly with the star; by which it appears that the star has motion like the other stars, and that the needles always indicate the true point.'

Tom. 1, p. 8, 9, 15.

It has been generally understood that Columbus was compelled to deceive his companions in regard to the distance they sailed, and the various signs of proximity to land. The birds they saw were land birds; the weeds were freshly disengaged from rocks; and the fish were river fish, that never ventured far into salt water; sometimes the wind was a breeze from

shore ; and thus it was that every possible expedient was tried to counteract the fears and feed the credulity of ignorant mariners. We translate several passages of the journal, which illustrate these remarks.

'*Sunday, Sept. 9th.*—Sailed that day 19 leagues, and determined to count less than was sailed, so that if the voyage should be long, the people should not be terrified or dismayed.'

'*Wednesday, Sept. 19th.*—Continued their course, and between day and night sailed 25 leagues, because there was a calm ; wrote down 22. At 10 this day a pelican came to the ship, and another towards evening, which are not wont to fly twenty leagues from land ; it drizzled without wind, which is a sure sign of land ; the admiral would not stop to beat up and down to ascertain whether there was land ; but he held for certain that to the north and south there were islands, as in truth there were, and he was sailing in the midst of them ; because his wish was to proceed on to the Indies.' [Columbus was in fact at this time only 10 leagues from some small islets or rocks, in lat. 28° or 29°.]

'*Saturday, Sept. 22nd.*—Sailed northwesterly, beating up and down ; sailed 30 leagues ; saw hardly any weeds. Here the Admiral says, " This head wind was very necessary for me ; because my people had become highly excited, in the idea that over these seas no wind blew by which they could return to Spain."

'*Sunday, Sept. 23rd.*—The weeds were in great quantities, and they found crabs in them, and as the sea was smooth and tranquil, the people murmured, saying that they had lost the deep water, and there never would be a wind for returning to Spain ; but after a while the sea rose without wind, which astonished them.'

Tom, i. p. 7, 11, 12.

We pass over many entries in the journal of like import, and come to the time, when the vessels actually approached their destination.

'*Wednesday, Oct. 10th.*—Sailed west southwest, went 10 miles the hour, occasionally 12, and sometimes 7, and in the 24 hours, 59 leagues ; reckoned to the people only 44. Here the crews could endure it no longer ; they complained of the length of the voyage ; but the Admiral encouraged them as well as he could, giving them good hopes of the great profits they would make. And he added that it was idle for them to complain, because he was going to the Indies, and should keep on till he found them, with the help of our Lord.

'*Thursday, Oct. 11th.*—Sailed west southwest, had much sea, more than in the whole voyage before. Saw *pardelas* and a green

rush near the vessel. The crew of the Pinta saw a cane and a log, and took up a stick of wood wrought to all appearance with iron, and a piece of cane, and another plant which grows on land, and a small board. Those of the Niña also saw other signs of shore, and a branch loaded with rose-berries. By these signs all were relieved and rejoiced. Sailed this day by sunset 27 leagues.

'After sunset sailed on their first course west. Went 12 miles the hour, and at 2 o'clock A. M. had sailed 90 miles, that is 22½ leagues. [Italian miles of 4 to the league.] And because the caravel Pinta was a better sailer, and kept ahead of the Admiral, she discovered land and made the signals prescribed by him. This land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana; the Admiral, however at 10 in the evening, standing on the quarter deck saw a light, although it was a thing so indistinct that he would not affirm it was land; but he called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king's household, and told him that a light appeared, and that he should observe it, which he did and saw it. He also mentioned it to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the king sent in the fleet for inspector, who could not see it on account of his standing in an unsuitable position. After the Admiral mentioned it, it was seen once or twice, and resembled a wax candle, moving up and down, which seemed to be an indication of land. But the Admiral felt certain the shore was near. Wherefore when they had said the *Salve*, which all mariners are accustomed to say or chant in their way, all together, the admiral desired and admonished them to keep a good watch from the forecastle, and look out well for the land, and that to whomever should first say he saw land, he would forthwith give a silk jacket, beside the other favors which the sovereigns had promised, which were ten thousand maravedis to the first who should see it. At 2 o'clock A. M. the shore was in sight, 2 leagues off. They handed all sail, and stood under the square sail alone, and lay to until Friday, when they reached one of the Lucayos islands, which the natives called Guanahani.'—Tom. 1. p. 18—20.

Much doubt and uncertainty have existed as to the island, which Columbus first discovered. He gave it the name of *San Salvador*, and it has been generally supposed to be the island now called St Salvador or Cat island. The position of this island not agreeing perfectly with the Admiral's course and description, Muñoz conjectured that Watling's island was the true Guanahani. But Señor Navarette adduces very strong reasons for believing it to be the largest of the Turk's islands. The course of Columbus from Guanahani was continually west, from island to island, till he arrived at Nipe in Cuba. Now this

fact is irreconcilable with the idea, that Guanahani is Cat island, which lies nearly due north of Nipe. Besides, the great Bahama bank, and a long chain of keys, called *Cayos de la Cadena*, stretching between St Salvador and Cuba, interpose a most serious obstacle to holding such a westerly course as Columbus pursued. But by setting out from Nipe, and proceeding in a retrograde direction along his course as he very particularly describes it in his journal, we may easily trace his path, and shall be convinced that Guanahani is no other than Turk's island. Add to this, that his description of it accords exactly with the latter, especially in the circumstance of there being a large lake in the middle of it. This point is of no great consequence, but it is satisfactory to know precisely what spot in America was first revealed to the eye of Europeans.

In the subsequent parts of the journal, we frequently discover the influence of the opinions which Columbus had imbibed from the travels of Marco Polo and the famous letter of Paolo Toscanelli. It is the Indies, and the Indies alone, which he seeks. Although his reason assured him of the true figure of our globe, and he deduced the right consequences from this position, and thus was much in advance of his age, yet he had a most vague and incorrect idea of the actual locality of the Indies. After he has discovered Guanahani, his inquiries of the savages invariably point to *Cathay* or *Cipango*, or other distant Asiatic countries, at which he every moment expected to arrive. Indeed, many years afterwards, in a letter written to the pope in 1502, he says; 'This island is Tarsis, it is Cethia, it is Ophir, and Ophaz and Cipango, and we have called it Hispaniola.'* Conformable to this idea are the entries in his journal.

'*Friday, Oct. 26th.*—He set sail for Cuba, because by the signs which the Indians gave him of its magnitude, and of the gold and pearls there, he thought it must be the same with Cipango.'

'*Tuesday, Oct. 30th.*—He says that he must exert himself to go to the Grand Can, who he thought was there, or at the city of Cathay, belonging to the Grand Can, which he says is very large, as he was told before he left Spain.'—Tom. I. p. 40, 44.

We pass over the intermediate portions of the journal, in which the Admiral relates his discoveries among the islands, describing the appearance and productions of the country,

* Coleccion, Tom. II. p. 280.

and the condition of the inhabitants. The luxuriance of tropical vegetation, abounding in noble trees, splendid flowers, and exquisite fruits, and springing from a virgin soil of exhaustless fertility, awakens his admiration at every step. Nor is he less enchanted with the blandness and suavity of the atmosphere of the new regions he was exploring, where the people, the climate, the riches of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, all excited his imagination, and drew from him the warmest praises. The riches planted in those beautiful islands by the hand of nature still remain; and the conquerers have increased their abundance by transporting thither and naturalizing the congenial productions of Asia and Europe. But in one other respect how changed is the whole face of things there! The native races of Guanahani, Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, have vanished like the dew of morning; and Africa is unpeopled to supply their place. Nothing was more deeply impressed on the mind of Columbus than the perfectly *amiable* character of the inhabitants. He dwells upon it in the description of every island at which he touched. At peace among themselves, unarmed, and engaged in the tranquil arts of cultivation, they dreaded nothing but the ruinous descents of the brutal and ferocious Caribbees, They received the Spaniards with unsuspecting confidence, as beings of a higher order descended among them for objects of philanthropy and beneficence. How cruelly they were disappointed in the sequel, was but too fatally proved by their speedy destruction under the merciless rule of their foreign masters.

Our last extract from the journal is a characteristic passage, relating to the storm on the passage home, when Columbus and his companions so narrowly escaped being lost, and with them the knowledge of his wonderful discoveries.

'*Thursday, Feb.* 14*th.*—[After giving an account of the violence of the tempest, the journal proceeds;] he [Columbus] ordered them to draw for a pilgrim to go to St Mary of Guadaloupe, and carry a wax candle of five pounds' weight; and that all should make a vow that he to whose lot it fell, should perform the pilgrimage. For this purpose he directed them to take as many peas as there were persons on board, and to mark on one with a knife the form of a cross, and to put them in a cap and mix them well. The first who put in his hand was the Admiral, and he drew the crossed pea, and so the lot fell to him, and thenceforth he considered himself under obligations to make the pilgrimage in compliance with his vow. They cast lots a second time to send a pilgrim to St Mary

of Loretto, in the March of Ancona, in the territory of the Pope, where our Lady has wrought and still works many and great miracles, and the lot fell on a mariner of Port St Mary, called Pedro de Villa.' 'It was agreed that another pilgrim should go and watch a night in St Clara de Moguer, and have a mass said, for which they drew lots with the peas again, and the lot fell on the Admiral himself. After this, the Admiral and all the crew made a vow, that on touching land they would all go in their shirt sleeves in procession to offer prayers in a church dedicated to our Lady.'—Tom. I. p. 150.

The journal is followed by two letters from Columbus concerning his first voyage, one to Luis de Santangel, and the other to Rafael Sanchez; after which come an unpublished narrative of the second voyage by a certain Dr Chanca, who accompanied Columbus therein, and a Memorial by the Admiral on the same subject. The account of the third voyage is an original written by Columbus, discovered among the archives of Infantado in company with his journal of the first, and like that in the handwriting of Las Casas. Beside relating his discoveries on that expedition, it contains a variety of geographical speculations, and some exhibition of scholarship, probably designed to make an impression upon the king and queen, to whom the narrative is addressed. These speculations display great practical acuteness, and much ingenuity in the application of all that books or experience could supply for his purpose, but are devoid of permanent interest.

The connexion of Las Casas with the family of Columbus, and with his manuscript papers, has given Señor Navarrete opportunity to make some observations upon the character of that bold and energetic, but not always judicious, philanthropist. They settle a point in the prelate's biography, and in the history of our country, which has been very warmly controverted, on many occasions, but cannot any longer be considered a matter of question. We allude to the agency of Las Casas in the introduction of negro slaves into America for the relief of the original inhabitants; the circumstances attending which, and the proofs of it, deserve a little explanation. The charge against him has usually rested upon the assertion of Herrera, who incidentally mentions the fact, and in very general terms.* But it was not known on what authority he made the allegation, and therefore his accuracy and veracity have been im-

*Decad. II. lib. ii. cap. 20.

peached by several writers, over zealous for the fame of Las Casas.

Bartolomé de Las Casas belonged to a family of French extraction, settled at Seville. His father, Francisco de Casaus, accompanied Columbus to America in 1493, gained a fortune in a few years, and returning to Spain educated his son at Salamanca for the church. His views very soon acquired a coloring in favor of the Indians from an incident, which happened at an early period of his life. Columbus had, of his own authority, made slaves of a number of Indians, and sold them publicly in Andalusia. This imprudent act greatly offended queen Isabella. She caused them to be ransomed and placed in the custody of Pedro de Torres, a gentleman of the court; and by a *cedula* of June 20th, 1500, ordered them all, being twenty-one persons, to be conveyed back again to their own country, under care of Bobadilla. It so happened that the father of Las Casas had given him an Indian slave for an attendant, whom, at this time, he emancipated, in testimony of his sincere compassion for the Americans. Animated with zeal for their temporal and spiritual welfare, he went to Hispaniola in 1502, at the age of twentyeight, in company with Ovando, and distinguished himself through nearly half a century, by his indefatigable and disinterested efforts in the cause of humanity. He spared no exertions, he heeded not the violence of the colonists, nor the intrigues of the courtiers; he devoted his whole soul, in short, to the sacred duty of alleviating the sufferings of the Indians. Disappointed and disgusted by his want of success, he buried himself in a convent for a time, which, however, he soon left, to resume his labors of benevolence. In 1544, he rejected the offer of the bishopric of Cusco; but in a short time accepted that of Chiapa. Not being well received there, he renounced the station, and established his residence at Valladolid, where he lived until near the close of his life, dying at Madrid in 1566, ninetytwo years of age.

His writings were numerous, relating chiefly to the favorite objects of his life. But the most important of them, a General History of the Indies, remains yet unpublished, in consequence, undoubtedly, of the exaggerated representations of the cruelty of his countrymen, and the severe reflections upon their conduct, which it contains. He himself appears to have been aware of its objectionable character; for he gave the manuscript in charge to the principals of his order, enjoining them not to suffer

it to be published or read until after a period of forty years had elapsed. And the Spanish Academy of History, having examined the work with a view to publication, determined it to be inexpedient. And the undeniable truth is, that, in the warmth of his generosity in behalf of one great class of the human family, he was betrayed into the extreme, and became guilty of injustice towards others.

Las Casas left Cuba in 1517, where he then held an office under Diego Velasquez, and went to Spain to advocate the cause of the Indians. He found the court at Aranda, where the regent Ximenez lay languishing under a mortal disease, and daily expecting the arrival of king Charles from the Netherlands. Accordingly he repaired to Valladolid, where the young prince was to meet the assembled Cortes of Castile. Charles was only seventeen years old, in a country whose language he but imperfectly understood, and completely ruled by the Flemish noblemen, who followed him to Spain, and surrounded his person. They wholly occupied their master's favor, which they made subservient to the most insatiable and barefaced avarice. Nominations to office, privileges, and patents of monopoly were greedily engrossed by them, and publicly sold with shameless venality.* Las Casas proposed to them an expedient for accomplishing his end, which the stern integrity of Ximenez had caused him indignantly to reject, but to which their rapacity lent a favoring ear. Influenced by them, Charles had been profuse in his grants of *repartimientos* and other privileges in America, and had in several instances permitted the transportation of slaves to the colonies. Las Casas, acting upon this hint, dexterously availed himself of the good will of the lord chamberlain, Mr de Laxao, and of other Flemings to whom he gained access. He drew up an elaborate memorial on the hardships of the Indians, and, among other measures for their alleviation, advised the exportation of negroes to the islands, and that each Spanish colonist should be allowed to carry freely four blacks, namely, two males and two females. The historian Muñoz had access to all the archives of the Spanish monarchy, and made copies of many valuable papers, which, if he had lived to complete his history of the New World, would have been published as an appendix to that work. Señor Navarrete says that among the papers

* Robertson's Charles V. Book I. An. 1518.

collected by Muñoz, there is a copy of the very memorial of Las Casas containing these suggestions. In pursuance of them, application was made to the board of trade at Seville to learn how many slaves would be requisite; their calculations fixed the number at four thousand. The Flemings immediately procured a privilege for the exclusive possession of this trade during eight years, which they sold to the Genoese for 24,000 ducats; a favor, says Herrera, most injurious to the population of these islands and to their native inhabitants. Such are the well ascertained facts relative to this transaction.

The remaining original documents in the first volume are detached accounts of Columbus' fourth voyage, and some private letters written by him at that disastrous period of his life. It seemed as if his evil fortune was then bent upon crushing his generous spirit, by heaping calamities on his devoted head; and all his writings bespeak a heart wounded and indignant at his wrongs. We extract an affecting passage from a letter written by him to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1503, whilst he was suffering every extremity of misery, cast among the savages of the island of Jamaica.

'Seven years that I waited in the royal court, all, who were spoken to concerning my enterprise, laughed it to scorn; now, even the poorest mechanics supplicate to make discoveries. There is reason to believe that they go to plunder, and if they are permitted, will attain their object with great prejudice to my honor, and much injury to the business. It is good for each to render unto God his own, and to accept what belongs to him. This is a just sentiment, and of a just person. The lands which now obey your Highnesses are more than all the rest in the possession of christians, and rich. After that I, with the divine favor, had subjected them to your high and royal authority, and brought them into a train to afford the greatest revenue, of a sudden, while secure and happy I was expecting ships to return to your Highnesses' presence with victory and glorious news of gold, I was seized and thrown into a ship with two brothers, loaded with irons, naked in body, extremely ill treated, without being summoned or convicted judicially. Who believes that a poor foreigner would pretend in such a place to rise against your Highnesses without cause, unaided by any other prince, standing alone amid your vassals and countrymen, and having all my children in your royal court? I entered your service at the age of twentyeight, and now not a hair of my head but is white, and my body infirm, and all that I had saved is wasted, and was taken from me and sold, and from

my brothers, even to the smallest garment, without being heard or examined, greatly to my dishonoring.' . . .

'The pure intentions with which I always served your Highnesses, and this affront, so undeserved, will not suffer me to be silent if I would. I beseech your Highnesses to pardon me.—I am as wholly ruined as I said. Hitherto I have wept for others; Heaven have mercy on me now, and let the earth weep for me. In temporal things, I possess not a farthing for an offering; in spiritual, I have fared here in the Indies in the manner already stated; solitary in this misery, infirm, looking every day for death, and surrounded by a host of savages full of cruelty and enemies to us, and so cut off from the Holy Sacraments of the Holy Church, that my soul will be forgotten, if it parts from the body here. Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice. I did not sail upon this voyage to seek for fame or substance; this is certain, for all my hopes in that respect were long since dead. I came to your Highnesses with pure intention and with good zeal; and I speak no falsehood. I humbly beseech your Highnesses, if it so please God, to take me from this place, that I may finally make my departure for Rome and other pilgrimages. Whose life and high estate may the Holy Trinity preserve and augment. Dated in the Indies, island of Jamaica, July seventh, fifteen hundred and three.'

Tom. I. p. 311, 312.

With this illfated expedition closed the public services of Columbus. After a series of disasters and sufferings, which few men could have supported, he again reached home, shattered in constitution as in fortune. Among the documents of a miscellaneous character, which occupy the remainder of the first volume and the whole of the second in Señor Navarrete's Collection, the most curious are some hitherto unpublished letters of the Admiral's, written during the declining years of his eventful life. They speak of the hardships he had undergone in his last voyage; of his straitened circumstances, his growing infirmities, and the affliction of a painful disease. Although reduced to the very brink of despair by the injustice of his king, yet there is nothing harsh or disrespectful in the occasional murmurings, the half suppressed complaints, which sickness and sorrow wring from his manly spirit. Soon after his arrival in Spain, he had found his patroness Isabella no more, and he was obliged to sue to Ferdinand alone for succor. All his own resources were exhausted in the support of his companions during his voyage, which he provided for out of his own funds, and for which he was now seeking reimbursement

of the king. Beside this, he felt that the restitution of his authority and revenues in America, so long promised and so long delayed, was due to his unprecedented services. Under these circumstances, the letters in question were written, chiefly to his son Diego. The following extracts illustrate their tone and contents.

'The bishop of Palencia, ever since I came to Castile, has favored me and desired my honor. At present it is necessary to supplicate him to be pleased to further the redress of my numerous grievances; and that the agreement and letters of privilege granted me by their Highnesses should be complied with, and my many losses satisfied. And it is certain that if their Highnesses do this, it will multiply their possessions and grandeur to an incredible degree. . . . . True it is, that I have served their Highnesses with as much diligence and love as would suffice and more than suffice to gain paradise; and if in any thing I have failed, it was because it was impossible, and my knowledge and faculties could go no further. God himself in such case asks of men nothing but the will.' . . .

'I wish you to write to me frequently. Every hour I am anxious to see your letters. Reason may tell you that I have now no other gratification. Many couriers come every day, and the news here is such as makes my hair stand erect to hear it, so contrary to what my soul desires. May it please the Holy Trinity to give safety to the queen, because with her was arranged what has already been effected.—I sent you another courier, Thursday was eight days. He ought by this time to be on his return hither. By him I wrote to you that my departure was certain, and the hope of getting there, according to experience, quite the contrary; because this my disorder is so troublesome, and the cold so apt to favor it, that I could not escape stopping in some country inn. The litter was all ready. The weather was so uncommon that it seemed to all to be impossible for me to go out, as it began; and that it was better to take care of myself, and to study my health, than to place my person in such manifest peril.—In those letters I told you what I now tell you, that it was well considered for you to stay there at such a time, and that it was a reason for beginning to advance business; and the reason is of much weight in this respect. It seems to me that you ought to draw off in fair characters that portion of the letter which their Highnesses wrote to me, in which they say they will fulfil their engagements to me, and put you in possession of everything; and present this with another writing, setting forth my infirmity, and how impossible it is for me to go at present to kiss their royal feet and hands; and that the Indies will speedily be lost, and are filled with flames in

a thousand quarters; and that I have not received nor do receive any part of my revenues from thence; and that nobody dares undertake to collect anything there; and that I live by borrowing. All the money which I possessed, I have spent there in bringing home the people who accompanied me; for it would have loaded my conscience to leave and abandon them.' . . .

'Make much account of your brother; he has a good disposition, and is quitting boyhood. Ten brothers would not be too many for you. I never found a surer friend on right or left than my brothers.' Tom. I. 333—339.

These letters were written at Seville, and mostly bear the superscription, 'To my dearest son D. Diego Colon.' Their subscription is very peculiar; and, considering the individual, is an object of curiosity. They terminate thus;

'Thy father who loves thee more than himself,

.S.

.S. A. S.

X M Y

XPO FERENS.'

Several singularities are observable in this cipher. The combination of Greek and Latin letters betrays a tincture of the pedantry of that most pedantic age. In the early part of his life, Columbus, as we learn from his son's history, subscribed his name *Columbus de Terra rubra;** but adopted the above cipher after his acquisition of rank and dignity. Various conjectures have been made as to its signification. Spotorno supposes that the words denoted may be either *Xristus Sancta Maria, Yosephus;* or *Salva me Xristus, Maria, Yosephus.*† These explanations are purely conjectural, however; and therefore we may be allowed to offer our own *guess* for consideration, which is in favor of the first reading, only substituting the word *Yesus* for *Yosephus.*

Among these letters there is one concerning Amerigo Vespucci. It clearly shows the perfect understanding which subsisted between these two great men so late as the year 1505, in the beginning of which it was written. This fact serves to corroborate the opinions heretofore advanced by us, that Vespucci was innocent of any attempt to rob Columbus of his well earned laurels. The narratives of the former, describing his voyages, were circulated in Italy long before this time; and if

* Ferdinand Columbus, c. 11.

† Codice Colombo-Americano, Int. p. 67.

they contained the grossly false statements charged upon them, it could not have remained concealed from Columbus, the injured party. Yet how decided are the following testimonials of the integrity of Vespucci.

'Diego Mendez left here Monday the 3d inst. After his departure I conversed with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who is called thither by some concerns of navigation.—*He always had a wish to do me pleasure.* He is a very excellent man. Fortune has been adverse to him as to many others; his labors have not produced him so much as reason requires. He goes as in my service, and with great desire to do something which may redound to my benefit, if occasion offers. I do not know here what I can employ him upon, for my advantage; because I know not what they want there. He goes determined to do for me every thing possible. See in what he can assist, and labor on it, for he will do and say everything, and will put it in train; and let everything be done secretly, so as to avoid suspicion. I have told him all that could be told him relating the subject, and informed him of the remuneration which has been and is made me.'

Tom. I. p. 351.

A singular proof occurs in this work of the infirm state of Columbus's health more than a year before his death. It is the original *cedula*, granting him permission to ride upon a mule. In 1494, it seems, Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited the use of mules in the saddle for any but the clergy and females, in consequence of the rapidly increasing diminution of the number of horses in Spain. This law was very rigidly enforced, and exception from its provisions was procured with great difficulty. The *cedula* in question runs thus;

'By the king. Whereas I am informed that you, the admiral Don Christopher Columbus, are indisposed in body by reason of certain infirmities, which you have had and now have, and that you cannot ride on horseback without great prejudice to your health; therefore, in consideration of the foregoing, and of your age, by these presents I give you permission to ride a mule with saddle and bridle, in whatsoever parts of these kingdoms and seignories you choose or deem meet, notwithstanding the decree making disposition therein. And I command the justices in whatsoever parts of said kingdoms and seignories not to make or consent to making any impediment respecting the same, under penalty of 10,000 maravedis for the Chamber against whoever does the contrary. Dated at Toro, February 23d, 1505.'

Tom. II. p. 304.

In a review of the *Codice Colombo-Americano*, we gave an account of the acrimonious controversy maintained in Italy, concerning the birthplace of Columbus, and our own reasons for believing him a native of Genoa. That controversy rested upon the supposed want of any authentic document to establish the fact. It was known, however, that in the great lawsuit for the admiral's inheritance, an instrument had been adduced, pretending to be the institution of a *majorat* in his family, which, if genuine, would settle the question for ever. In one part of it we find the words *siendo yo nacido en Genova*, (Tom. II. p. 228.) and in another, *mando al dicho D. Diego, mi hijo, que tenga y sostenga siempre en la Ciudad de Genova una persona de nuestro linage . . . . pues que della salí y en ella nací.* (Tom. II. p. 232.) These expressions are perfectly conclusive, if Columbus actually wrote them; and although the authenticity of the instrument has hitherto been disputed, no doubt on the subject can exist any longer. Among the public documents preserved in the archives of Simancas, there is an original royal charter, granted in 1501, confirming the Admiral's testament, and as usual in such cases, setting forth the whole of it *verbatim*. This corresponds exactly with the copy produced by the Spanish claimants of the dukedom of Veragua; and removes every shadow of suspicion in respect to its genuineness, and of course establishes incontestibly the birthplace of Columbus.

Señor Navarrete has collected some curious manuscript notices of the early life of the great navigator, his occupations, taste, studies, and condition, which tend to throw clearer light upon his character and fortunes. According to him, Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios, writes, that Columbus was known in Andalusia, before his voyages, as *a dealer in printed books;* and Las Casas also confirms the assertion, saying, that in the first years of his attendance upon the court, his necessities became so great, that he was used to project nautical charts and sell them to seamen, to sustain life.* He was at length rescued from this abject condition by Luis de la Cerda, count and afterwards duke of Medinaceli. It appears from a letter of this nobleman's, preserved at Simancas, and now first published, that he protected Columbus in his household for the space of two years; and being interested in commerce by reason of his possessing the lordship of Puerto de Santa Maria,

* Coleccion, Tom. I. Int. p. lxxviii.

he himself would have fitted out Columbus, had not queen Isabella deprived him of that signal honor, an honor appropriate only to the power and splendor of royalty.*

To these circumstances we may add the statements made by the Admiral, in *a collection of prophecies*, compiled by him in 1501, relative to the restoration of Jerusalem and the discovery of the Indies. What a fantastic combination of subjects, to interest the leisure hours of the daring discoverer of America! It is preserved in the Colombine library, the donation of Ferdinand Columbus to the cathedral church of Seville. We conclude our extracts with part of this manuscript, being the commencement of a letter addressed to the king and queen.

'Most high sovereigns: From the earliest age I have been engaged in navigating the sea, and have continued therein until now. This art inclines whoever pursues it to desire to know the secrets of the world. Forty years have now elapsed since I entered upon this occupation. All which has hitherto been navigated, all this I have explored. I have held intercourse and conversation with wise men, ecclesiatics and seculars, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Moors, and with many others of other sects.

'Towards this my desire I have found God propitious, and received from him a spirit of intelligence therein. In seamanship he made me to abound; he gave me a sufficiency of astrology, and so of geometry and arithmetic; and skill in the mind and hands to delineate the globe, and upon it the cities, rivers, and mountains, isles and harbors, everything in its proper situation.

'During this time I have seen, and studied to see, all writings on cosmography, history, chronicles, and philosophy, and other arts; so that God, with palpable hand, opened my understanding to see that it was practicable to sail hence to the Indies; and he disposed my inclination for the execution thereof. And with this desire I repaired to your Highnesses. All those who heard of my enterprise, denied it with derision and laughter. All the sciences of which I have above spoken availed me nothing, nor their authorities. In your Highnesses alone there remained faith and constancy. Who can doubt that this light was from the Holy Spirit, as well as from me, which with marvellous rays of clearness consoled you by his holy and sacred Scripture?'

Tom. II. p. 262, 263.

We flatter ourselves that our readers feel the lively interest and deep sympathy in the fortunes of Columbus, which the exalted character of that extraordinary man, and his connexion

* Coleccion, Tom. II. no. 14. p. 20.

with our own hemisphere, demand of us as Americans and as admirers of the noblest qualities of human genius. If so, they will justly appreciate the value of the documents, which we have briefly analyzed. It should not be supposed, however, that this work contains a complete life of Columbus, or all the requisite materials for the composition of one. The pious labors of his son had anticipated much of the contents of the volumes before; and furnished many things, which will not be found in their pages. And to procure a perfect knowledge of his biography, recourse must be had to the writings of Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Herrera, and Muñoz, and to several books published in Italy, as well as to Señor Navarrete's Collection. Still, as our readers will have perceived, it contains many curious and original documents, indispensably necessary to the full understanding of Columbus' history.

Ere we quit the subject, it is due to historic truth, it is due to the memory of Columbus, it is due to the sensibility of the successive ages, which have cried shame on his wrongs and sufferings, to protest against the attempt, which Señor Navarrete makes, to divert the indignation of posterity from the selfish conduct of Ferdinand. It is much to be lamented that so many of the most important facts in history should be capable of being obscured or discolored by the arts of interested sophistry. Apparently there is no limit to the excursiveness of ingenuity, or the scepticism of historical inquiry. In these times of jealous scrutiny into the opinions of our predecessors, we are told, and it may be rightly, to doubt, nay to disbelieve, the glorious lessons of heroism and patriotic devotion, which signalized the annals of ancient Rome, and inspired our schoolboy musings with enthusiasm. We relinquish our hold on these pleasing illusions, with an unwillingness like that with which we awake from slumber, filled with the enchanting creations of grateful fancy, to the dull realities of life. But what shall we say of those hardier speculators in the page of history, who labor to gloss over the infirmities of tyranny; who seek to palliate the criminal enormities of power with all the artificial address of an advocate; who outrage the settled convictions of mankind, by making the worse to seem the better cause? Of this kind was the attempt of a noble writer of the last century to purify the reputation of Richard the Third, and persuade us that he was neither usurper nor murderer. More strange still is the recent elaborate attack of Mitford upon all that is high, and admirable,

and splendid in ancient Greece; who fain would deny that Aristides was just or Demosthenes eloquent, but can readily believe that Philip of Macedon was unambitious, honest, upright, a lover of liberty, and driven, against his will, to sequester the privileges of all the Greeks, out of disinterested regard for their welfare. Akin to these two quixotic enterprises, in our estimation, is the attempted vindication of king Ferdinand from the charge of injustice towards Columbus. We are equally disposed to think Ferdinand just, and to esteem Richard and Philip as truehearted patriots. And as Señor Navarrete makes a show of proving the Spanish king to deserve better of the public opinion, we will shortly examine the arguments, by which he strives to turn aside the current of universal tradition and authority upon this point.

Columbus entered the Spanish service in 1486, and continued in it for twenty years, until his decease in 1506. Of this period, six years were employed in solicitations to be sent to the Indies; the twelve succeeding were occupied in his voyages of discovery; and for the residue, he was a humble suppliant in Spain, awaiting justice to redress, or death to terminate his sufferings. His treatment during this whole period was such as to give his biographers occasion to declare that Spain did no more than to yield tardy assistance to the great undertaking, and afterwards to persecute him who had replenished her provinces with wealth. But, if Señor Navarrete is to be credited, he was treated throughout this time with generority, nay, with most princely munificence.

What are the proofs alleged in regard to the years preceding his first voyage? Why, forsooth, the future discoverer of worlds was graciously permitted to glean a scanty subsistence by selling charts in the seaports of Andalusia; he was uniformly befriended, with the truest constancy and affection by Don Diego de Deza, afterwards archbishop of Seville; he was protected two years by the duke of Medinaceli; more than this, he was actually preserved from starvation by Juan Perez, the prior of Rabida, and the alms of his religious house. But where, in the mean time, was the bounty of his kindhearted and liberal king? Did Ferdinand ever lend a candid ear to the representations of Columbus, or hospitably entertain him in the extremity of his want? No; the loyal Navarrete has ransacked every record in Spain, from the royal repositories of Simancas and the Escurial to the more humble

collections of his literary friends; and no vestige remains of the patronage of the government at this period, but a *simple passport* granted him in 1489. It is addressed to 'councils, justices, regidors, knights, esquires, officials, and good men of whatsoever cities, towns, and places,' setting forth that Cristobal *Colomo* was to come to the court on public service, and ordering them to give him good lodgings 'without money, *he paying for his provisions, &c. at the current price* with his money' (Tom. II. p. 6.); and this Señor Navarrete would magnify into a mighty favor. Such a document proves nothing but the ill-regulated and disorderly state of the kingdom, where it was necessary for a stranger's protection. And in truth, so far was Columbus from being well received, that his proposal was long ridiculed as visionary and extravagant, and he treated as an idle schemer. Nor did Isabella engage in his plans until she found that a subject was about to defray the charge and reap the benefit of an expedition whose magnitude and interest deserved the countenance of kings alone; and then it was that she stepped in, and gave him a petty armament, hardly suited to creep along the shore to the Canaries or Cape de Verd.

But to be candid, we do not esteem it anywise extraordinary that the Spanish government was slow to appreciate the merits of Columbus. He, a necessitous Genoese pilot, advanced doctrines in geography adverse to all the received opinions of his contemporaries. Neither the quality of the individual nor the nature of his object, was calculated to produce a ready impression upon the Spanish people. To have realized immediately the important consequences of his system, and to have acted promptly in obedience thereto, would, indeed, have redounded to the everlasting honor of Isabella and Ferdinand, by showing them to have been above the vulgar prejudices of their age and country. But this they did not do. On the contrary, they tardily and reluctantly granted him an humble equipment for his noble enterprise. They acted like common persons, in the ordinary level of mediocrity in understanding, and of narrowmindedness in policy. Thus far, if they are obnoxious to no censure, they are certainly in like degree undeserving of applause.

Señor Navarrete next proceeds to recount the honors lavished upon Columbus and his family, when he returned to Spain with the brilliant news of his discoveries. It is superfluous to contend with him on this point. The Spanish princes

were carried away by the popular torrent of admiration and astonishment. They fancied the golden realms 'of Ormus and of Ind' to be now spread out before them, accessible, unoccupied, fascinating the imagination with gorgeous dreams of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' and welcoming the footprint of the conqueror. In the warmth of their enthusiasm, they gave to Columbus, the heroic navigator, who had unveiled these splendid regions to their sight, a reception which wore the aspect of a triumph. But after all, they did him no more than mere justice. A successful general, who had gained a few battles in Europe, would have speedily outstripped Columbus in favor and honors, and in the affections of his master. Indeed the gratuities, the unbought gifts either of privilege or power, bestowed upon the Admiral, were of really trifling magnitude. The government of the Indies, the title and authority of viceroy, the right to a certain share of revenue,—all these were his by solemn treaty, by express compact, deliberately stipulated as the consideration of his undertaking the discoveries in the Spanish service; they were the pay secured to him by contract, the price of his talents and skill, bargained for and promised before his departure. But we cannot suffer Ferdinand's apologist to arrogate to him any praise for simple justice, and for justice displayed upon parchment only. Although these rewards were actually earned and righteously due, although confirmed to him in 1493 and again in 1497, by charters of the highest obligation, yet in spite of his rank, services, character, age, and legal rights, we find him in 1499, forcibly deposed from his authority, despoiled even of his private effects, dragged on shipboard and sent in chains to Spain, unhonored by the bare formality of a judicial investigation; and at last suffered to die in penury and despair, without ever being restored to his rightful command in the Indies. Posterity have agreed to consider this a hard measure to be dealt out to such a man as Columbus, whose achievements were unexampled, and whose offence, if offence he committed ever, remains undisclosed to the present day.

In his zeal to vindicate the character of a Spanish king, Señor Navarrete seems to have lost sight of the truly monstrous injuries, which Columbus was doomed to suffer. He ostentatiously recounts the various honors bestowed on him, but omits to contrast therewith the indignities, by which they were again and again outweighed. Columbus returned from his second

voyage in 1496; and was compelled by the intrigues of Don Juan de Fonseca to wait in attendance two whole years, before he could obtain another armament. Could the bishop of Badajos have indulged his enmity so openly and grossly, had he not been encouraged by Ferdinand's injustice, equally gross and open? During the Admiral's residence in Hispaniola, upon this third expedition, the colony became overflowed with the scum of Spain, the mere offal of the gallies and gaols, men of desperate fortunes and turbulent spirits, who threw the whole island into confusion by their unbridled licentiousness. Columbus saw that the very existence of the colony was at stake. With admirable firmness, conduct, and address, he quelled the dissolute crew which surrounded him, and preserved the settlement from destruction. But in the mean time many of these abandoned men, pardoned convicts, who had gone to the Indies inflamed with avarice, and expecting to revel in riches, came home disappointed and enraged against the Admiral, for attempting to hold them in obedience to the laws. Order they denounced as tyranny; and their Spanish pride could not brook submission to the commands of an untitled alien. Their false accusation obtained a ready credence from Ferdinand, who despatched Bobadilla to the Indies to supersede Columbus. This misguided instrument of power arrived in the colony just at the moment when perfect tranquillity was restored, and all the original pretence for his interposition had ceased to exist. Strange to relate, he bore letters from the king, *signed in blank*, for him to fill up at pleasure; and he did not spare to exert the unlimited, unqualified discretion which his instructions imparted. The very second day after his landing, without even so much as giving Columbus the slightest intimation of his arrival or of his commission, he ordered him and his two brothers to be seized and transported to Spain in irons. Columbus solemnly declared to his friends, when he returned to Spain, loaded with chains, that he had never been apprized, nor could he then conceive, for what offence he was apprehended.* It is ample proof of the enormity of these proceedings, that Bobadilla took possession of all the Admiral's papers, and appropriated his money, house, and other private property to his own use.

* 'Ni le fablé mas á el ni consintió que hasta hoy nadie me haya fablado, y *fago juramento que no puedo pensar por qué sea yo preso.*' Carta del Almirante al Ama del Principe D. Juan.—Navarrete, Tom. I. p. 272, and Spotorno, p. 312.

Señor Navarrete asserts and would have us believe that all this extravagant wickedness of conduct emanated from the unauthorized madness of Bobadilla alone; and yet in the same breath undertakes to insinuate that there were concealed causes to justify such harshness. The assertion and the insinuation are alike utterly groundless. As to the latter, it is impossible to credit the suspicion, that the Admiral's supposed offences were stifled, out of delicacy towards him. Wonderful delicacy, to seize the governor of a colony and to put him in irons, without even the name of a trial! There is no foundation whatsoever for the idea, except a single obscure expression of Oviedo's.* And how could that remain concealed to this day, which hundreds of Spanish emigrants were eager to publish in the most aggravated shape, and of course all Spaniards must have understood? During these troubles, a crowd of fifty persons, on one occasion, surrounded Ferdinand in the square of the Alhambra at Granada, clamoring for vengeance on Columbus. Would they make a secret of his alleged crimes? On the contrary, they would promptly and loudly sound them abroad into every corner of the country. Rigor, injustice, and ambition,—these were the offences of which he was accused. But the plain, unvarnished truth is, that the profligate wretches who flocked to the New World at that period, partly to plunder its pacific inhabitants, and partly to escape condign punishment for their crimes at home, were outrageous to find the colony governed by a man, who felt no sympathy with their vices, who would not wink at their misconduct, who preferred the permanent good of the settlement to the gratification of their cruelty and avarice, whose manners were simple, temper austere, discipline exact, and who was a foreigner elevated by his virtues from humble condition to be a Spanish cavalier and viceroy of the Indies.

And the assertion that Bobadilla exceeded his authority is equally untenable. It is a familiar expedient of tyrants to disclaim the acts of their subordinate agents, and sacrifice the obsequious tools of their injustice, to appease the indignation it has aroused. So it fared with Bobadilla, selected by the king to depose Columbus, and disavowed and punished for his compliance when the deed was done. Assuredly, he never would have attempted, or attempting never would have been suffered,

* Historia Gen. de las Indias, l. 3. c. 6.

to send home a Spanish admiral and viceroy in chains, without ample warrant for so violent a stretch of authority. We feel confident that no candid person, who attentively considers the tenor of Bobadilla's published instructions,* can resist the conviction that he had other and private directions which he precisely followed to the letter. He bore two commissions; one, as *juez pesquisidor*, giving him general power to examine into the causes of the disturbances in Hispaniola, and apply justice according to his discretion, similar to that afterwards granted to the famous Vaca de Castro, and exercised by him so admirably in settling the disputes between the first conquerors of Peru; and another, as governor. The authority delegated to him by these commissions was as arbitrary and despotic as language could bestow. What is very remarkable, although the deposition of Columbus was *professedly* the object of his mission, yet the Admiral was aimed at in terms guardedly general and indirect. Take this clause for example; 'Informations being taken, and the truth ascertained, *you will seize the bodies* of those whom you find guilty, *and sequester their goods.*' And again; 'If he shall deem it proper for our service and the execution of our justice, that *any cavaliers* and other persons, of those who are now or hereafter shall be in said islands and mainland, *should quit the same*, and not enter nor continue therein, and that they should come and be present before us, he may command it on our part, and *compel them to quit.*' No explanatory letter was despatched to Columbus from the king; but he was peremptorily commanded to deliver up all the fortified places, and this without the usual intervention of a king's messenger as required by the laws; and received orders to submit himself to Bobadilla in this extraordinary letter of credence;

'The King and the Queen: D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the ocean: We have commanded the Comendador Francisco de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, to speak to you, on our part, of certain things which he will mention: we desire you to give him faith and credence, and to comply therewith. Madrid, May twentysixth, the year ninetynine.—I the King.—I the Queen.—By command.—Miguel Perez de Almazan.'

We have translated this memorable document *verbatim*, to prove how cruelly every form of decency was violated, in the

* Printed in Navarrete's Col. Dip. nos. 127–130. Tom II. pp. 235–240.

manner of removing Columbus, and to prove that Bobadilla had secret instructions, for the direction of his movements; in confirmation of which is the fact before stated, that he possessed letters in blank with the royal sign manual, to be employed according to his discretion.

We feel perfectly satisfied, therefore, that Ferdinand is justly responsible to posterity for the acts of Bobadilla. For even suppose the latter to have conducted something more harshly than his master intended; what then? Ferdinand is equally censurable; because he should not have delegated such excessive power, and subjected the great Columbus to the tyrannical caprice of a petty official, drunk 'with a little brief authority.' And although Ferdinand made much ostentation of compassion for Columbus on his return, and promised to redress his wrongs, yet it was all mere hollow profession. For not only was the rightful proprietor never again restored to his government; but when, wearied out with fruitlessly soliciting for justice, he set sail on his fourth voyage, he was forbidden to touch at Hispaniola, except on his homeward passage, and in case of necessity. We refrain from recounting his sufferings in that expedition. A prominent place among them is occupied by the barbarous neglect of Ovando, who basely compelled him to remain for eight months on the island of Jamaica, where he was shipwrecked, and well nigh perished with famine. His death, it is undeniable, was hastened by the shameful treatment of his king after the conclusion of this voyage. Señor Navarrete boasts that his privileges and honors were, nevertheless, restored to his family in the person of his son, Diego; but under what circumstances were they restored? Diego sued to the king for the space of two years in vain. At length he commenced an action against Ferdinand before one of his own tribunals, and succeeded in obtaining judgment against the king; and then, with the aid of the powerful family of Toledo, exacted by interest and by compulsion, what he never would have gained from Ferdinand's sense of justice. We regret that Señor Navarrete should bring imputations upon his own candor and discrimination, by undertaking the desperate task of justifying or extenuating ingratitude so profligate as that of Ferdinand towards Columbus.

ART. II.—*Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes.* By Captain F. B. HEAD. 12mo. pp. 264. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

AMONG the results, which have already grown out of the revolutions in South America, the mining speculations and enterprises hold a place not the least conspicuous. The thirst for gold, and the glowing visions of treasures buried in the mountains of the New World, which impelled the Spaniards to their original conquests and discoveries, are again revived, and made the efficient springs of hazard and adventure. New regions are explored, and new El Dorados sought after. By a happy issue of events, however, there has been a great change in the motives and means of searching for mineral treasures. The first acts of the Spaniards were bloody and cruel; their subsequent oppressions were an outrage equally upon humanity, justice, and freedom. Gold was coveted to pamper the pride and luxury of a few, to give splendor to the pageantry of the monarch, and consequence to a haughty nobility. The world has profited little by the gains of Spain from her colonies, and the nation itself has been ruined by the excess of its ill gotten treasure. Gold has done for degraded Spain what the arms of the foe could never do, and from the influence of this cause more than all others, she now finds herself at the bottom of the scale of nations, dragged along at the very heels of the improvements of the present age, the derision of enlightened men, and the pity of those, in all parts of Europe, who are still struggling to smother the lights of liberty and intelligence, and to support the falling fabric of legitimacy.

But very different ends are now proposed, and different means pursued, in disinterring the precious metals. The chains of slavery are broken, free governments established, and the mining operations thrown open to individual enterprise, and protected as an important branch of national industry. With these encouragements, companies have been formed, both in Europe and America, for working the mines of the southern republics. Various success will attend their efforts, but the results on the whole cannot fail to be exceedingly beneficial, not only to these republics themselves, but to the whole world. The metals thus brought to light will be immediately put into direct and speedy channels of commerce, and

will give an impulse to trade, and secure a confidence, which could only be derived from a substantial currency. In this respect it is of no consequence whose capital, or whose labor, is employed in digging up and coining the precious metals; the great purpose is attained when these are actually put in circulation. Hence the general advantage will be the same, whether the mines are wrought by foreign companies, individuals, or the governments in whose territories they are found. It should be the policy of these governments, indeed, to put the mines into such hands, or, which is the same thing, to afford encouragements that will naturally bring them into such hands, as can apply to the working of them the greatest amount of capital. Thus far this policy has been in the main adhered to by the larger portion of the republics, although some symptoms of jealousy and ignorance have occasionally been manifested. A party in the Mexican congress had a project for imposing a heavy tax on the exportation of silver, but a majority was opposed to it. Such a scheme would be extremely unwise, inasmuch as the tax would fall on those engaged in working the mines, and in many cases increase the expense so much, as to render it impossible to carry on the work without loss. It is plainly the interest of all the new republics to give every facility to this branch of industry, for it is one which in the shortest time will communicate life, energy, and effect to all the other branches.

That there will be many dreams and wild speculations, disappointed hopes, and ruinous undertakings in this business of mining, is to be expected. There is sufficient uncertainty connected with the subject, and yet sufficient promise of bright things in prospect, to inflame adventurous minds, and take the imagination captive. Many will be amused with the beautiful castles they build in the air, and be led away by the delusions of their own fancy. This has always been the case in mining operations, and among those who have followed this profession, it is probable that ten have been ruined, to one who has been made rich. In this pursuit, however, as in every other, there is security in caution; failure has commonly sprung from desperate hazard, or has followed unwarranted expectation. Companies are as likely to be misled in this way as individuals, and it may be safely calculated, that some of those, which have engaged with eagerness recently in the mining schemes of South America, will have their anticipations but imperfectly realized.

It was as the agent of a mining company that Captain Head made his tour in La Plata and Chile, and in his Introduction he draws rather a discouraging picture of the South American mining associations in England. Great mistakes have been committed by precipitancy, and especially by setting companies on foot, and taking measures for carrying their objects into effect, without any knowledge of the country in which the mine was situated, or of local circumstances. Ignorance, and a rage for speculation, two very blind guides at all times, have been the causes of much mischief in forming these companies, by raising false hopes, and deluding people into the folly of becoming share holders. Determined to guard against the rock on which many had been wrecked, an association for working the gold and silver mines in the provinces of La Plata, despatched Captain Head to that country with instructions to examine the mines, and gain all the requisite knowledge for commencing operations upon them to advantage. His *Rough Notes* were drawn up during this tour. They consist of a broken narrative of events, loose hints, remarks, and observations, thrown together without regard to method, or settled design. They are written in a hurried, unpolished style, but with a good deal of animation, and occasionally with a graphic power of description, not often attained by the higher and practised order of writers. He pretends to nothing more than he accomplishes, and every reader may draw entertainment and instruction from his book. Its chief fault is a tinge of exaggeration, arising not so much from any purpose of the author, as apparently from the natural tendency of his mind to perceive new objects through a magnifying medium. He is not one of your querulous, grumbling travellers, meeting with shocking accidents and perilous adventures every post, starving at every meal, and bit or stung to death by ravenous, unmannerly vermin every night; he experiences enough of these calamities to give due interest to his narrative, but he bears them patiently, and talks of them like a man of courage and sober resolution.

As to the success of his expedition, we are left somewhat in the dark. He visited mines without number, both of gold and silver, in the plains of La Plata, among the Andes, and in Chile, and, as he says, ‘ went to the bottom of them all,’ but it does not appear that he reported favorably of any to his employers. He has devoted a chapter to the enumeration of

difficulties to be encountered by an English association, in working mines in the provinces of Rio de La Plata, and he arranges them under the three formidable divisions of physical, moral, political. The ardor of speculation must be unusually great, that would not be damped by the list of obstacles under each of these divisions.

The author assures us, moreover, that there are 'all sorts of English speculations in South America,' and that mining companies are not the only ones that fail. 'Besides many brother companies,' he says, 'which I met with at Buenos Aires, I found a sister association of milkmaids.' Some acute observer of the manners of nations, it seems had made the discovery, that the inhabitants of Buenos Aires and the neighboring provinces had no butter, notwithstanding the vast number of excellent cows, and the abundance of pasturage. It was forthwith determined, that a butter company, or, as our author terms it, a churning company, to manufacture and supply an article of so necessary use, would be an admirable enterprise. The company was formed without delay, and in a few months a cargo of Scotch milkmaids was landed at Buenos Aires, in complete readiness to commence operations. But here they were met with serious and unexpected obstacles at the very threshold. 'The difficulties which they experienced were very great; instead of leaning their heads against patient domestic animals, they were introduced to a set of lawless wild creatures, which looked so fierce that no young woman, who ever sat upon a three legged stool, would dare to approach, much less to milk them. But the Gauchos attacked the cows, tied their legs with strips of hide, and as soon as they became quiet, the shops of Buenos Aires were literally full of butter.' This was only a prelude to the disasters that followed. After all the difficulties of milking and churning had been conquered, 'it was discovered, first, that the butter would not keep; and secondly, that somehow or other, the Gauchos and natives of Buenos Aires liked oil better!' Thus vanished the bright hopes of the company, and the milkmaids were glad to return to their native Caledonian hills.

Captain Head's journey extended from Buenos Aires across the great plains called the Pampas, to Mendoza, and thence over the Andes to Santiago in Chile. The distance from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes, is about nine hundred miles, and the whole distance to Santiago is

thirteen hundred and sixtyfive. This route may be travelled by a courier in twelve days, being more than a hundred miles a day on an average. There are post houses throughout the whole line, and relays of horses across the Pampas. The Andes are commonly passed on mules. In our further remarks we shall consult, in addition to Captain Head's book, the manuscript Journal of Colonel William G. D. Worthington, who travelled over the same ground nine years ago, as special agent from the government of the United States to Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru, and with the perusal of whose papers we have been favored. We shall also select some interesting particulars from a paper now before us, being the manuscript of a gentleman who has resided several years in Chile, and to whose pen the public has already been indebted for valuable and curious information respecting that country. We are happy to acknowledge our obligations to these authentic and highly respectable sources. It is not our purpose, however, to present our readers with anything more, on the present occasion, than a few desultory remarks, communicating general facts in some degree illustrative of the habits, manners, and character of the people.

We have heretofore promised more than we have been able to perform, in regard to the South American republics. We hoped to have it in our power to draw up, from time to time, something like a connected history of the revolutions and recent changes in those countries, but we have hitherto found this impossible. Although we have sought materials from every quarter, and been successful in collecting them, yet they are for the most part unsatisfactory, and very imperfectly suited to historical purposes. There are as yet almost no books written in South America; the newspapers are meagre, referring rarely to the events of history; and the reports of the public officers to the congresses, which are important documents in themselves, are confined to the passing incidents and circumstances of the year. There was so little printing in the Spanish provinces during the first years of the revolution, that very few facts were recorded, and a full and accurate history must depend for many of its details on the recollection of living witnesses. Such a history of the revolution in Colombia has been written by Mr Restrepo, and it is hoped will shortly come before the public. When the same shall be done in the other republics, by men of equal eminence and qualifications, we

shall have all that is desired, and not before. Meantime, we think the concerns of South America so important in connexion with our own country, that we shall not fail to give them the full share of attention which they may justly claim in a work like ours, designed for various ends, and for none more, than the advancement of our national honor and dignity, and the defence of liberty and free institutions in whatever clime they may appear.

The great plain of the Pampas, over which Captain Head travelled, reaches from Buenos Aires to the Andes, covering a space of about nine hundred miles. This plain is intersected with rivers and streams, which have their sources among the perpetual snows of the Andes, and empty themselves into lakes in the interior, or find their way into the ocean through the great rivers Paraná and Rio de La Plata. The regions of the Pampas are inhabited by a scattered population of wild and warlike Indians in the south, and of Gauchos, a people of Spanish descent, in the middle and north. These plains are fertile, and, under good agricultural management, might support a dense population. They afford luxuriant pasturage and abound in cattle and horses, the former of which afford the natives their principal food, and the latter they ride on all occasions. Our author divides the Pampas into what he calls the regions of clover and thistles, long grass, and low trees and shrubs. The clover and thistles commence at Buenos Aires and extend one hundred and eighty miles; then succeeds the long grass, which prevails four hundred and fifty miles further; and last of all the trees and shrubs, which reach to the base of the Andes. As these shrubs are evergreens, their appearance is hardly changed with the seasons, and the long grass only turns its color from green to brown; but the clover and thistle country puts on a new aspect several times in a year, as crops of each spring up successively from a rich soil, grow to maturity, wither, and decay.

There are two modes of travelling across the Pampas, one in carriages of a strong heavy construction, and the other on horseback. A carriage is taken at Buenos Aires for the whole route, and relays of horses are obtained on the way at post houses kept for the purpose by the Gauchos. These horses are commonly wild and restiff, but six or eight of them are attached to the carriage, and each one is ridden by a peon with enormous spurs, goading the sides of the poor animal. They

are thus all hurried forward at a quick gallop, and the traveller is carried rapidly along from Buenos Aires to Mendoza. The post houses are usually at a suitable distance for exchanging, but in some instances they are thirty, and even fifty miles apart. In these cases, the Gauchos accompany the carriage with a drove of horses, which are often changed on the way. Captain Head considers the mode of travelling on horseback much the more independent and expeditious, where the traveller has strength to endure the fatigue. Horses are obtained at the post houses in the same way as for carriages, and a Gaucho goes from one post house to another as a guide.

The Gauchos have some peculiar traits of character. They are described by the author as a people much attached to their native soil, seldom wandering far from the hut in which they were born, and in which their fathers had been born; hospitable and highminded, possessing few wants, cheerful, and contented, their food is of the simplest kind, consisting chiefly of beef and water, and their habitations are little better than such as are seen in the first stages of civilization. They are huts built of mud, and thatched with long yellow grass. The following description, from the pen of the author, will let the reader a little into the internal economy of one of these tenements.

'In winter the people sleep in the hut, and the scene is a very singular one. As soon as the traveller's supper is ready, the great iron spit on which the beef has been roasted, is brought into the hut, and the point is stuck into the ground. The Gaucho then offers his guest the skeleton of a horse's head, and he and several of the family on similar seats, sit round the spit, from which with their long knives, they cut very large mouthfuls. The hut is lighted by a feeble lamp made of bullock's tallow, and it is warmed by a fire of charcoal. On the walls of the hut are hung upon bones two or three bridles and spurs, and several lasos and balls. On the ground are several dark looking heaps, which one can never clearly distinguish; on sitting down upon these when tired, I have often heard a child scream underneath me, and have occasionally been mildly asked by a young woman what I wanted. At other times up has jumped an immense dog. While I was once warming my hands at the fire of charcoal, seated on a horse's head, looking at the black roof in a reverie, and fancying I was quite by myself, I felt something touch me, and saw two naked black children leaning over the charcoal in the attitude of two toads; they had crept out from under some of the ponchos; and

I afterwards found that many other persons, as well as some hens sitting upon eggs, were also in the hut. In sleeping in these huts the cock has often hopped upon my back to crow in the morning; however, as soon as it is daylight everybody gets up.' p. 26.

Notwithstanding their isolated, independent, half civilized condition, the Gauchos are beginning to be politicians. Captain Head held a conversation on political subjects with one of his guides, who was very curious in his inquiries about the government of Mendoza, and the troops that had been raised in that province to reinstate the governor of San Juan, in which province the guide lived, and where the people had lately deposed the governor. The Gaucho was very indignant, that the Mendozans should interfere in the business, and said the inhabitants of San Juan could manage their own affairs, and elect their own governor.

The principal towns between Buenos Aires and Santiago are San Luis in the Pampas, and Mendoza near the foot of the Andes, each containing from eight to twelve thousand inhabitants. These are centres, from which a political influence will emanate and gradually extend itself over the neighboring regions. San Luis was the place where the royalist prisoners were sent from Buenos Aires and Chile in the first years of the revolution, and reports are current of tragic scenes witnessed there, which reflect no credit on the humanity or honor of the party engaged in them.

The regions of the Pampas are uncommonly salubrious, particularly the parts towards Mendoza. The soil is here strongly impregnated with saltpetre, and a crystalline clearness prevails in the atmosphere unknown in almost every other part of the world. Animal putrefaction seldom takes place, and the dead bodies of horses and cattle are often seen dried up, and very little changed from their appearance when alive. So extremely transparent is the atmosphere, that from the Sierra del Moro at sunrise Colonel Worthington saw the Tupungato, a high peak of the Andes, at the distance of three hundred and twelve miles. He saw the same again at San Luis about sunset, at the distance of two hundred and forty miles. In the morning its appearance was white, in the evening blue. We may here mention a funeral ceremony, which came under Colonel Worthington's observation in the Pampas. A child one or two years old had died, and the people gathered around it in the

evening to perform its funeral rites. The body was laid on a table very gaudily dressed ; the palms of the hands were brought together on the breast, with the fingers pointing upwards, and the thumbs tied with a pink ribbon. Four candles were placed on the table, one at each corner. The company assembled with laughing, and talking, and much good humor, till at length one of the party struck up a tune on the guitar. They all fell to dancing, which they continued till daylight, when they dispersed.

Captain Head visited the gold mines of La Carolina in the Pampas, where he was astonished to find, that the people would not take gold as a currency. He wished to purchase gold dust, and offered gold coins, but they refused to take them, even at half their value, and said they were good for nothing. They would take silver only, and the landlord with whom the travellers lodged demanded payment in this metal. Offering gold at La Carolina was literally verifying the proverb of carrying coals to Newcastle. The Indians, who offer skins and ostrich feathers in the market of Mendoza, will not sell them for money, which they say is of no value, and can do them no good ; they will barter their articles for knives, spurs, sugar, or whatever else they want. Nor will they purchase by weight ; they must have ocular demonstration of quantity, and when they bargain for sugar, they mark on a hide the space which they expect to be covered. If our North American Indians had a little more of this wisdom of their Pampas brethren, they would be less frequently cheated than they have been by those, who boast of being illumined by the lights of civilization.

At Mendoza our author prepared for a passage across the Andes. Carriages proceed no further, and a caravan of sixteen mules was engaged to take himself and party over the mountains. On his way up the Cordillera he visited the warm baths of Villa Vicencia, and the mines of Uspallata. In ascending the Andes very little occurred worthy of observation, except in passing the *laderas*, of which all travellers speak so much. The road is along the north bank of the river Mendoza, which flows with great rapidity down a deep valley, almost from the top of the mountain. For the most part there is a sufficient width of level ground between the margin of the river and the base of the steep acclivities for a convenient road, but in some instances spurs of the mountain project so abruptly upon the stream, as to leave no room for a passage. It is then

necessary to wind along the side of the precipice, which thus intervenes, by a very narrow path, sometimes less than two feet in width, affording barely room for a mule to pass with its burden. On the left the Mendoza is foaming below with great fury, and on the right the mountain ascends almost perpendicularly till it is lost in the clouds. The path is sometimes five hundred feet, and in one instance seven hundred, above the river, and the slightest accident would precipitate the mule and its rider to the bottom. So steep is the slope, and so near does the hill approach on the right, that the traveller can touch it with his hand and frequently with his shoulder. So cautious is the mule in passing these *laderas*, so deliberate in feeling his way over loose stones, and so entirely free from any sensation of giddiness or embarrassment, arising from the great elevation and the sight of the yawning abyss beneath, that any accident to a traveller, who sits quietly on his mule, is a very rare thing. He is much more safe than he would be on foot. But baggage mules are often precipitated from the path, by reason of their load striking against the side of the mountain, and thus pushing them from their narrow foothold. A little experience teaches them to guard against any serious accident from this cause, by walking on the very verge of the pathway. Travellers are apt to be alarmed at this propensity of the mule, and at finding themselves hanging on the brink of the precipice; but there is no danger if the mule is allowed to pursue his course, and trust to his own discretion. The following description by Captain Head, of his passage of the *Ladera de las Vacas*, presents a vivid picture of the scenes he witnessed.

'As soon as we crossed the pass, which is only seventy yards long, the capataz told me, that it was a very bad place for baggage mules, that four hundred had been lost there, and that we should also very probably lose one. He said that he would get down to the water at a place about a hundred yards off, and wait there with his *laso* to catch any mule that might fall into the torrent, and he requested me to lead on his mule. However, I was resolved to see the tumble if there was to be one, so the capataz took away my mule and his own, and while I stood on a projecting rock at the end of the pass, he scrambled down on foot, till he at last got to the level of the water.

'The drove of mules now came in sight, one following another; a few were carrying no burdens, but the rest were either mounted or heavily laden, and as they wound along the crooked path, the difference of color in the animals, the different colors and shapes

of the baggage they were carrying, with the picturesque dress of the peons, who were vociferating the wild song by which they drive on the mules, and the sight of the dangerous path they had to cross, formed altogether a very interesting scene.

'As soon as the leading mule came to the commencement of the pass he stopped, evidently unwilling to proceed, and of course all the rest stopped also.

'He was the finest mule we had, and on that account had twice as much to carry as any of the others; his load had never been relieved, and it consisted of four portmanteaus, two of which belonged to me, and which contained not only a very heavy bag of dollars, but also papers which were of such consequence, that I could hardly have continued my journey without them. The peons now redoubled their cries, and leaning over the sides of their mules, and picking up stones, they threw them at the leading mule, who now commenced his journey over the path. With his nose to the ground, literally smelling the way, he walked gently on, often changing the position of his feet, if he found the ground would not bear, until he came to the bad part of the pass, where he again stopped, and I then certainly began to look with great anxiety at my portmanteaus; but the peons again threw stones at him, and he continued his path, and reached me in safety; several others followed. At last a young mule, carrying a portmanteau with two large sacks of provisions, and many other things, in passing the bad point, struck his load against the rock, which knocked his two hind legs over the precipice, and the loose stones immediately began to roll away from under them; however his fore legs were still upon the narrow path; he had no room to put his head there, but he placed his nose on the path on his left, and appeared to hold on by his mouth. His perilous fate was soon decided by a loose mule which came, and in walking along after him knocked his comrade's nose off the path, destroyed his balance, and head over heels the poor creature instantly commenced a fall, which was really quite terrific. With all his baggage firmly lashed to him, he rolled dewn the steep slope, until he came to the part which was perpendicular, and then he seemed to bound off, and turning round in the air, fell into the deep torrent on his back, and upon his baggage, and instantly disappeared. I thought of course that he was killed, but up he rose, looking wild and scared, and immediately endeavored to stem the torrent which was foaming about him. It was a noble effort, and for a moment he seemed to succeed, but the eddy suddenly caught the great load on his back, and turned him completely over; down went his head with all the baggage, and as he was carried down the stream all I saw were his hind quarters, and his long, thin, wet

tail, lashing the water. As suddenly, however, up his head came again; but he was now weak and went down the stream, turned round and round by the eddy, until passing the corner of the rock, I lost sight of him. I saw, however, the peons with their lasos in their hands run down the side of the torrent for some little distance; but they soon stopped, and after looking towards the poor mule for some seconds, their earnest attitude gradually relaxed, and when they walked towards me I concluded that all was over. I walked up to the peons, and was just going to speak to them, when I saw at a distance a solitary mule walking towards us. We instantly perceived that he was the Phaeton, whose fall we had just witnessed, and in a few moments he came up to us to join his comrades.' pp. 136—140.

These *laderas* vary in length from sixty to a hundred and fifty yards. Captain Riley, in the romance of his capture in Africa, mentions a similar pass, but more terrific if possible, on the sea shore between Mogadore and the great desert.

Our author encountered few other difficulties, till he found himself in the spacious city of Santiago. He soon ascended to the region of snow, although it was only two days since he had escaped the burning heats of Mendoza; and he relates some affecting anecdotes of the fate of travellers, who have attempted to cross the Andes in the winter. A furious wind, like a hurricane, frequently comes up of a sudden, and drives the snow before it in such masses, as to suffocate the traveller, and bury him alive. Small huts of brick have been built in the snowy region, on the summit of the Andes, to afford travellers a temporary shelter, but persons have been shut up in them by the snow, and died there of cold and hunger, as no fuel nor food could be obtained. In the summer season there is no danger from this source, although the travelling across the snow is not represented as the most agreeable. The time taken up in crossing the mountains with good success is from four to six days. Colonel Worthington passed from Mendoza to Villa de los Andes, a village in Chile at the foot of the Andes, in a little more than four days, and returned through the same distance in four days and a half.

Arrived in Santiago our author is in great haste to be among the mines of Chile. Many of these he visited, but we shall accompany him to one only, and that is the silver mine of San Pedro Nolasco, which is high up the Andes, about seventyfive miles southwest of Santiago. After giving an account of his perilous journey to this spot, he speaks of the situation, and the mine itself.

'Although it was midsummer,' he says, 'the snow where we stood was, according to the statement made to me by the agent of the mine, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet deep, but blown by the wind into the most irregular forms, while in some places the black rock was visible. Beneath was the river and valley of Maypo, fed by a number of tributary streams, which we could see descending like small silver threads down the different ravines. We appeared to have a bird's-eye view of the great chain of the Andes, and we looked down upon a series of pinnacles of indescribable shapes and forms, all covered with eternal snow. The whole scene around us in every direction was devoid of vegetation, and was a picture of desolation, on a scale of magnificence which made it peculiarly awful; and the knowledge that this vast mass of snow, so cheerless in appearance, was created for the use, and comfort, and happiness, and even luxury of man, that it was the inexhaustible reservoir from which the plains were supplied with water, made us feel that there is no spot in creation, which man should term barren, though there are many which nature never intended for his residence. A large cloud of smoke was issuing from one of the pinnacles, which is the great volcano of San Francisco; and the silver lode, which was before us, seemed to run into the centre of the crater.

'As it was in the middle of the summer, I could not help reflecting what a dreadful abode this must be in the winter, and I inquired of our guide and the miners concerning its climate in that season. They at first silently pointed to the crosses, which, in groups of three and two and four, were to be seen in every direction; and they then told me, that although the mine is inaccessible for seven months in winter, yet that the miners used to be kept there all the year. They said that the cold was intense, but that what the miners most dreaded were the merciless *temporales*, or storms of snow, which came on so suddenly that many miners had been overtaken by them, aud had perished when not a hundred and fifty yards from the hut. With these monuments before my eyes, it was really painful to consider what the feelings of those wretched creatures must have been, when, groping about for their habitation, they found the violence of the storm unabating and irresistible. It was really melancholy to trace, or fancy I could trace, by the different groups of crosses, the fate of the different individuals. Friends had huddled together and had thus died on the road; others had strayed from the path, and from the scattered crosses, they had apparently died in searching for it. One group was really in a very singular situation. During a winter particularly severe, the miners' provisions, which consist of little else but hung beef, were gradually failing, when a party

volunteered, to save themselves and the rest, that they would endeavor to get over the snow into the valley of Maypo, and return if possible with food. They had scarcely left the hut, when a storm came on and they perished. The crosses are exactly where the bodies were found; they were all off the road; two had died close together; one was about ten yards off, and one had climbed to the top of a large loose fragment of rock, evidently to look for the hut on the road. The view from San Pedro Nolasco, taken altogether, is certainly the most dreadful scene, which in my life I have ever witnessed; and it appeared so little adapted or intended for a human residence, that when I commenced my inspection of the lode, and of the several mines, I could not help feeling, that I was going against nature, and that no sentiment but that of avarice could approve of establishing a number of fellow creatures in a spot, which was a subject of astonishment to me how it was ever discovered.

'As the snow was in many places fifty feet deep on the lode, I could only walk on the surface from one boccamina to another; but when I had done this I took off my clothes and went down the mine, which it was my particular object to inspect. All the rest had long ago been deserted, but in this one there were a few miners lately sent there, who were carrying on the works on the old system which had been exercised by the Spaniards, and to which these men have all their lives been accustomed.

'At first we descended by an inclined gallery or level, and then clambered down the notched sticks, which are used in all the mines in South America as ladders. After descending about two hundred and fifty feet, walking occasionally along levels, where the snow and mud were above our ancles, we came to the place where the men were working. It was astonishing to see the strength with which they plied their weighty hammers, and the unremitted exertion with which they worked; and, strange as it may appear, we all agreed that we had never seen Englishmen possess such strength and work so hard. While the barreteros, or miners, were working the lode, the apires were carrying the ore upon their backs; and after we had made the necessary observations, and collected proper specimens, we ascended with several of these apires above and below us.

'We were quite exhausted when we came to the mouth of the mine; one of my party almost fainted, and as the sun had long ago set, the air was so bleak and freezing, we were so heated, and the scene was so cheerless, that we were glad to hurry into the hut, and to sit upon the ground round a dish of meat, which had long been ready for us.' 'While we were at one end of the hut, drinking brandy and water, seated upon our saddles, and lighted

by a brown tallow candle, which was stuck into a bottle, and which was not three yards from a hide filled with gun-powder, the few miners we had seen at work were relieved by others, who were to work through the night. They came into the hut, and without taking the least notice of us, prepared their supper, which was a very simple operation. The men took their candles out of the cloven sticks, and in the cleft they put a piece of dried beef; this they warmed for a few seconds over the embers, which were burning on the ground, and they then eat it, and afterwards drank some melted snow water out of a cow's horn.

'Their meal being over, they then enjoyed the only blessing fortune had allotted to them, which was rest from their labor. They said nothing to each other, but as they sat upon the sheepskin, which was the only bed they had, some fixed their eyes upon the embers, while some seemed to ruminate upon other objects. I gave them what brandy I had, and asked them if they had no spirits, to which they gave me the usual answer, that miners are never allowed to have spirits, and with this law they seemed to be perfectly satisfied.' pp. 190—196.

Santiago is the capital of Chile, and is ranked among the first cities in South America. It is ninety miles interior from Valparaiso, the principal port of Chile, and thirty miles from the Andes, although so lofty and imposing are these mountains, that they seem at this distance to overhang the town. As you approach Santiago, you see none of those elevated domes and turrets, nor indeed any of the striking objects, which give notice that you are about to enter a great city. The castle, upon a moderate height within the town, is the only object conspicuous from afar. The houses and streets on the skirts of the town are mean and dirty, and the same may be said of two thirds of the city itself. The whole city is divided into squares, measuring one hundred and fifty yards on each side. Four of these squares in the centre compose the Plaza, or great square; on one side of this are the cathedral and the bishop's house; on another, the palace, prison, and offices of the ministers of state; and on the other two, shops and private dwellings. For about four squares from the Plaza each way, the streets and houses are beautiful, displaying taste in the style of architecture. There is nothing remarkable in the external appearance of the palace; the sala, or reception room within is simply beautiful, perhaps elegant, but not magnificent. The cathedral is a large pile, well constructed of granite, and is still unfinished. It conveys the idea of grandeur, but con-

fused, and when lighted in the midnight services, this very confusion seems to heighten the impressions of sublimity, which it is calculated to raise.

There are five nunneries in Santiago, all richly endowed. The turbulent scenes of the revolution were by no means calculated to diminish this species of religious zeal. It is not easy to ascertain the number of ecclesiastics in the city, as many of them are frequently absent on missions. From the best information that can be collected, it may be presumed there are more than a thousand, and about six hundred nuns. During the power of the Careras, attempts were made to reduce the number of the ecclesiastics, and likewise establish annual salaries, in lieu of *primicias*, *diermas*, and discretionary fees for all marriages and interments. But these innovations were not acceptable even to the people, who, it would almost seem, would hardly regard a marriage valid, or a death a happy one, unless they were obliged to pay the accustomed fees. The value and effect of a dispensation to quiet scruples of conscience for the omission of any known duty, or the commission of an act forbidden, are still weighed in golden scales. Hence, the absence of the bishop during the troubles of the revolution, has been productive of very serious inconvenience to many conscientious christians in Chile. On some important occasions, several persons have been obliged to have recourse to Rome.

The university in Santiago is an object of interest. The buildings occupy a whole square, and their disposition and general appearance are nearly the same as those of the convents, with a chapel in place of a church. The university has been sadly neglected during the revolution, and has now but very few students, and very imperfect government. It has recently attracted notice, however, and the state has made provisions for its reorganization. All the apartments intended for students and fellows within its walls are dark and gloomy, and little better than the cells of the monks. Whatever other lights they may have to guide them to knowledge, they surely have very little of the light of heaven, for there are not ten windows in all the buildings pertaining to the university. The hours of study are passed in walking round the piazzas, reading aloud, or under the trees in the centre of the square, in the true style of Peripatetics; and, indeed, what of philosophy and metaphysics is taught there savors very much of the days

of Aristotle. No attention has been paid to Greek or Hebrew, but there have been professorships of Latin, Theology, the lower branches of the Mathematics, and Philosophy, which last, as far as its explanation can be understood, means nothing but Logic. Neither astronomy, chemistry, nor any other branch of physical or natural philosophy has ever been introduced. There are no such things as globes, telescopes, mathematical instruments, nor, in fact, any sort of philosophical or chemical apparatus whatsoever.

Considering this state of the university, it is the more remarkable, that there should be an extensive and highly valuable library. A great proportion of the books are of course upon theological subjects, and many of these in Latin, and bound in parchment. There is, moreover, a good number of manuscripts, and a large collection of Spanish and French authors. The whole number of volumes may perhaps be estimated at eight or ten thousand. With such a library, and the Jesuits for teachers, one would hardly suppose, that the sciences would have been so entirely neglected. Graduates, and very sensible men too, till lately might have been heard to discuss, with great formality and gravity, questions concerning the *Seven Heavens*, the *Primum Mobile*, and the *Cœlum Empyræum;* and in this venerable seat of the muses, the doctrine of the motion of the earth, and the stationary position of the sun, would have been as ill received as it was in the days of Pythagoras, Copernicus, or Galileo.

The mint at Santiago is a noble building of the Doric order; its proportions are well preserved. Its front occupies the entire side of a square. Another public work of importance is the Tacarnar, an embankment constructed for the purpose of confining the waters of the river which passes through the city. This river rises suddenly during the winter rains to such a degree as to overflow the streets adjoining it, and threaten to inundate the city. To remedy this inconvenience, a solid and finely finished wall of stone and bricks has been raised, and continued through nearly the whole length of the city and suburbs. A spacious new street has thus been formed; at the same time the others, which were formerly exposed, have been secured and improved. In the centre of this street is a fine water fountain, and here and there groves of trees, which form pleasant little shady walks. On the inner side of the wall, throughout its whole extent, is a raised foot walk, about five

feet high and four broad, beautifully paved with small stones, like mosaic work, and affording a dry passage at all seasons, from one end of the city to the other. Of this work, as well as the mint, Ambrosio O'Higgins, father of the late Supreme Director of Chile, was the projector. This bold Irish adventurer, indeed, has left behind him many noble monuments of an exalted and comprehensive genius, in every part of the continent to which his singular fortunes guided him. The great road from Santiago to Valparaiso was the fruit of his enterprise and public spirit, and the post houses on the summit of the Andes were built by his order. The celebrated road from Lima to Callao was constructed by him, after he had risen by his talents alone to the elevated station of Viceroy of Peru. His projects were all on a grand scale, and they all aimed at public good. It may be doubted whether the history of any individual, connected with the Spanish South American provinces, during the colonial servitude, would appear to better advantage, or be contemplated with more satisfaction, than that of the deeds and character of Ambrosio O'Higgins.

As nothing approaching an accurate census of the capital of Chile has been taken, it is impossible to tell how many inhabitants it contains. The common answer to the question in the city itself is, *bastantes miles*, many thousands. Some travellers represent the city to be nearly as large in compass as Philadelphia, and although its houses are incomparably inferior in every other respect, they are better stocked with inhabitants. No estimate of the actual number can be made, however, from this comparison, because the houses of cities in warm climates are more scattered, and occupy more space, than in colder regions. It is believed by recent observers, that the population of the state of Chile has been put too low. It was supposed at the beginning of the revolution to be under two millions. It has lately been thought to contain more than three. But everything on this subject is conjecture. No census has been taken, or can be taken for the present. Such has been the influence of the old government, that an attempt of this sort would be suspected at once, and fail of its ends. The common people would fear an impressment for the army, and fly into the mountains ; and the better orders would think of nothing but some scheme on the part of the government to levy a new tax, and they would practise deception and evasion. A census taken under these circumstances would tell no truth, and be of no value.

The revolution in Chile began in July, 1810, when the captain general, Carrasco, was compelled by the inhabitants of Santiago to resign his command, and the Count de la Conquista was appointed to take his place. Shortly after a plan of a new government was formed by an assembly, which voluntarily collected for the purpose. The supreme power was invested in a junta, of which the Count de la Conquista was president. This junta issued a summons for deputies to be sent from all parts of Chile to a general congress, and at the same time prescribed the method of election. Some disturbances occurred in prosecuting the election at Santiago, but delegates were at length chosen throughout the country, and a congress was convened. Here new seeds of discord began to germinate, by reason of the great number of members attending the congress, their disproportion in different districts, and the alleged illegality of the manner in which many of them had been chosen. A strong discontented party sprang up, at the head of which were three brothers, by the name of Carrera, sons of a rich landholder in Santiago. At this period Mr Poinsett, our present minister in Mexico, was in Chile; and he took an active and responsible part with the Carreras, and is understood to have rendered them much assistance by his counsels and personal services. The military adhered to this party, and the cry for reform became every day more loud and imperious. This point was partially carried in September, 1811, and the congress proceeded to institute and recommend a plan of government. The Carreras were not satisfied, their party gained strength, and in November, they compelled the congress to appoint a new junta consisting of three members, one of whom was the eldest brother, Don José Miguel Carrera. By this junta an additional regiment of cavalry was raised, and Carrera was made colonel. His two brothers, Juan José Carrera, and Luis Carrera, were also officers in the army, the one major of grenadiers, and the other captain of artillery. Having thus the military on their side, the Carreras may be said to have been at the head of the government at this time; and through various commotions and vicissitudes they maintained their power and influence for nearly three years. They had many enemies, of course, and when the royalists were reinforced from Peru, and began to press heavily upon the country, the torrent of disapprobation was too strong for them to withstand. José Miguel Carrera was superseded in the command of the

army by Bernardo O'Higgins. This change lighted the torch of civil war, but the necessity of union to resist the common enemy, prevented any very serious consequences. Two of the Carreras were taken prisoners by the royalists, and carried to Chillan, but they found means to escape. At length came on the decisive battle of Rancagua, in October, 1814, where the patriots were defeated, and the royalists gained entire possession of Chile. The Carreras fled across the Andes to Mendoza with several hundred troops. More than two thousand patriots sought refuge in the same quarter, others were persecuted and punished in various ways, and a large number was exiled to the island of Juan Fernandez.

The government of Buenos Aires took a lively interest in the fate of Chile, and a plan was shortly devised for dispossessing the royalists of their acquisitions. The safety of Buenos Aires itself demanded this step. Troops were therefore gradually sent to Mendoza to unite with those from Chile, and the whole were put under the command of General San Martin. They amounted at last to four thousand, and with this army San Martin crossed the Andes in January, 1817. The army was formed in two divisions, one of which was commanded by O'Higgins. This passage of the Andes with such an army, and all its military accompaniments, has justly been considered a great enterprise, proving the resources, zeal, and energy of the general. The combined army met the royalists, and gained a brilliant victory at Chacabuco, fifty miles from Santiago, to which city San Martin advanced without further opposition. A congress of the principal inhabitants was immediately convened, and San Martin was chosen Supreme Director of Chile. He declined the appointment, and by his influence Bernardo O'Higgins was raised to that office. The royalists retired to Talcahuana, a sea port in the south of Chile, where they were reinforced from Peru, till their numbers became again formidable to the patriots. The cause of liberty remained in suspense till the 5th of April, 1818, when the great battle of Maypu was fought, the Spanish army completely routed, and the independence of Chile established. O'Higgins continued to be Supreme Director, although San Martin was commander in chief of the army, till his expedition to Peru, which took place in 1820. O'Higgins was afterwards removed, and he retired to Lima. By the last intelligence concerning his movements, he had found means to take pos-

session of the Isles of Chiloe, with the view, it was supposed, of regaining his lost power in Chile. His successor was Freyré, who is still at the head of the government.

The fate of the Carreras was a melancholy one. The two younger brothers were barbarously executed in Mendoza, after having been condemned for the part they took in endeavoring to reestablish themselves in Chile. The eldest brother, José Miguel, resolved to revenge this injury. He retired to Buenos Aires, and afterwards came to the United States, seeking supplies of money and men. On his return we find him in the neighborhood of Buenos Aires, at the head of a small body of forces, natives and foreigners, Gauchos of the plains, and a few English, French, and American sailors and soldiers. His progress was viewed with some uneasiness by the government of Buenos Aires, and not less so by that of Chile, where he was known to possess many powerful partisans. The lower orders, and the soldiery, still cherished the remembrance of his rule, and were devoted to him, for, during his power, he had proved himself a good politician and an accomplished courtier. He had always asked as a favor, what he might have demanded as a right, and the people delighted to recount the instances of his condescension, affability, and munificence.

In his march across the Pampas he had several skirmishes with the garrisons of the different military posts. He found means to correspond with his friends in Santiago, and no doubt received supplies from that place. It was at this period of his career, that a conspiracy in his favor was detected on the eve of its successful execution. The Director, O'Higgins, displayed at this moment his characteristic intrepidity. He entered alone at midnight a room, filled with conspirators against his government and life ; he commanded them instantly to disperse, and owe their lives to his clemency. They did not wait for a repetition of the command, but fled precipitately, leaving some of their papers behind them. Carrera passed the Pampas with no other difficulty, than such as arose from the nature of the country. He took and pillaged San Luis, and advanced leisurely towards Mendoza. At this time he is said to have been deceived in regard to the state of public feeling respecting him in that quarter, and indeed we can in no other way account for the fatal rashness of his measures. The government of Chile had watched his progress, and taken care to

prepare the Mendozans for his reception. He thus found himself in the vicinity of Mendoza, in January, 1822, with about a thousand troops. Leaving the greater part of them at Retano, nearly forty miles from the town, he advanced with about three hundred horse. Meantime all the regular troops and militia of Mendoza had marched out to meet him. He first encountered a body of horse, not equal to his own, which he attacked. They opened, and displayed a large body of infantry, which had been concealed from his observation. Flight was now his only resort, and he arrived at Retano, pursued by the enemy. Here he resolved to make a stand, and at least to sell his life dearly. When attacked, however, he discovered that he had been betrayed by the officer left in command, who in his absence had held a correspondence with the enemy, and now went over to them with most of his men. Still Carrera fought, and seemed determined to defend himself though with a single arm; but surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers, he fell exhausted into their hands. He was immediately conducted to Mendoza, where, after a brief form of trial, he was executed on the very spot, that had hardly ceased smoking with the blood of his brothers.

Among the most interesting persons, who have appeared in the revolution of Chile, may be reckoned Manuel Rodriguez, the friend, adviser, and coadjutor of the Carreras. As far as a man's purposes can be understood from his professions and acts, it may be truly said of Rodriguez, that he had the liberty and equal rights of his countrymen, as well as their independence, really at heart. As far, at least, as the refusal of office and compensation for inestimable services in his country's cause, will go as an argument in his favor, we may believe him to have been governed by disinterested patriotism. Till recently, his fate has been involved in the deepest mystery; no one has pronounced his name but with the utmost caution, or scarcely heard it without crossing himself. He was equal in rank to his friends the Carreras, but he was destined to different pursuits in life, having devoted himself to the study of the law, in which profession he was rising to eminence.

At the commencement of the revolution he joined the patriot party, and adhered to it without wavering to the last. He was the Mentor of the Carreras, and when their fortunes declined, he accompanied them across the Andes. His spirit and exertions did not flag with their ill success; he enlisted in the cause

of his country with the same zeal, when its interests were entrusted to San Martin as when they were in the hands of his friends. When Buenos Aires undertook the emancipation of Chile, Rodriguez was one of the most forward in council and in action. His chivalrous spirit induced him to choose the most perilous and important office, that fell to the lot of any one engaged in the enterprise, that of personally conveying information to the friends of insurrection in Santiago, and ascertaining the disposition of the people at large in Chile. In the execution of this trust he proved himself another Proteus. Though cautious and prudent, where the interest of his cause was in jeopardy, yet there was no personal hazard or adventure that had not a charm for him. He engaged to cross the Andes and enter Chile for purposes of secret observation at a time, when the government could not but have been jealous and wary, as well of the Carrera party, as of the people of Buenos Aires. During the period between the battles of Rancagua and of Chacabuco, while the royalists retained undisturbed possession of the kingdom, he passed the mountains and entered Chile in various disguises, three different times, travelling generally on foot. He appeared sometimes in the dress of a miner, sometimes of a friar begging alms for his convent, and sometimes of a pedlar. In this manner he went as far south as Talca, eighty leagues from Santiago, and about the same distance towards Coquimbo, frequently making himself known, but only to those with whom he was thoroughly acquainted. At one time in Santiago, whan he thought himself pursued, he was concealed for a day, and part of a night, in the house of one of his friends, in a *tenaca*, or large earthen wine jar; at another time, when returning from Chile to Mendoza, he was impressed by an officer, who, with a guard of soldiers, had been posted in a pass of the Cordilleras, for the very purpose of interrupting the correspondence, and preventing communication with the other side, and whose men were then employed in repairing the road. Rodriguez was immediately set to work, and showed that he could handle the spade and axe, as skilfully as he had formerly done his pen. He was detained two days, and all the time had concealed about his person important letters and papers, the discovery of any one of which would inevitably have cost him his head.

He frequently went at noonday to the houses of some of the first men in the city, in tatters, and with a basket of fruit upon

his head, and while bargaining for the fruit made himself known, and received important communications.

Rodriguez accompanied the army of San Martin into Chile, and after the battle of Chacabuco he returned to the city, and set himself quietly down in his study. He mingled no further in public affairs, than any other decided private patriot, till the dispersion of San Martin's army at Canchariada. When the news of this disastrous event reached the city, all eyes were instantly turned on Rodriguez. To him was owing in a great measure the success of exertions, which have too often been attributed exclusively to San Martin. For the moment, he assumed the office of Director, and executed its duties. He harangued the people, exposed to them the folly of despair, the rashness of flight, and the absolute necessity of a last struggle, although it should be the struggle of death. He succeeded in calming their fears and inspiring hope. The soldiers, who were all on the wing for the Cordilleras, he induced to remain and prepare to be organized anew; and before the arrival of San Martin and the Director was announced in the capital, he had quelled the first impulse of terror in the inhabitants, and put affairs into the train, that led to the glorious results which ensued.

In the space of three days he raised and organized a corps of six hundred horsemen; and in as many more had them disciplined and ready for the field. This would be incredible, did we not know that a Chileno's home is on horseback, and that the youth of the better sort are universally accustomed to the exercise of the broadsword. This corps received the appellation of *La Batallon de la buena Muerte.* In the hard fought battle of Maypu, an important post was assigned to it, and Rodriguez proved himself on that occasion as well fitted for the field as for the cabinet. Unfortunately, however, it soon appeared, that more of the credit of this victory, and the events preparatory to it, were by popular opinion attributed to him, than was consistent with his safety. Six or eight days after the battle and in the midst of the festivities consequent upon it, he suddenly disappeared, and no man dared to ask, Where is Rodriguez? He has never since been seen.

Thus was this remarkable man cut off prematurely, before he had attained his thirtyfirst year. There can no longer be any doubt, if there ever was any, that he was secretly murdered by order of those in high authority, who feared the influence of his name and his talents with the people.

The early history of the press in Chile is curious, as will be seen by the following facts, for which we are indebted to Colonel Worthington's memoranda. The first printing press arrived at Valparaiso on the 21st of November, 1811. It was sent from New York, and cost six hundred and fifty dollars. The Carreras paid for it eight thousand in Chile. In January following the press was put in motion, and the first paper was issued which ever appeared in the country, and was called the *Aurora of Chile*. It was conducted by Johnson, Garrison, and Berbridge, all citizens of the United States, who went out with the press from New York. The editor was Henriques Camilla. The Aurora continued about two years, during which time Iresarri, a native of Mexico, published a weekly paper. When the royalists retook the country the press expired; but after the battle of Chacabuco it was revived, and a paper called the *Gazette of Chile* was set up, and was continued under that name till the battle of Maypu. It then took the name of the *Ministerial Gazette*, and for a most frivolous pretext it was put under the control of the Secretary of State, Iresarri. Then followed the *Argus of Chile*, and two papers of little significance, the *Fairy* and the *Sun*. Since that time many other papers have successively risen up and expired, and there are now several published in the country, containing intelligence and free political discussions.

The sudden influx of merchants and adventurers into Chile, for a few years after the revolution, produced a scene of tumult and confusion rarely witnessed among civilized people. Neither the language of those who came to traffic, nor the value or use of the articles of merchandise they brought, was understood. It was not a state of things that had grown out of the genius and habits of the people; every thing was forced and unnatural. A few of the first adventurers, as is always the case in political and commercial revolutions, met with success, and realized their hopes; but others that followed their steps, and adventured largely, found disappointment and ruin. The people at large in Chile, more perhaps than in any other part of South America, are obstinately attached to ancient habits, and have a distrustful aversion to changes of any sort. They have the pride and prejudice of old Spaniards, with minds much less enlightened, and, of course, less susceptible of the improvements of commerce. Their habits and modes of life have, in a good measure, grown out of their peculiar climate, and the nature of the country.

On entering a *Bogeda* in Valparaiso, designed at first as a storehouse for eighty or a hundred thousand bushels of wheat, you might, during the period we have alluded to, almost have imagined yourself in a London or Manchester warehouse; and the Plaza of Santiago resembled a Leipsic fair. In preparing articles for that market, regard must be had not only to their general fabric, and the materials of which they are made, but even the most skilful must learn anew how to manufacture them. You would find it difficult to induce a Chileno to mount his horse in an English riding cloak, when the *poncho*, which his Indian neighbors have taught him to weave, will answer his purpose much better; and the fair of Chile will furnish but poor customers for pins and bodkins, while there is not one in a hundred among them, that ever saw a pin, or felt the need of one. The owner of a *hacienda*, who, before sowing season, has fifty or a hundred ploughs in constant use, will hardly be persuaded to pay ten pounds for an English plough, while those that cost him ten rials are quite as advantageous to him; or to supply his hundreds of peons with iron spades and shovels, when those of wood, which each one makes for himself, will serve their turn as well; besides, ploughs and shovels like these were used by his father before him. Nor would the Señoras of the land patiently submit to the uncertainty and fluctuations of commerce, and live in dependence for supplies of China tea upon voyages across the Pacific, when they find in the *herba* of a neighboring province, a beverage quite as fine flavored and refreshing, and which has the further powerful recommendation, that it is the same which their mothers were accustomed to sip.

It may moreover be added, that the eagerness with which this new channel of commerce was followed up by foreigners, not only misled the adventurers themselves, but blinded the eyes of the Chilian government to their own commercial interests. A new, and rich, and apparently simple source of public revenue was suddenly opened to them, and committed to the direction of men grossly ignorant, or, to say the least, extremely inexperienced in the great fundamental and reciprocal principles of commerce. Hence, duties on foreign merchandise were imposed, with nearly the same regulations as were used in other and very different times, and in levying internal taxes, the scheme of the tariff, indeed, seemed to have regard to hardly any other considerations, than the immediate exigen-

cies of the government, and the ability of the merchant. Salutary changes are gradually and slowly taking place; yet there is abundant room for improvement, not more in the commercial regulations, than in the political and civil institutions of Chile.

ART. III.—*Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the United Irish Society, and Adjutant General in the Service of the French and Batavian Republics. Written by Himself, and continued by his Son; with his Political Writings, and Fragments of his Diary, whilst Agent to the General and Sub Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and Secretary to the Delegation who presented their Petition to His Majesty George III. His Mission to France; with a complete Diary of his Negotiations to procure the Aid of the French and Batavian Republics for the Liberation of Ireland; of the Expedition of Bantry Bay, the Texel, and of that wherein he fell. Narrative of his Trial, Defence before the Court Martial, and Death. Edited by his Son,* WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE; *with a brief Account of his own Education and Campaigns under the Emperor Napoleon.* 2 vols. 8vo. Washington.

THIS ample title page promises much variety, and in that the reader will not be disappointed; and though to such as hold a great book to be a great evil, twelve hundred pages of autobiography may seem somewhat appalling, yet many will think, when they have read the work and felt its interest and importance, that it is not too long. We are of opinion, however, that with regard to its popularity and general circulation, it might have been condensed to advantage. The multiplicity of books in these days renders economy of time as well as of purse, a necessary consideration.

It has become a fashion of late, and it is sanctioned by the example of the most ingenious authors of our times, to interweave with affecting stories of individuals, often creatures of the brain, important passages of history, and thus to enlist curiosity and sensibility in aid of useful acquirements. The nearer those works resemble or approach the truth, the greater are their merit and their charm. The narrative before us comes

out as one of entire truth ; the history is of a crisis as important as any, that the eventful period of the last half century has produced ; and the story is more moving, more pathetic, and of more thrilling interest, than almost any tale of romance invented to excite the sympathies of human nature, and the tenderer feelings of the heart. Before we had read this book, we had heard the name of Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had suffered, with many others of his countrymen, for attempting to effect a separation of Ireland from England ; for having been a United Irishman, taken in arms, bearing the commission of a French general officer, and waging war against the Irish, or, should we say, the British government. We had always understood him to have been a man of lofty courage and eminent talents, and of an amiable and virtuous private character. The specimens we had seen of other distinguished United Irishmen, who had been for many years our fellow citizens, had impressed us very favorably ; but we had never before seen the history of that epoch drawn out so fully, nor formed a proper conception of the solid arguments upon which the rebellion of the Irish people could be defended, nor of the extensive views of those who put all to hazard on the chance of liberty or death.

When we took up these volumes we intended no more, than to exercise an impartial judgment within the sphere of our literary duties ; we did not, nor do we yet, enter the field as champions of Ireland against England ; we rather hope that some propitious change may remove the causes of such a disastrous strife, wherein men, formed to shine as an ornament and honor to their country, perish on the scaffold. But without engaging in that quarrel we must say, that had we been the most devoted partisans of England's power and empire, still by the reading of this narrative, our hearts would have been subdued into respect and admiration for the man, who in so extraordinary a degree united the highest and most attractive qualities of the head and heart. It is rare to find such endowments in one individual ; quick and brilliant conceptions, a judgment solid and exact, powers of argument clear and convincing, great firmness of purpose, with a temper gentle and winning, and a cheerful and pleasing vein of native wit, that in the darkest hours of danger and dismay lighted and cheered his way, and in the very heat of battle played like a lambent flame around his crest. Add to this a heart framed for friendship and love, and it must be owned, that, perish where he

might, when or for what he might, when Tone fell, there fell a noble being.

And now, after long years are past, his son and relict claim to be heard in his behalf. They appeal to the great tribunal of humanity and to posterity, to man below, to heaven above, for a reversal of that sentence, which doomed him to a traitor's death. We are told by the editor, the son and worthy representative of such a father, that more than a quarter of a century has been suffered to pass, lest the disclosures in this story of his father's life might compromit his friends, or any of those who acted with him. At length, and when there remained but two survivors of his family, the precariousness of human life required the consummation of the long made vow. A monument was to be raised from the materials which his own hands had provided; and to the record of his conviction as a traitor, was to be opposed and confronted the record of his life. 'It is a tribute,' says the son, 'which I owe to the memory of my father, and a sacred duty; believing as I do that in the eyes of impartial posterity it will do honor to his character.'

Our duty as reviewers of this book is not an easy one. No ordinary rules of criticism can be fairly applied to writings, never intended to meet the public eye, and which never would have appeared in their present form, had the author lived to complete the history of his country, of his own life, and his own times. We are told by the editor, and it is often repeated by his father in different passages of his diaries, that they were intended for his family and one or two select friends; and nothing, indeed can be more evident; for to whom else could be addressed those glowing expressions of heartfelt love, those inward confidences of the soul, those playful sallies of whim and humor, those transitions from grave to gay, not to be felt or understood but by the few to whose fond memory they might recall the happier hours of social and domestic intercourse?

We shall endeavor to give a fair summary of the nature and contents of the book, without overloading our article with quotations, in which if we were to indulge ourselves, we should be led too far. And, with respect to the digressions and raillery so amusing, and often so affecting, it would be injustice to repeat them to our readers, who might not yet have become acquainted with the genius and character of him, from whom they proceeded, nor have entered into the feelings of the little community, with whom they were current, and for whom only they were intended.

If it be asked, why reveal to the public what was intended only for the social or domestic circle? we should say, that candor suggests a ready answer. The justification, or vindication, of Tone's character and honor, was not to be a denial of any fact, nor the particular inculpation of any individual. On his trial he disclaimed all subterfuge, all compromise. He would have stated with manly composure the grounds on which he acted, and the reasons why he took up arms. He was not allowed to exhibit his side of the question. He was denied a hearing on the only point to which he cared to speak. He made but one request, which was to die the death of a soldier, and as an enemy taken in honorable warfare. Had that been thought admissible, these memoirs perhaps had never seen the light. It was because he was refused that boon, not denied to the French emigrants standing nearly in the same situation before the military tribunals of the French republic, as he did before that court martial assembled to pass sentence upon him, that this vindication of his character has been after so long delay, produced. He was sentenced to a mode of death, which to himself abstractedly, might have been indifferent, but which affected him through those whom he loved much more than his own life. It was calculated to wring the heart of his aged and sorrowing parent, to give a triumph to a malignant faction, and to wound his honor as a soldier, for he held the commission of a *chef de brigade*, and of adjutant general in the French army, and had served as such. If, then, the object was to confound him with common malefactors and felons by the manner of his death, and to fix the stigma of shame and infamy on him and his posterity, how natural, how honorable, and how sacred is the task, by which his son has undertaken to lay before the world his acts, his opinions, his words, his writings, his secret thoughts and very inward breathings of his soul. And this may well account for and excuse whatever may seem redundant in these volumes; for the son and relict of this extraordinary man well knew, that more was required of them, than their own silent sorrow, or smothered and unavailing recollections.

It was not enough, that they adored his memory. It was not enough, that he had died lamented, and that in the dark and dismal night of terror, that enveloped all connected with him, some few and faithful friends had stolen secretly with trembling steps to scatter a few tear bedewed flowers on his

grave; or that, in later times and under better auspices, his name had been sounded with bolder acclamation. It was not enough, that his fate had been pitied, and his private worth acknowledged. It was not enough, that he should have a place in story, with brave outlaws, or convicts half redeemed from the shame of their crimes by their courage, amiable qualities, or high endowments. It was not enough for those who gloried in his name to seek excuses for him, as for one of a good heart but unsound judgment, an honest enthusiast, who does wrong intending right. Those with whom his vindication lay were too candid and too enlightened not to know, that revolt and rebellion against organized power and settled government may be and often have been the work of guilty and remorseless ambition, and this even where the governments sought to be overturned were themselves corrupt. They were willing that his merit should be graduated upon that scale, which descends to Cataline and mounts to Cato; and for their patriot hero they claim the highest point; and they proudly, and we cannot say vaingloriously, place him by the side of that last and best of the free Romans, who, when his country's cause was lost, and her last hope gone, fell upon his own sword, and closed his eyes in willing death, before the hand of the executioner could dishonor his person, or he be led forth to swell the triumph of his fratricidal foe. The stake they go for is an important one. The world must be their judge. They have laid the very soul of their beloved martyr bare to view. His failings and frailties, of which he was himself the sternest censor, are all set forth. Truth, sacred truth, is the foundation on which they place his monumental image, faithful to the life, uncurtailed in any one of its proportions.

It was with this view, no doubt, that so many of the lighter fragments have been inserted, and that so many of his graver writings have been retained, to serve as cumulative evidence, how profoundly he had examined the subject of his country's unhappy condition, and probed the wounds under which she suffered and groaned. And though there may be many repetitions in these various tracts, yet the historical knowledge they contain, and the moral and political lessons they impress, render them well worth preserving. Others, who have written long histories of Ireland, have, like the historians of other countries, indulged in speculations, and dwelt more upon fabulous antiquities, than the purposes of true and useful history would

warrant. Swift and Molineux were the authors, who treated the cause of Ireland with a view to her condition then, her rights and her wrongs. But when Swift wrote, the great mass of the population were broken and brayed, and while he dissected the religious dissensions between high church and low church, and the political factions of Whig and of Tory, he thought no more of the majority of the people, and the most ancient possessors, than if they had been so many beasts of the field. And as the whigs and patriots in and out of parliament entertained no more enlarged or extensive views, when the American revolution first stirred their patriotic feelings, and raised their thoughts towards the equal independence of their country, its free legislation and free trade; when they formed that army of volunteers, which was first raised to defend their unprotected coasts against invasion, and afterwards to give efficacy to their remonstrances against the usurpations of an English government and legislature over that of their own then independent kingdom, as they asserted it to be; so, though their success was brilliant, and a blaze of uncommon talent shone forth within their parliament, yet a few years undid all that they had done. Religious intolerance divided the land, and, as the house that is divided against itself cannot stand, so neither could they. Instead of securing that equality and independence, which was already within their grasp, they lost all, because they were too interested, too proud, or too bigoted, to share the privileges they challenged for themselves with the mass of their countrymen.

It was at this interesting epoch that Tone, who had already given early proofs of his talents, was led to consider the cause of such a failure, and deeply examine the true state and condition of his country. We shall here use the words of the editor in his preface.

'In opening these pages, it should be remembered that the situation and political organization of Ireland at that period were perfectly different from what they had been before and have fallen to since. She possessed at that precise moment a separate government and a national legislature nominally independent. My father never considered himself as an Englishman, nor a subject of Great Britain, but as a native and subject of the kingdom of Ireland, most zealously and passionately devoted to the rights, liberties, and glory of his country. At the epoch of the American war (1782), the unguarded state of that island, the efforts of the patriots in its legislature, and the simultaneous and formidable

rising of the volunteers, whilst England was exhausted by that fruitless contest, had wrung from the British government the reluctant acknowledgment of its independence. The period was bright and glorious. With the first dawn of liberty, Ireland took a new spring, and began to flourish by her natural resources, the spirit of the people reviving with her commerce, industry, and manufactures. But this dawn was soon overcast by the corruption of her government, and the bigoted intolerance of the ruling Protestant ascendancy. My object is not to write a history, nor to anticipate what my father has urged with such force and eloquence in the following memoirs; but had the Irish legislators, who recovered their independent rights, had the liberality to emancipate their Catholic brethren, and allowed them to participate in the benefits of free and equal citizenship, and had the volunteers admitted them into their ranks, England never would have recovered the power she had lost; and it would be a curious, but at this day a vain speculation, to calculate what those two independent but allied kingdoms might have risen to, each cultivating its own separate means, under one sovereign and with one interest.' Vol. i. p. 5, 6.

Speaking of the Roman Catholics of that day, whom the wakening spirit of liberty had roused from their long slumber, he says;

'Their first steps were weak and timid, but their progress was inconceivably rapid. Those of the present day, in reading these memoirs, and other works of the same time, will scarcely believe that their fathers could ever have been degraded to such a state; and with what trembling, doubts, and hesitation, they first opened their eyes to the dawn of freedom, and directed their first tottering steps in its career. My father was the first Protestant, who engaged in their cause to its full extent, and experienced in the beginning the greatest difficulty to rouse them, if not to a sense of their wrongs, at least to the spirit of expressing them.'

Vol. i. p. 6.

After animadverting upon the narrow policy, which, instead of encouraging the industry and the mental and physical resources of Ireland, from a petty jealousy of competition crushed them by every possible means, he adds;

'The only conclusion which I wish to draw from these premises is, that England, by dissolving the Irish government, has fully confirmed the charges adduced against it, and my father's opinion of it; and till the abuses which it supported, and which survived its fall are corrected, till that monopoly is removed by which all the rights of citizenship and sovereignty are usurped by a favored

minority, whilst the remainder of the population groans in slavery, Ireland, either under a separate and national administration, or as a province of Great Britain, will ever remain in an unnatural state of anarchy and misery, unable to cultivate her resources, either for her own benefit, or even for that of her masters.'

Vol. 1. p. 8.

It appears that although Tone became soon convinced that the oppressive rule and impolitic jealousy of England were the primary sources of all the misery and degradation of Ireland, and its own corrupt domestic administration but the secondary cause, yet he did not aim at separation till he was equally convinced, that all other hopes were vain. He was the confidential agent of the Catholic body, and attended their delegation, when, passing over the limits of their prisonhouse, they carried their petition to the monarch, and obtained concessions that promised a fair measure of contentment, and a more propitious era, had not the evil genius of Ireland given a malignant turn to her affairs, and a baleful triumph to the enemies of her peace and happiness. The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the measure of coercion, insult, and cruelty, which followed and ended in rebellion, are well known as historical events, and will long be lamented by every friend to that country, and by the true friends of England. The progress of that rebellion, and the mighty consequences which it threatened to the British empire, will be found in these memoirs; and since the events are now past and over, they furnish deep matter of reflection to the wise and philanthropic statesman.

The first article in the work is a fragment of the life of Theobald Wolfe Tone written by himself, but never completed, giving an account of his early adventures and of his family circumstances. In this sketch, he exposes very freely the follies of his youth, his early passion for military parades, and the genius of his whole family for roaming abroad and visiting foreign countries. The uncertain and somewhat unfortunate circumstances of his father's house, added to this disposition, deprived him, as he says, of the advantages of cool and settled study, and yet such was the quickness of his natural parts, that he bore off almost every prize for which he was a competitor in Trinity College, where he was educated, obtained a scholarship, and would in all probability have gained a fellowship, had he remained a proper time. But the love of that person, with whom he united his destiny, then young and beautiful,

gave a new direction to his fate and fortunes. They made what is called a runaway match, but unlike many of those thoughtless and imprudent marriages, which begin in giddy passion and often end in apathy or disunion, these two congenial spirits grew together, and he that would see the picture of true and constant love, has but to read their story. Their little means sufficed for all their wants, and in their domestic circle, composed of this fond couple, his sister, his brothers, and his friend Russell, whom he loved still as a brother, wit, affection, and the delights of intellectual intercourse graced their frugal meals, and though fortune frowned, they never ceased to smile.

It being determined that he should try his fortune at the bar, he passed the usual time of probation in London, keeping his commons at one of the inns of court, and with no other help than such as those preposterous institutions afford to the bewildered student, where he receives neither tuition nor advice. He soon became disgusted with that life of inanity, so ill suited to his lively genius, and employed himself at times in writing essays for a magazine. But he and his brother and his friend Phipps, as he relates, formed once a bolder project, and drew up and presented a memorial to Mr Pitt, containing a proposal for the establishment of a colony in one of Cook's newly discovered islands, on a military plan, to put a bridle on Spain in time of peace, and annoy her in that quarter in time of war. This was at first favorably received by the ministers, but soon after, a convention being agreed upon between England and Spain, he was informed that existing circumstances had rendered it unnecessary at that time to put it in execution, but that it would be kept in remembrance. At length, in the year 1789, he was called to the Irish bar; but he declares with his usual *naïveté*, that though he went circuit three times, and dressed himself in a foolish wig and gown, yet he was '*modestly speaking*, one of the most ignorant barristers in the Four Courts.' It appears, however, that notwithstanding this self imputed ignorance, he nearly cleared his expenses on his first circuit, which is more than many do after a much longer period.

Here begins his political career. A pamphlet in defence of the Whig Club, then newly established, and vehemently attacked, brought an invitation from that body, the chief of which was Mr George Ponsonby. He was now dazzled with

the prospect of a seat in Parliament, and was employed on an election petition with a fee of a hundred guineas, as a mark of incipient favor; but though he considered the principles of the Whigs good so far as they went, his own views had become more expanded. He did not like the idea of attaching himself as a dependant to any great man. Upon this subject he thus expresses himself.

'I soon found reason not to regret that the whigs had not thought me an object worthy of their cultivation. I made speedily what seemed to me a great discovery, though I might have found it in Swift and Molyneux, that the influence of England was the radical vice in our government, and consequently that Ireland never would be free, prosperous, or happy, until she was independent, and that independence was unattainable, whilst the connexion with England existed. In forming this theory which has ever since unwaveringly directed my political conduct, to which I have sacrificed everything, and am ready to sacrifice my life if necessary, I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Lawrence Parsons, whom I look upon to be one of the *very few* honest men in the Irish House of Commons. It was he who first turned my attention to this great question, but I very soon ran ahead of my master. It is in fact to him that I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland. What his conduct might be in a crisis I know not, but I can answer for the truth and justice of his theory. I now began to look on the little politics of the Whig Club with great contempt, and their peddling about petty grievances instead of going to the root of the evil; and I rejoiced that, if I was poor, as I actually was, I had preserved my independence, and could speak my sentiments without being responsible to any but the law.' Vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

In recording the names of the members of a club which he had instituted about this time, consisting of the best wits of the day, he thus speaks of the well known martyr in the cause of his country's liberty and rights.

'I have strangely omitted the name of a man,' says he, 'whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, and would I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. In classing the men I most esteem, I would place him beside Russell at the head of the list;

because with regard to them both, the most ardent feelings of my heart coincide exactly with the most severe decision of my judgment.' Vol. i. p. 40.

The passage, which follows this, contains his remarks on the effects of the French revolution upon England and Ireland respectively, and of the great controversy between Burke and Paine. These remarks show the acute and original turn of his mind, and how vigorously he could seize upon the reality in every controverted question. After stating the reasons of Burke's triumph in England over Paine, and the revolutionary principles, he continues;

'But matters were very different in Ireland, an oppressed, plundered, and insulted nation. As we well knew, experimentally, what it was to be enslaved, we sympathized more sincerely with the French people, and watched their progress to freedom with the utmost anxiety. As the revolution advanced, and as events expanded themselves, the public spirit of Ireland rose with a rapid acceleration. The fears and animosities of the aristocracy rose in the same or a still higher proportion; till in a little time the French revolution became the test of every man's political creed, and the nation was fairly divided into two great parties, the aristocrats and democrats (epithets borrowed from France), who have ever since been measuring each other's strength, and carrying on a kind of smothered war, which the course of events, it is highly probable, may soon call into energy and action.'

Vol. i. p. 43.

We next come to the author's account of the origin and principles of the United Irishmen, and the formation of the first club in Belfast, of which he wrote the declaration, but in which he says he soon sunk into obscurity, for the establishment of a republic at that time had not entered into his speculations. He sought only the independence of his country. Antipathy to England had now become almost an instinct in him; he considered the power of that country as in constant hostility to the happiness and welfare of Ireland. Some new advances were at this time made to him by the Whig party, which he did not reciprocate, and he intimates a belief that Mr Ponsonby had not forgiven him for his independent conduct towards him and those who acted with him.

We are obliged to pass over many interesting particulars, which abound in every page of this fragment, and hasten to the concluding part of the biography by his son. From this it appears, that his father wrote in Paris the abstract here men-

tioned, some time after the latest events recounted in it, and from memory. It brings down the history of his life to the middle of July, 1792. The sequel would have been supplied by the diaries, which he regularly kept from the time that he felt himself involved in important public concerns, had not these diaries, comprehending a most eventful period of his life, been lost through the fault or neglect of a friend, with whom they were deposited for safe keeping. It is to fill out this deficiency, from the scanty materials which remained, that his son resumed his pen, and few men were more competent to do justice to such a task, than Captain William Theobald Wolfe Tone. At an early age, his talent for historical composition had acquired him distinguished notice from the National Institute of France. His literary attainments, unassuming merit, fidelity, and courage, have rendered him a favorite, as well with his preceptors in academical learning, as with his military chiefs. On the fall of his great master, Napoleon, he honorably resigned his commission, and repaired to this country, where, we believe, his merit has not been overlooked by those of our statesmen, most capable of appreciating it.

After having been the Secretary, and an able and efficient agent of the Catholic body, accompanied the delegation which carried their petition to the foot of the throne, and refused, from a high spirit of independence, very advantageous offers from the great leaders of the Whigs, Tone became implicated with Jackson, who was sent from France to sound the sentiments of the Irish people. But he was at length obliged to leave his native country, and come to the United States. He had determined to settle near Princeton, in New Jersey, and was in treaty for a farm, when he was invited by his friends in Ireland to repair to France, and solicit succors from the government for the liberation of their country. His early political creed was not revolutionary, although he always considered the influence of England, and her support of the monoply and of the abuses of the Irish administration and protestant ascendancy party, as the bane of Irish prosperity, and thought that independence was to be sought by every practicable means. He clearly saw that the great impediment to this object was the disunion of religious parties, and the exclusion of the great body of the people from every civil and religious right. He was convinced that no relief could be effectual or worth pursuing, which was not founded on entire equality and justice.

The Whig principles he approved, so far as they were accordant with this sentiment; but he soon made up his mind, that the narrow views of the Irish Whigs, who, with a great show of patriotism, and display of talents and eloquence, still hung upon petty grievances, and hacknied opposition, aiming rather at a change of men and their own advancement, than at the restoration of the people to their rights, were rather hurtful than advantageous to the real cause of his country. He had sounded the bottom of the question on every side. He had negotiated between the catholics and the protestant dissenters, and between them both and the great leaders of the opposition of the day, Grattan, Lord Moira, the Ponsonbys, and others; but, above all, he had formed the first clubs of the United Irishmen, upon the principle of political freedom and religious toleration. His writings, in which the reader will find most of what has been repeated in so many celebrated speeches of the orators in Parliament, and writers of celebrity since his day, had marked him as one of those whom it was necessary for corruption either to ruin or to gain. When he left his country, he carried with him the confidence of the protestant dissenters of the north of Ireland, and the liberal part of those of the established church, who were then not a few, some of whom were distinguished for their character and talents, and whose spirit revolted at the measures of insult and oppression. From the catholics he received a vote of thanks for services, which no gratitude could overrate, nor remuneration ever pay.

Before we accompany Mr Tone through his adventures in France, we shall give, in his own words, a picture of the misery to which the poor Irish emigrants, flying from the terror and vengeance which drove them from their native shores, were still exposed.

'About the 20th of July, some time after we had cleared the banks of Newfoundland, we were stopped by three British frigates, the Thetis, Captain Lord Cochrane, the Hussar, Captain Rose, and the Fsperance, Captain Wood, who boarded us, and after treating us with the greatest insolence, both officers and sailors, they pressed every one of our hands, save one, and near fifty of my unfortunate fellow passengers, who were most of them flying to America to avoid the tyranny of a bad government at home, and who thus most unexpectedly fell under the severest tyranny, one of them at least, which exists. As I was in a jacket and trowsers, one of the lieutenants ordered me into the boat as a fit

man to serve the king, and it was only the screams of my wife and sister which induced him to desist. It would have been a pretty termination to my adventures if I had been pressed and sent on board a man of war. The insolence of these tyrants, as well to myself as to my poor fellow passengers, in whose fate a fellowship in misfortune had interested me, I have not since forgotten, and I never will. At length, after detaining us two days, during which they rummaged us at least twenty times, they suffered us to proceed. Vol. i. p. 130.

On the 1st of January, 1796, he sailed from New York, with letters from the French Minister, Adet, recommending him strongly to his government, and on the first of February he arrived at Havre de Grace.

It may be well imagined what impressions would be made upon the lively and inquiring mind of Tone, by the scenes presented on the first view of a country, whose history, manners, and actual condition, could not but be subjects of eager curiosity. The period at which he arrived, was one pregnant with events; it was that between the horrors of the revolution and the elevation of a single chief to such power, as none had ever before attained in Europe; where a succession of weak, tottering, and corrupted governments had paved the way for that arbitrary, but brilliant conqueror, reformer, and legislator, whose powerful genius has left traces of light behind, and whose fall may serve as a beacon, warning against fatal and self deluding ambition.

From his first arrival in France, our hero lost no occasion of promoting his object. He husbanded his little means, the better to preserve his independence, and he avoided with equal address the artifices of spies, and the no less dangerous society of indiscreet friends. Though often disgusted with the ignorant and preposterous opinions which he had to encounter, his warm enthusiasm never betrayed him into word or deed, that could alienate a friend or create an enemy to his country. It was not by the arts of flattery, however, that he prevailed, but by manly reason and persuasion. Profoundly acquainted with his own country, he was always ready to present such a state of facts, and such enlarged views, as to inspire respect and confidence, till his opinions became the opinions of those, in whose hands was the disposal of power.

His first visit in Paris was to the American Minister, Mr Monroe, who received him very kindly, and was his adviser as

far as his station would warrant. He next made his way to the Minister, De la Croix. By him he was referred to Madgett, of whose agency in the case of Jackson he had previously full knowledge. But finding this person preoccupied with his own impracticable projects, he drew up a memorial to the French government, and soon after was informed that, considering England as invulnerable till separated from Ireland, they were willing to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive, and a treaty of commerce upon principles of mutual advantage. But the succors they were able to offer were, in the view of Tone, far short of the object and the necessity of the case. That his ideas might be better understood, he determined to go to the directory and demand an audience. His first interview with Carnot, then President, and whom he styles 'the organizer of victory,' is thus described.

'*Feb.* 24.—Went at 12 o'clock in a fright, to the Luxembourg, conning speeches in execrable French all the way. What shall I say to Carnot? Well, "whatsoever the Lord putteth in my mouth, that truly shall I utter." Picked up a spirit as I drew near the palace, and mounted the stairs like a lion. Went into the first bureau that I found open, and demanded at once to see citizen Carnot. The clerks stared a little, but I repeated my demand with a courage truly heroical; on which they instantly submitted, and sent a person to conduct me.' Vol. II. p. 25.

Having thus gained access to the first magistrate of the republic, he showed much sagacity in profiting by it. In this, as in every other communication, he stipulated for perfect independence, and against all interference, in case of success, with the government, which the Irish people might think proper to establish. He insisted upon the necessity of an adequate force, that blood might be spared on every side, and valuable lives saved, of which so many had already been sacrificed; and in two memorials he exhibited the motives of policy, which should induce the greatest possible exertions, and pointed out the best means and measures to be pursued.

But of all with whom he had to treat, he found the greatest difficulty with one, to whom he was referred as best able to judge of his plans, and of the situation and circumstances of Ireland. This person was no other than the General Clarke, afterwards created duke of Feltre, and so conspicuous as minister of war under Napoleon. He was descended from one of the adherents of James the Second, who, after that monarch's

defeat, took refuge in Ireland. All his notions were of the old Jacobite school; and his mind was preoccupied with legends, and traditions, and follies of past times, still looking to the aristocracy of Ireland, as that through which a revolution was to be effected. It required all Tone's command of countenance and temper to reason with him, and make him comprehend the altered spirit and new combinations, that had arisen, particularly since the American and French revolutions. He reminded him, moreover, that in the wars between William and James, the French king, Lewis the Fourteenth, might have separated the two kingdoms; but that partly through his own bad policy, and partly through the interested views of his minister Louvois, he contented himself with feeding the war, little by little, till the opportunity was lost, which France ever since has had reason to regret. To which General Clarke added, that more recently, when the volunteers were in force, and a rupture seemed probable, a proposal to succor Ireland was overruled in the French councils by the interest of the Count de Vergennes, who for that service, he said, had received a considerable bribe from England; and that he, Clarke, had been informed of this by a principal agent in paying the money.

Carnot and Hoche were the two persons, whom Tone most admired and respected. For the latter, under whom he served, and whose entire confidence he possessed, he formed a devoted attachment. That brave general added to his rank of *chef de brigade* that of adjutant general, and made him one of his family during the time he was at Rennes, the head quarters of the army destined for the invasion. There he was near losing that excellent friend, by the attempt of two assassins on his life.

From the low state of the French finances, the disaffection of the marine, and other difficulties, it was not till the month of October, 1796, that General Tone received orders to accompany his chief to Brest. The accounts of the arrest and dangerous situation of many of his political friends in Ireland, made him impatient of every delay, that crossed his hopes of arriving in time for their deliverance. The general entered into his feelings, and strongly urged forward the admiral (Villaret Joyeuse), who still hung back, and was at length cashiered. He was succeeded by Morard de Galles, but with little advantage, as to him was imputed the ultimate defeat of the expedition.

After many obstacles, a force was finally collected of fortythree sail, with 15,000 troops, the flower of the French army, a force in the opinion of General Tone, which many circumstances go to confirm, more than sufficient to effect their purpose. This was a critical period in the history of the British empire. On the 17th of December, 1796, this fleet put to sea; but from the first hour till the last of its ill omened proceedings, the elements conspired with treason, or something as ruinous, to protect England from the consequences of an administration, which boasted of strong measures against its own exasperated subjects, and was utterly powerless and defenceless against the foreign enemy. For more than a fortnight this fleet kept the seas. During a part of that time, the greater portion of it was in the very bay of Bantry, the destined place of landing, but the admiral, with the commander in chief detained on board, never joined; and Grouchy, the second in command, could not be persuaded, till it was too late, to disembark the troops. The long continued storms and violent gales drove the ships from their anchors, and rendered all communication by boats impracticable. The signal being at length given to steer for France, they again entered the waters of Brest, without having seen an enemy.

Those who take pleasure in military histories, will find in the diary of General Tone, during this expedition, a full and particular relation of every occurrence as it arose. In the midst of the disasters that hung upon this enterprise, under circumstances of such agitation, tantalized by the sight of his native land, for which he had done and suffered so much, often within hail, and close by the destined spot of disembarkation, stung with indignation at the misconduct of the admiral, and grief for the absence of Hoche, who was the life of all his hopes, on the rack for the fate of his family and friends, still present to his thoughts, amidst the tempests and the rocking of the stormy waves, we find him firm and self possessed, observing all that passed, and noting it down, with his own comments and reflections, composing new manifestos in place of those remaining with the absent commander, forming plans, making estimates of the still disposable means and force, assisting at councils of war, and swaying, by his discreet and unassuming persuasion, the judgments of his seniors and superiors.

The absence of the blockading squadron, under Admiral Gardner, from before Brest, during the whole time of this

expedition, may perhaps be accounted for by a stratagem of General Hoche. Having learned that his printer was to be bribed for a copy of his anticipated proclamation, he had one addressed to the Portuguese, translated with great show of mystery and secrecy by a priest, who understood their language.

For a month after his return to France, Tone remained in a state of depression, and discontinued his journal, having nothing to say and little inclination to write; but he was soon roused from this stupor by two events, the best calculated to revive his sensibilities, and call forth his energies. The one was a letter from his wife, announcing her arrival with her children at Hamburg, and the other an assurance from General Hoche, that the affair of Ireland was only suspended, and would soon be resumed with new spirit and determination. Having received his arrears of pay, and leave of absence, he proceeded through Holland to join his family and conduct them into France. He met them at Groningen.

The next attempt for the liberation of Ireland was from a quarter not before thought of or suspected. General Hoche had persuaded the government of the Batavian republic to undertake an expedition, and with great generosity, although he had looked to this object as the ground of future fame, he conceded to the Dutch general, Daendels, and to Admiral De Winter, the honor of conducting it. Whatever England had to dread, or Ireland to hope, from the expedition of Bantry bay, this seemed still more formidable, and the circumstances more auspicious to the undertaking. The Irish administration had persisted in what were called strong measures, which are stated to have equalled the worst horrors of the revolution in France; and we fear that we cannot altogether refuse to credit the assertion, that tortures were mercilessly used to extort confessions and denunciations, or to execute punishment or revenge. To believe this without strong evidence would be wrong, but we must doubt too many respectable authorities before we can question these appalling facts. Among the rest we must doubt the veracity of the statements, laid by the Earl of Moira before the English and Irish house of lords, in which these excesses were not denied but justified. They were indemnified by bills of indemnity, as acts of vigor beyond the law. These measures had it seems greatly added to the strength of the revolutionary party, and driven into its ranks

men of high character and great talents. It may justly give us some confidence in any leaning we may have to the side of the rebels, as they were then called, that, fortune having brought many of them to our shores, who, whilst their friends and country lay prostrate, were branded with opprobrious names, and held up to the world as very miscreants, they have since become our fellow citizens and resided amongst us for a quarter of a century, presenting examples of purity, honor, and loyalty, in every action of their lives. If, at a time when their hands and tongues were tied, whilst they lay in dungeons, and every organ of communication was denied, and none dared to vindicate them, advantage was taken of their situation, it is but a fair and honorable duty now to let their true story be told and promulgated far and wide. This is no more than the demand of truth and justice.

It was stated about this time, by a committee of the Irish house of Commons, that there were in the north of Ireland, 100,000 United Irishmen, all of whom were then declared felons by the law, and liable to be hanged and shot. They had eight pieces of cannon, at the least, concealed, one mortar, and a great quantity of other arms. The mutiny in the English fleet had reached the army, and was with time and difficulty appeased by increase of pay to both seamen and soldiers. The public funds were at the lowest state of depression ever known. Hoche pressed the directory; and the minister of the marine in France was now entirely favorable. The Dutch executive council, the generals and admiral, warmly adopted the design, as a means of reviving the drooping honors of their name by an act of high eclat. Stipulations were renewed for the independence of Ireland. The line of battle was appointed, nearly fourteen thousand troops were on board, in high spirits and condition, and the anchors were already weighed. But the fortune of England again prevailed. The wind, which had before been fair, suddenly changed to the southwest, where it continued without intermission for about two months, till the opportunity was lost. The mutiny at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and the Nore was quelled. Admiral Duncan's fleet was augmented by a large reinforcement, and now much exceeded that which was to transport the army to Ireland. The provisions shipped for the use of this army were nearly exhausted. At length the great enterprise was abandoned; minor projects were talked of, and afterwards, in the month of October, the

Dutch fleet was ordered to sea, for what reason, or upon what principle, still remains doubtful. The brave De Winter, after one of the most desperate and hard fought actions of modern times, was defeated by the more fortunate Duncan.

Tone's ensuing journals are written in a spirit of great despondency. The news of the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the death or danger impending over others of his friends, and the terrible sufferings of his country, weighed heavily upon his heart, till his hopes were for a time revived by the formation of a new army, to which he was attached, professedly for the invasion of England, to be commanded by General Bonaparte, then just returned from a victorious campaign in Italy. But in his first conference with that extraordinary personage, he discovered that his design was not to benefit his country. That ambitious chief, the editor and son of Tone observes, had already formed his plan for the conquest of Egypt, and used the name of Ireland and of the 'Army of England' to conceal it.

'He disliked the causes both of Ireland and Poland, as too much connected with the spirit of republicanism and revolution, which he did not wish to encourage; yet the one would have proved the weak point of England and the other of Russia, and he might have kept both powers in check by a frank support of those two oppressed and unfortunate countries. His final downfall, effected by the efforts of England and Russia, seems a kind of retributive justice, and it is remarkable that an Irish minister and an Irish general effected his final overthrow.'

A few months before embarking in the last fatal expedition, there are passages in our hero's journals of a melancholy and prophetic cast.

'The conduct of the English government,' he observes, 'though atrociously wicked, is by no means deficient in system and arrangement. They have begun by seizing almost all the chiefs of the people, and now they draw the sword to anticipate the possibility of resistance, or render them incapable of profiting by it.' 'What miserable slaves are the gentry of Ireland! The only accusation against the United Irishmen is, that they wish to break the connexion with England; in other words, to establish the independence of their country; an object in which surely the men of property are most interested. Yet the very sound of independence seems to have terrified them out of all sense, spirit, or honesty. If they had one drop of Irish blood in their veins, one grain of true courage or genuine patriotism in their hearts, they should have been the first to support this great object. The peo-

ple would have supported them; the English government would never have dared to attempt the measures they have since triumphantly pursued, and continue to pursue; our revolution would have been accomplished without a shock, or, perhaps, one drop of blood spilled.' 'If the United Irishmen succeed, there is no rational man can doubt but that a very short period will suffice to do away the evils inseparable from such a contest; and that in seven years or less, after the independence of Ireland is established, when she can apply all her energy to cultivate her natural resources, her trade, agriculture, and manufactures will be sufficient to indemnify her for the sacrifices with which she will be obliged to purchase her liberty. The example of America is an evidence of this truth.' 'The best that can be said in palliation of the conduct of the English party is, that they are content to sacrifice the liberty of their country to the pleasure of revenge, and their own personal security. They see Ireland only in their rent rolls, their places, their patronage, and their pensions.' 'At least the United Irishmen have a sublime object in view. Their enemies have not yet ventured, in the long catalogue of their accusations, to insert the charge of interested motives. They may be feared and abhorred, but they can never be despised.'

Vol. II. pp. 481—484.

Towards the end of May, Tone was ordered to join General Bethencourt, at Havre, which place the English were bombarding, and he served a month there. His journal closes with bitter reflections upon the sad condition of his country, which had been purposely goaded into open resistance, without any means of supporting the war against the power of the oppressor, except the arms that indignation and despair supplied. Remorseless massacres and bloody executions were sweeping away the lives of the brave, who ventured into the field, and still more of those who remained through terror passive and inactive. Such were the views, such the principles of Theobald Wolfe Tone. That he was honest and sincere, never can be doubted; that he was highly gifted, can be as little questioned; and no true patriot or lover of liberty can contemplate his story with indifference.

The last and most tragical period of his existence is now, after nearly thirty years, given as a sequel to his own autobiography by his son; his materials, as he says, being derived from the public papers, his mother's correspondence, and a few private letters. He draws an imposing picture of the history and character of the times. Refugees from Ireland, of various

descriptions, with their blood boiling with indignation at the scenes they had witnessed and passed through, vehemently entreated for succors, and pressed upon the government of France to make some exertion in favor of those who yet stood out, before the occasion should be lost forever. General Tone was recalled to Paris, to consult with the ministers of the war and navy departments, upon the organization of a new expedition; but those recently arrived, impatient of delay, begged to be only relanded on their own shores with a supply of arms and ammunition to make a last effort for their bleeding country. A brave but thoughtless soldier of fortune, Humbert, fired by their story with a romantic ardor, broke through the rules of command, and with one thousand men, one thousand guineas, and one thousand spare muskets, effected a landing, and succeeded in surprising and defeating the English general, Lake, who had been a signal instrument of the vengeance of the government, and the author of a terrible proclamation some time before. It is said and believed by the younger Tone, from the evidence he has examined, that had this gallant adventurer followed up his success with the same spirit with which he had begun, and advanced rapidly into the country, where there was a denser population and more system, he might have afforded a sufficient rallying point for a rising of the people. But the government, it seems, was more indebted to a right reverend bishop (the bishop of Killalla) than to General Lake for his defeat. This prelate found means to entertain and amuse him, till the viceroy himself (Lord Cornwallis), after putting all the forces in the kingdom in motion, marched against this little band with slow and cautious steps. When encircled by the whole army, they laid down their arms, and the miserable peasants of this wild and desolate quarter, who had joined the standard without order, system, or discipline, and with so little knowledge of fire arms, that they threw them away as incumbrances, were slaughtered without mercy. Two of those who had accompanied Humbert from France, General Tone's brother Matthew, and Bartholomew Teeling, son of a distinguished member of the Catholic committee, were taken to Dublin in irons, and there executed.

On the news of the first victory of Humbert, the small division of General Hardy was sent off with one ship of the line and eight frigates. They encountered adverse winds, and after twenty days' cruise fell in with the fleet of Sir John

Borlase Warren. Whilst the French admiral prepared to do honor to his flag, by a brave though hopeless defence, the French officers supplicated Tone to go on board a frigate, the Biche, that had the best chance of escape, and which in fact did escape. His answer was, 'Shall it be said that I fled while the French were fighting the battles of my country?' He was on board the Hoche 74, which, surrounded by four sail of the line and a frigate, sustained, during six hours, the fire of the whole fleet, and did not strike till her scuppers ran with blood, and she floated a dismasted and dismantled wreck upon the waters. Tone commanded a battery, and is reported to have fought like one who courted death. He was landed with the other prisoners, and was with other officers seated at breakfast at the table of Lord Cavan, when he was discovered by an ancient fellow student, Sir George Hill, and hurried from this extremity of the kingdom to the capital, in a most painful situation, fettered and on horseback, and exposed to indignities, which he bore with that loftiness of nature which never forsook him. His noble carriage at his trial, his courageous avowal of his acts and principles, and the affecting tragedy of his death, we leave for the reader, who, if his heart be not steeled, will sigh over the moving tale as we have done. Some future poet may take it for his theme of song; some orator borrow from it inspired thoughts and animated strains; but poetry or eloquence can add but little to the thrilling interest that it possesses.

The reader of the life of Tone will doubtless wish to learn the fate and fortunes of his family. The account given of them by his son is very affecting. He states that his mother, though in a delicate and precarious state of health, a stranger in the land, scarcely speaking the language, and without friend or adviser, having lived in the greatest privacy, rallied a courage and spirit worthy of the name she bore. She first addressed herself to the minister of foreign affairs, who could speak her language, and had known her husband. He entered into her feelings with kind solicitude, and gave her an introduction and strong recommendation to the directory. The Dutch ambassador, M. Schimmelpennick, also assured her that her husband should be claimed by the Batavian republic, in whose service he held the same rank as in the French. She wrote to her friend the brave Admiral De Winter, and to General Kilmaine, the commander in chief of the army in which he served, who also addressed a warm and affectionate letter to the directory.

They determined that hostages should be seized. With all the credentials and means she could desire, she was about to embark in hope of reaching his prison before the fatal stroke. At this moment the news arrived, that she was a widow, and her children fatherless. Her misfortunes excited universal interest. Distinguished and powerful persons, as Talleyrand, Admiral Bruix, and General Kilmaine, proposed to adopt her sons. She was grateful, but preferred trusting to the nation to bestow on them a manly education, rather than have them brought up favorites and dependants in great men's families. This met their approbation and confirmed their esteem. Her lofty spirit could not brook dependence, nor stoop to complaint; and she was reckless of every honor, but the cherished memory of him that was no more, and of every employment but the education of his children. She locked up in her own breast her silent anguish, and gathered under her wing her little brood, to shield them as she could from the farther ills of fate, and taste thenceforth of no delight but that of educating them, and teaching them to be worthy of their father's name. Amongst many tokens of respect paid to his memory, and to her desert, will be found in the Appendix a discourse of unrivalled eloquence, pronounced by Lucien Bonaparte, then president of the council of five hundred.

The editor subjoins, as part of the history of the family after the decease of his father, a true account, from the pen of his mother, of a certain interview with Napoleon. Misrepresentations of this interview had been made in print, and repeated in the Monthly Magazine, accompanied indeed by very liberal and delicate comments. Although the article appears to have been written with no unkind view toward her, and the author was not sparing in compliments, it brought her before the public, in a light, which was to her peculiarly distressing, as having figured in the genteelest circles, when her life had been one of privacy and seclusion, estranged from every scene of gaiety, devoted to one only object, the care and education of her children. It is not therefore surprising, that this should have drawn from her a few strong expressions of her wounded feelings; '*for grief*,' to use her own words, '*is proud, and makes its owner stout.*' But however admirable such qualities may be, we prefer those specimens of female eloquence, when the soul, softened by the tender influences of nature, breathes forth the gentler accents of piety and love, and above all a mother's

love. In this narrative of simple truth, extorted from a widowed mother, are not wanting attractive and moving descriptions of this kind.

These volumes are closed with a memoir, containing a brief narrative of Captain Tone's services in the light cavalry and staff, until he emigrated from France to the United States, after the battle of Waterloo. It describes in a vivid manner the enthusiasm, buoyant dispositions, hardships, sufferings, and mode of living of that army, so long the terror of Europe. The battle of Leipsic, and the horrors which overspread the field and hung upon the French in their retreat, are the more impressive from the simplicity of the narration. This young officer, after much hardship and many wounds during three campaigns, resigned his commission upon the fall of his great chief, and renounced the prospects of advancement that were still open to him. He brought with him many and high testimonials of his merit, and is now employed in the service of this country, and settled with his mother near the seat of government. He married the daughter of Mr William Sampson, who was the early friend of his father, and many years ago, in his memoirs, published in this country, celebrated his virtues, and paid an affectionate tribute of respect and esteem to her, who had shared his fortunes when living, and by her faithful performance of every duty during a long widowhood, sustained the honor of his name and family.

ART. IV.—*Commentaries on American Law.* By JAMES KENT. Volume I. New York. O. Halsted. 1826. 8vo. pp. 508.

IN the accustomed security of a well regulated community we meet with but few occurrences to remind us of the influence of the laws that are blended in all our transactions, safely conducting us in the crossings and windings of our diverse pursuits, and being ever present to our persons and rights with a vigilant guard and sure protection. Law, in its broadest acceptation, cannot be better described than in the well known passage of Hooker, where he says, 'Of law no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is in the bosom of God; her voice, the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and

earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power.' The kindly guardianship of the municipal laws, and the obedience and reverence due to them, are nowhere more persuasively and beautifully illustrated than in Plato's account of the last scenes of the life of Socrates; where that philosopher, being urged by Crito to avail himself of the means provided for his escape into Thessaly from the execution of the unjust sentence of death passed against him by the Athenians, refuses to fly unless Crito can show it to be consistent with his obligations to the laws, which he introduces as reasoning with him on the proposed escape, reminding him of all the benefits they had conferred upon him, and expostulating with him on the ingratitude of disobeying and bringing reproach upon them, by escaping from even the unjust sentence of death passed against him. Plato finds much to admire and venerate even in laws liable to be capriciously altered and tyrannically administered by an Athenian mob. The old poets and historians are full of eulogies of lawgivers, as among the greatest benefactors of mankind, and similar praise is due to those who reform the laws or their administration, or make them better known, by rendering a knowledge of them more accessible and easy of attainment. Of all sciences or works of human genius, none is more admirable to contemplate, or instructive to study, than a skilfully contrived, well administered system of laws, conferring upon rulers all the necessary powers, and only those, with the requisite counterpoises, checks, and limitations; confining each to his own sphere; distinctly explaining to the citizens their rights and duties in their multiplied and almost numberless relations among themselves and to the government; offering large encouragement to arts, industry, intellectual efforts, and public spirit; and arraying all the moral and physical power of the community on the side of the general welfare, and in defence of the rights and possessions of each individual member. The searching, all pervading power, and sleepless vigilance of the law, bring to light deeds done in secret and darkness, and reclaim and punish offenders for offences committed in the remotest parts of the sea.

But all laws are not good, and good laws are not always well administered. Though the great moral principles more or less aimed at in every body of laws, are themselves unrepealable and unalterable, and remain ever fixed and shining in

the centre of the system, their brightness is too often obscured and eclipsed by the opaque bodies of legislators, and judges, and ministers of the law, interposed. Doctrines are promulgated, armies are raised, and fleets equipped, sometimes to vindicate, but sometimes to violate, the broad, everlasting principles, on which all laws and administrations of law profess to be founded. Legislators, forgetful of the general welfare, declare for law the dictates of a sinister private interest, or a vindictive party spirit. It sometimes happens that what they put forth as oracles of wisdom, bear too much resemblance to riddles, published, like those of the Sphinx, for the destruction of such as get entangled in their interpretation. Though the promotion of the general good, and the protection of private rights, are most commonly the real objects of legislation, yet instances are not wanting in which grave legislative assemblies solemnly decree public calamities, and private wrongs and injustice.

Besides the disorders infecting, in a greater or less degree, every body of laws, evils no less numerous or grievous are incident to their administration. The counsellor to whom you apply, may himself need the advice he professes to give, and conduct you to the proverbial end of the journey of the blind led by the blind; or if not ignorant, he may be dishonest, and make your distress his own opportunity. It will be little consolation to you that your judge is not corrupt, if, like a certain visiter at St Paul's cathedral, he is mazed amid the grandeur, and lost in the windings, cross avenues, and blind passages of the temple of justice in which he is a minister, until he comes to be like so many of the inhabitants of Nineveh, who did not know their right hand from their left. Or if he does not hear without being able to judge, he may judge without waiting to hear, be precipitate, opinionative, ready to decide from prejudice or favor, and instead of searching for grounds to form an opinion, may only search for arguments to defend one already formed. The judges may be appointed from party considerations, or popular or other influence foreign to their qualifications; and so the court, being little skilled in the laws, or the rights of parties, and not capable to decide according to the strength of the case, must be decided by the influence and skill of the parties and advocates, and instead of ruling the strife, be itself the prize for which the parties contend, as a weak prince, in a divided kingdom, gives the victory to the party that makes him prisoner.

If we add to all this, the mistakes and perjury of witnesses, the corruption, inattention, and ignorance of jurors, we shall not be surprised to find that the best laws are sometimes warped and perverted in their practical application, and that, under their best administration, the suitors sometimes prove the difference between a decision by lot and by law, to consist mainly in the expense.

The instances of imperfections and abuses that hover about legislation and legal administration, and strew their train with the ruins of the public prosperity and private property and rights, are too often present to our minds, and serve too much to degrade the law in our estimation; for if we revert to the great mass of rights protected under even an imperfect system of laws indifferently administered, though we may not carry our veneration to the length of voluntarily surrendering life in compliance with an unjust sentence pronounced by a capricious tribunal, still we shall find much to admire in the silent and salutary operation of the laws. At least we cannot but perceive that our possessions, and whatever is admirable and useful in a community, can subsist and last only through the vital energies of the laws; and it therefore behoves us to know something of them; and we owe our thanks for the labors that bring this knowledge more within our reach. Of this description is the work under consideration, professing to embody in a small compass the elements of the law of nations, and of the municipal laws of the United States.

Every part of the volume bears striking traces of the author's learning, and accuracy, and shows a masterly freedom in handling the subject; the first part, however, on the law of nations, is treated with greater elegance and neatness, and, from the nature of the subject, is the most easy and interesting in perusal. In comparison with any similar treatise, it has very considerable novelty, as it embodies, with the doctrines of former works on international law, an abstract of the numerous very learned and able opinions delivered within the last thirty years in the courts of the United States and Great Britain; in mentioning which a just tribute is rendered to the reputation of the present judge of the British High Court of Admiralty.

'The great value of a series of judicial decisions, in prize cases, and on other questions depending on the law of nations, is, that they liquidate, and render certain and stable, the loose general principles of that law, and show their application, and how they

are understood in the country where the tribunals are sitting. They are, therefore, deservedly received with very great respect, and as presumptive, though not conclusive evidence of the law in the given case. This was the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, so late as 1815, and the decisions of the English High Court of Admiralty, especially since the year 1798, have been consulted and uniformly respected by that court, as enlightened commentaries on the law of nations, and affording a vast variety of instructive precedents for the application of the principles of that law. They have also this to recommend them; that they are preeminently distinguished for sagacity, wisdom, and learning, as well as for the chaste and classical beauties of their composition.' pp. 67, 68.

'The most popular, and the most elegant writer on the law of nations, is Vattel, whose method has been greatly admired. He has been cited, for the last half century, more freely than any one of the public jurists; but he is very deficient in philosophical precision. His topics are loosely, and often tediously and diffusively discussed, and he is not sufficiently supported by the authority of precedents, which constitute the foundation of the positive law of nations. There is no one work which combines, in just proportions, and with entire satisfaction, an accurate and comprehensive view of the necessary and of the instituted law of nations, and in which principles are sufficiently supported by argument, authority, and examples. Since the age of Grotius, the code of war has been vastly enlarged and improved, and its rights better defined, and its severities greatly mitigated. The rights of maritime capture, the principles of the law of prize, and the duties and privileges of neutrals, have grown into very important titles in the system of national law. We now appeal to more accurate, more authentic, more precise, and more commanding evidence of the rules of public law, by a reference to the decisions of those tribunals, to whom, in every country, the administration of that branch of jurisprudence is specially intrusted. We likewise appeal to the official documents and ordinances of particular states, which have professed to reduce into a systematic code for the direction of their own tribunals, and for the information of foreign powers, the law of nations, on those points which relate particularly to the rights of commerce, and the duties of neutrality.' p. 18.

While we recollect the injuries done to our neutral commerce by the European belligerents from 1802 down to our declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, with all the complaints, animosities, and collisions, which led to that declaration, it is gratifying to find that as far as the same questions, relating to neutral rights, have come before the judicial tribunals of the two countries, the decisions generally coincide, and

are cited together page after page, in this treatise, in support of the same doctrines; a coincidence, which cannot but strengthen the confidence of each nation in the judicial tribunals of the other, while it affords a pleasing illustration of the uniformity and certainty of the practical operation of the law of nations. Chancellor Kent mentions but a single instance of diversity of decision in the two countries upon a point of any importance. This was in the case of a shipment of neutral goods on board of an armed belligerent cruiser, whereby, in the opinion of Lord Stowell, the neutral character of the goods was forfeited. (The Fanny, 1 Dodson, 443.) The Supreme Court of the United States, on the other hand, held this not to be a forfeiture of neutral character, even though the vessel should make resistance, provided the neutral shipper did not contribute to the expenses of the armament, otherwise than by paying freight. (The Nereide, 9 Cranch, 388.) The reason given by Lord Stowell in support of his opinion is, that the neutral 'showed an intention to resist visitation and search.' But cases might occur in which goods would be shipped on board of an armed belligerent vessel for want of any other. Besides, it might be said with as much reason, perhaps, that a neutral ships on board of an unarmed belligerent with the intention of escaping from search, and yet if he should so ship, with this specific purpose, no court would hold this to be a forfeiture of neutral character.

An act of Congress, of 1790, declares every offence committed at sea to be piracy, which if committed on land would be punished with death. By the act of May, 1820, 'If any citizen of the United States, being of the crew of a foreign vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person, being one of the crew of a vessel owned or fitted out in the United States, who shall land on any foreign shore and seize any negro or mulatto, with intent to make him a slave, or shall decoy or forcibly bring him on board with like intent, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and suffer death.' These acts enlarge the description of piracy, but they can operate, as indeed the last is intended to do, only on citizens of the United States; for no nation can alter the law of nations except so far as its own consent and practice may concur with those of other nations, and go to make a general usage. Piracy being an offence against the law of nations, its description and punishment must be regulated by that law, and the giving this

name to any other crime in a statute, is only a misapplication of the word.

A large portion of this volume is occupied with the constitutional laws and jurisprudence of the United States, in which the author has given a concise, clear, and well arranged compendium of all the questions of this sort, made subjects of judicial discussion and decision since the adoption of the constitution. He commences with a sketch of the articles of confederation, to the defects of which and the embarrassments of the government in administering the affairs of the nation under such an imperfect organization, we are indebted for a better constitution than the states would otherwise have consented to adopt. A short history is then given of the adoption of the constitution, the most striking features of which are portrayed in a masterly manner, illustrated with abstracts of all the important judicial constructions of that instrument. On the subject of the choice of the president, the author says;

'The mode of his appointment presented one of the most difficult and momentous questions that could have occupied the deliberations of the assembly which framed the constitution; and if ever the tranquillity of this nation is to be disturbed, and its peace jeopardized, by a struggle for power among themselves, it will be upon this very subject of the choice of a president. This is the question that is eventually to test the goodness, and try the strength of the constitution; and if we shall be able, for half a century hereafter, to continue to elect the chief magistrate of the union with discretion, moderation, and integrity, we shall undoubtedly stamp the highest value on our national character, and recommend our republican institutions, if not to the imitation, yet certainly to the esteem and admiration of the more enlightened part of mankind.' pp. 255, 256.

The election of the chief magistrate has agitated, and will doubtless again agitate our political system, and if it shall, at some time, be coupled with sectional questions, in which the conflicting passions and interests of the different parts of the country shall be deeply engaged, it may be the immediate occasion of the disruption of the Union. But it must be a stronger motive, and a more homefelt interest, than merely the bestowing the office upon the favorite candidate of either party. It must be the breaking out of long fomented passions, and accumulated injuries, jealousies, and irritations. Attachment to the confederation, and a feeling that the strength, security, and prosperity of the states, depend upon maintaining the

integrity of the union, are daily growing deeper and stronger in all parts of the country, and becoming a fixed sentiment, that is to be admitted and acted upon at all times. And though we are apt to overrate the improvements in knowledge, virtue, or skill, from generation to generation, yet it can hardly be doubted that men do better understand the science of government, and are better instructed in its administration, than they have been heretofore; and as far as any such improvement has been made, it will be powerfully auxiliary to our institutions.

A great difficulty in our own, as well as all other free governments, is to apportion the powers and jurisdictions so that they may duly counterpoise and mutually check each other, without confusion or collision. As the legislation and judicial administration of the United States, always border upon those of the several states, and are often blended with them by a concurrence of application to the same subjects and parties, it is a delicate and difficult office to disentangle the one from the other, and define their respective boundaries. Some questions on this subject have, for a time, disturbed the harmony of our government, and even threatened its stability. But fortunately most of these questions are brought in the first place before the judicial tribunals, and thus being far removed from all rash and violent proceedings, are made the subjects of elaborate investigation and solemn decision. Accordingly, as long as the Supreme Court of the United States shall continue to be an august tribunal of judges, holding their offices by a permanent and independent tenure, and the courts of the more powerful states shall be of a similar character, the jarrings between the general and state jurisdictions, both in legislation and jurisprudence, are likely to terminate as they have hitherto terminated, in marking more definitely their respective limitations, and in proving, as well as adding to, the strength of our political institutions. Under all governments, the civil power acts directly upon the subjects, in most instances, through the judicial tribunals, and all the laws become tinged with the character of those tribunals; but in the United States, and in many of the states, the political organization is such, that the judiciary imparts much of its spirit and character to the legislative and executive branches of the government. These tribunals are the central links which bind together our whole political system, and being once broken, the whole system must fall to ruin.

We will follow Chancellor Kent in his recapitulation of the principal cases of concurrent and contested jurisdiction and powers under the general and state governments, as far as they have been made the subjects of judicial discussion and decision. Under the provision of the constitution as it was originally adopted, giving the Supreme Court jurisdiction of suits against a state by citizens of other states or foreigners, a number of suits were early commenced, and among them one against the state of Georgia, in which, however, that state, though it employed counsel, refused to have any appearance made in behalf of the state, whereby the jurisdiction of the court might be acknowledged. On a motion of plaintiff's attorney for a writ of inquiry of damages, the judges went very elaborately into the consideration of the question of the jurisdiction of the court, four of them being of opinion that the court had jurisdiction; from which opinion Mr Justice Iredell dissented.

'But the states were not willing to submit to be arraigned as defendants before the federal courts, at the instance of private persons, be the cause of action what it may. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Chisholm *versus* The State of Georgia, decided in 1793, in which it was adjudged, that a state was sueable by citizens of another state, gave much dissatisfaction, and the legislature of Georgia carried their opposition to an open defiance of the judicial authority. The inexpediency of the power appeared so great that Congress, in 1794, proposed to the states an amendment to that part of the constitution, and it was subsequently amended in this particular under the provision in the fifth article. It was declared by the amendment, that the judicial power of the United States should not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.'

p. 278.

Upon a case coming up from a Virginia court, a question arose as to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States.

'In the case of Fairfax *versus* Hunter, a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States, was awarded to the Court of Appeals of Virginia, upon a judgment in that court against the right claimed under a construction of the treaties made with Great Britain in 1783 and 1794, and the judgment of the Court of Appeals was reversed, and the cause remanded, and the Court of

Appeals below were required to cause the original judgment which had been reversed in that court, to be carried into due execution. The Court of Appeals, when the cause came back to them, resolved that the appellate power of the Supreme Court of the United States did not extend to that court, and that so much of the act of Congress as extended the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to that court, was not warranted by the constitution; and that the proceedings in the Supreme Court were *coram non judice* in relation to that court, and they, consequently, declined obedience to its mandate. A writ of error was awarded upon this refusal, and the cause came up again before the Supreme Court of the United States.' pp. 296, 297.

'The Supreme Court, by a train of reasoning which appears to be unanswerable and conclusive, came to the decision, that the appellate power of the United States did extend to cases pending in the state courts, and that the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, authorizing the exercise of this jurisdiction in the specified cases by a writ of error, was supported by the letter and spirit of the constitution. The judgment of the Court of Appeals in Virginia, rendered on the mandate in the cause, and denying the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, was consequently reversed, and the judgment of the District Court in Virginia, which the Court of Appeals in Virginia had reversed, was affirmed.'

p. 300.

The case of the United States *versus* Judge Peters, 5 Cranch, 115, occurred in 1809, on a cause of action occurring as early as 1778, respecting the proceeds of a captured ship and cargo, claimed by the state of Pennsylvania, but awarded to other claimants by the committee of appeals in the Congress under the old confederation; and the proceeds of the prize had in the mean time remained in the hands of stake holders. In 1803, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act requiring the governor to direct the attorney general of the state to apply to the stake holders, and 'require them forthwith to pay the monies by them received, into the treasury of that commonwealth, and in default thereof, to direct the said attorney general to bring a suit in the name of the commonwealth, in the proper court of the commonwealth, against the said E. S. and E. W. [the stake holders] for the monies aforesaid;' 'to proceed as speedily,' &c. 'and that the governor be authorized and required, and he is hereby authorized and required, to protect the just rights of the state, in respect to the premises, by any further means and measures that he may deem neces-

sary for the purpose, and to protect the persons and properties of E. S. and E. W. from any process whatever, issued out of any federal court in consequence of their obedience to the requisition aforesaid directed to be made to them by the attorney general.' The stake holders accordingly paid the monies into the treasury of the state, on receiving a bond of indemnity; but the Supreme Court of the United States ordered the district judge of the United States in Pennsylvania, to issue execution in favor of the other claimants against the stake holders.

In the case of McKim *versus* Voorhies, 7 Cranch, 279, it appears that a Kentucky court, under a law of that state, of 1807, issued an injunction to stop the proceedings in a case in the Circuit Court of the United States for that district, and the clerk of that court, having notice of the injunction, hesitated to issue an execution upon a judgment rendered in that court. The question coming before the Supreme Court of the United States, it was ruled that the Circuit Court should order its clerk to issue the execution.

A question somewhat similar has arisen on the operation of the Kentucky *stop laws*, as they are called; a species of law whereby the legislature enacts that private contracts shall not be binding, and that another contract shall be substituted for the one made by the parties. They are also called 'relief laws,' from the circumstance of their relieving men from their legal obligations. They are a species of political nostrum that aggravate the disorder intended to be remedied; which have however been resorted to in many instances under the colonial governments, and since the revolution, in those cases which cannot be relieved by any treatment, and are better left entirely to the constitutional energies of the patient. By one of these laws passed in Kentucky, it was provided, among other things, that a judgment debtor might tender a certain description of Kentucky bank paper, in satisfaction of the execution. In Weymouth *versus* Southard, 10 Wheaton, 1, the question came before the Supreme Court of the United States, whether this state law was applicable to an execution issued upon a judgment recovered in a court of the United States in the district of Kentucky.

'It was decided, that Congress had exclusive authority to regulate proceedings and executions in the federal courts, and that the states had no authority to control such process; and, therefore, executions by *fieri facias* in the federal courts, were not

subject to the checks created by the new Kentucky statute. It was, in that case, further observed, that the forms of execution, and other process in the federal courts, in suits at common law, except modes of proceeding, were to be the same as used in September, 1789, in the supreme courts of the states, subject only to alterations and additions by Congress, and by the federal courts, but not to alterations since made in the state laws and practice.' p. 370.

This decision, and some others of the Supreme Court, have given great dissatisfaction to some of the people of Kentucky, and provoked much virulent declamation against the court itself. During the late session of Congress, some member intimated that a judicial tyranny was secretly creeping in upon us; and, if we rightly remember the tenor of his discourse, we are to suppose that the venerable Chief Justice Marshall is little other than a Dionysius the Second, who uses the court as a whispering gallery, for discovering subjects upon whom to exercise his tyranny and cruelty. But notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, we verily believe that the citizens, excepting those few who are afraid justice may be done them, feel their persons and rights almost as safe in the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States, as in those of some of the states. But to proceed with our subject.

In McCulloch *versus* The State of Maryland, 4 Wheaton, 316, it appears that a law of that state required all banking institutions in the state to use a particular species of paper for their bank notes, and also imposed a tax upon banks within the state. Mr McCulloch, the cashier of the branch bank of the United States in Baltimore, had issued notes of that bank on paper different from that prescribed in the Maryland act. A suit was accordingly instituted against him in a Maryland court, to recover the penalty supposed to be incurred under the state act; and the case being carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, opened for discussion the whole question of the power of a state to tax the bank of the United States, or otherwise obstruct its operations. It was decided that the state could not in this case recover either the tax or the penalty, under the state act.

In Osborn *versus* The Bank of the United States,9 Wheaton, 316, a similar question occurred, respecting a tax on a branch of the same bank, in the state of Ohio. The officer of the state, under a warrant of the state treasurer, and in pursuance

of the particular directions of the state law, seized upon specie and bank notes, in the vaults of the bank, to a large amount, to satisfy the tax, and paid the same into the state treasury. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in this, as in the former case, held the state law, as far as it was intended to apply to the bank of the United States, to be unconstitutional and void, and consequently to afford no protection to those who acted under it, who were therefore held to be answerable to the bank of the United States for the money or other property taken.

An interesting question occurred in Cohens *versus* Virginia, 6 Wheaton, 264, relative to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States in a case to which a state is a party. Some tickets of a lottery granted by Congress in the district of Columbia, had been sold by Cohens in Virginia, where a law was in force prohibiting the sale of tickets of any lottery not granted by that state. Cohens was indicted and convicted, and judgment was given against him in the Virginia courts, for the penalty under the state law. The case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States by writ of error. Here, then, was a case in which a state was a party, and the amendment of the constitution had withdrawn from the Supreme Court of the United States jurisdiction of suits against a state; and yet if a state could thus exclude the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, it might, by enacting statutes with penalties, utterly exclude the jurisdiction of the national courts, and stop the administration of the laws of the United States. The Supreme Court, however, decided that a case arising under the constitution, treaties, or laws of the United States, came within their jurisdiction, whoever might be the parties. Chancellor Kent says, 'The constitutional authority of the appellate jurisdiction was vindicated with great strength of argument and clearness of illustration,' and it was the opinion of the court that the law granting the lottery, being a law of the United States, could not be obstructed by the laws of any state.

In Diggs and Keith *versus* Wolcott, 4 Cranch, 179, it was held generally, without any reasons being assigned for the opinion, that the courts of the United States have no authority to enjoin parties not to proceed in a state court. Chancellor Kent says, 'This decision is not to be doubted;' and cites the case of Kennedy *versus* The Earl of Cassilis, 2 Swanston,

330, in which Lord Eldon had granted an injunction in the English Court of Chancery to restrain a party from proceeding in the Court of Sessions in Scotland, where the parties were domiciled. It was admitted that the Court of Sessions was a court of competent jurisdiction, and was an independent foreign tribunal, subject, however, like the Court of Chancery, in England, to an appeal to the House of Lords. It was urged, that if chancery could in this way restrain proceedings in the sessions, the sessions might equally enjoin proceedings in chancery, and thus all proceedings in either court would be stopped. Lord Eldon said, 'he never meant to go further with the injunction than the property in England, and, on motion, he dissolved it *in toto*.' Without entering into the argument, it seems to us however, that the cases are not precisely parallel. The English Court of Chancery has no appellate jurisdiction over the Scotch Court of Sessions, whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has appellate jurisdiction over the state courts in certain cases. An injunction from the House of Lords would have been more similar. Nor does the general question appear to us to be so plain, that the decision in Diggs *versus* Wolcott, the grounds of which are not stated, ought to be of great weight.

A class of important cases has arisen under the provision of the constitution that no state shall pass any laws impairing the obligation of contracts.

'The case of Fletcher *versus* Peck, 6 Cranch, 87, first brought this prohibitory clause into discussion. The legislature of Georgia, by an act of 1795, authorized the sale of a large tract of land, and a grant was made by letters patent in pursuance of that act, to a number of individuals under the name of the Georgia Company. The legislature, by an act of 1796, declared the preceding act to be void, as being founded in corruption.' pp. 387, 388.

The Supreme Court of the United States were of opinion, however, that

'When a law was in its nature a contract, and absolute rights have vested under that contract, a repeal of the law would not devest those rights, nor impair the title so acquired.' p. 388.

Under the same clause decisions have been made relating to the state bankrupt laws, and finally,

'In the great case of Dartmouth College *versus* Woodward, the inhibition upon the states to impair the obligation of contracts received the most elaborate discussion and the most instructive

application.' 'The argument of the Supreme Court in this celebrated case, contains one of the most elaborate discussions of the constitutional sanctity of contracts to be met with in any of the reports. The decision in that case did more than any other single act, proceeding from the authority of the United States, to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious, and commercial institutions of our country.' p. 389, 392.

The subject of the monopoly of steamboat navigation in the state of New York, granted by the legislature of that state to Livingston and Fulton, is treated somewhat at length by Chancellor Kent, and the final decision of that question by the Supreme Court of the United States, does not meet his entire acquiescence. As far, however, as the case turned upon the constitution, or the constitutional right of Congress 'to regulate commerce among the states,' he says there was a perfect coincidence of opinion in the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of New York. It is admitted that Congress was authorized by the constitution to pass an act protecting a coasting vessel passing, as was the steamboat in the case in question, from one state, to any part of another, from interruption or restraint from the laws or authorities of the state to which, or through any part of which, she might be passing. Though Chancellor Kent thinks some expressions used by the judges of the Supreme Court in their opinions, are a little broader than the principles assumed by them will bear out, yet as far as the case then under consideration went, there was, in his view, no constitutional question in dispute between the Supreme Court and the legislature and courts of New York. The Supreme Court of the United States were of opinion that the act of Congress respecting the coasting trade, whereby Congress made provision for granting 'a license to carry on the coasting trade,' did in fact authorize vessels properly qualified and licensed to carry on that trade without interruption from the state laws and regulations, except the health laws, inspection laws, &c. or, in other words, without being liable to be required by any state to take out a new license. But the Chancellor seems to consider the coasting act to be merely prohibitory, providing that no other than vessels licensed under that act could carry on the coasting trade; but until some new act of Congress should be passed, it must de-

pend on the regulations of the state laws, whether a vessel so licensed should be authorized to carry on the coasting trade. According to this construction, the states might, by a course of what Mr Webster calls 'belligerent legislation,' grant monopolies of navigation, whether by steam, sails, or oars, in each state, to particular persons, and thus each state absolutely prohibiting coasting navigation in its waters to all vessels except those owned by the monopolists, all coasting trade would have been at an end between and among the states, or from one state to another, until Congress should have passed some act controlling and superseding these laws of the states; a doctrine which would certainly be very inconvenient in practice.

Chancellor Kent says, 'The only great point on which the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of New York have differed, is in the construction and effect given to a coasting license.' p. 411. And yet he says, 'It has always appeared to me, that some of the doctrines and expositions of the court would carry the powers of the general government, by construction, to a greater extent over the residuary claims and assumed rights of the states, than any decision which had hitherto been made.' p. 409. In short, though he speaks very respectfully of the Supreme Court of the United States, the author does not fully acquiesce in their decision, but labors to vindicate the opinions which he himself, and the other judges in New York had given on the same questions. This is very natural; and every man in the community has a right to suggest doubts of the correctness of any decision of any court in the country, and to offer arguments in opposition to them, and few men in the United States can give greater weight of authority to their opinions and arguments. But we should have been more gratified had we met this vindication in some other place than an elementary treatise professedly intended as a book of instruction. And notwithstanding all the arguments to the contrary, we cannot but think that the whole tenor and implication of the provisions in the act of Congress respecting the coasting trade, suppose and take for granted that the vessels licensed under that act shall have the privilege of carrying on the coasting trade among the several states; for the very provision that no other vessels shall carry on the coasting trade, is equivalent to a provision that these vessels shall have that privilege.

These are the principal cases in which the legislative and judicial administration of the government of the United States have come in collision, or been entangled with those of the states. Some of these questions are of vital importance, and if the constitution had not authorized these decisions of the Supreme Court, the government of the country must have been brought to a stand, and the present constitution would have been little better than the articles of the old confederation; and the country can never be too grateful to those judges who have, with so much dignity, impartiality, and firmness, and so learnedly, ably, and laboriously, applied the principles and provisions of the constitution and laws to the many difficult and embarrassing cases that have arisen. While such shall be the administration of the laws, we may continue to be proud of our political institutions, but no longer; for it is quite apparent that an able and independent judiciary is the palladium of our institutions; and those persons who are assailing this part of our government, are, some of them, perhaps, intentionally, but more, no doubt, unwittingly, aiming their blows at the vital part of our civil polity.

It has been represented by some writers, that our frame of government is very simple, and one that a schoolboy may master when he is able to read the constitution of his own state and that of the United States. The questions and discussions we have been considering show, that any such notion can be entertained only by persons very superficially acquainted with the constitution and laws. We are wont to boast of our government as free, and very justly, but we refer that freedom too much to the mere circumstance of the popular election of the rulers, and we fall too readily into the notion that every other country would be as well governed as ours, were the rulers similarly elected; not considering that history is full of examples of changeable, capricious, and tyrannical laws, and atrocious abuses of power, in governments as popularly constituted as our own. One species of freedom enjoyed in this country consists in the perfect equality of all political and civil rights; no one being politically disqualified from aspiring to, and none being, in preference, politically privileged to aspire to, any honor or power in the gift of the community or the government. But, after all, whatever name you give the government, the main question, with the great mass of the community, relates to the laws or rules of conduct, whereby their

actions and rights are to be regulated. If the laws are wisely framed and well administered, with some political guaranty of their continuing to be so, the government is a good one. Laws to be good must be certain, and rights to be enjoyed and vindicated must be defined and known. In our constitution we have a sufficient guaranty that public opinion will always be consulted; so it was at Athens, and yet no man's person or rights were safe in that republic. To make this of any avail, it is necessary that this opinion should be guided by some intelligence and discretion; it must also have convenient instruments and organs by which to operate; legislatures, judicial tribunals, executive, military, and civil officers, whose powers and functions must all be justly apportioned and clearly limited and defined. No government is a good one in which all the powers and rights of the rulers and the ruled are not well assigned and well understood. In the United States, every citizen is a subject of two governments, that are, in some measure, independent of each other. To settle the boundaries of these two governments, and then to adjust all the powers, rights, and relations under each, though it may not require a scheme of government so complicated as that of the Germanic confederacy, yet certainly cannot be done by some simple plan conceived without labor, and that may be understood without study, and explained and applied without doubt or difficulty. Such a system must be in some measure complicated; and we apprehend that no good government can be very simple in its structure.

The remaining part of this volume is occupied with a general account of the sources of municipal law, namely, statutes, the common law, and the civil law. The English reports, and earlier treatises and digests being the fountains of knowledge of the common law, constitute the subject of two lectures, in which the author gives a cursory sketch of those of greatest authority and most frequent reference. The outline of these works is, as might be expected from a man who has spent so great a part of his life in perusing and consulting them, very just, and will be very useful to the student in directing his studies. Perhaps one exception ought to be made, for it seems to us the author somewhere gives too high a character of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, whom we have not been accustomed to rank among the most accurate, learned, and profound lawyers.

Respecting the authority of the courts to decide upon the constitutionality of a law, the author makes the following remarks;

'The principle in the English government, that the Parliament is omnipotent, does not prevail in the United States. In this, and all other countries where there is a written constitution, designating the powers and duties of the legislative, as well as of the other departments of the government, an act of the legislature may be void as being against the constitution. It must conform, in the first place, to the constitution of the United States, and then to the subordinate constitution of its own state, and if it infringes the provisions of either, it is so far void. The courts of justice have a right, and are in duty bound, to bring every law to the test of the constitution, and to regard the constitution, first of the United States, and then of their own state, as the paramount or supreme law, to which every inferior or derivative power and regulation must conform. The constitution is the act of the people, speaking in their original character, and defining the permanent conditions of the social alliance; and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the constitution, is absolutely null and void. The judicial department is the proper power in the government to determine whether a statute be or be not constitutional. The interpretation or construction of the constitution, is as much a judicial act, and requires the exercise of the same legal discretion, as the interpretation or construction of a law. To contend that the courts of justice must obey the requisitions of an act of the legislature, when it appears to them to have been passed in violation of the constitution, would be to contend, that the law was superior to the constitution, and that the judges had no right to look into it, and to regard it as the paramount law.' pp. 420, 421.

After recapitulating the several earlier cases on this question, Chancellor Kent says,

'The power and duty of the judiciary to disregard an unconstitutional act of Congress, or of any state legislature, were declared in an argument approaching to the precision and certainty of a mathematical demonstration.

'The question, said the chief justice, was, whether an act, repugnant to the constitution, can become a law of the land, and it was one deeply interesting to the United States. The powers of the legislature are defined and limited by a written constitution. But to what purpose is that limitation, if those limits may at any time be passed? The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished, if those limits do not

confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed, are of equal obligation. If the constitution does not control any legislative act repugnant to it, then the legislature may alter the constitution by an ordinary act. The theory of every government, with a written constitution, forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, must be, that an act of the legislature repugnant to the constitution is void. If void, it cannot bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect; for this would be to overthrow, in fact, what was established in theory, and to make that operative as law which is not law. It is the province and the duty of the judicial department, to say what the law is; and if two laws conflict with each other, to decide on the operation of each. So if the law be in opposition to the constitution, and both apply to a particular case, the court must either decide the case conformably to the law, disregarding the constitution, or conformably to the constitution, disregarding the law. If the constitution be superior to an act of the legislature, the courts must decide between these conflicting rules, and how can they close their eyes on the constitution and see only the law?' pp. 424, 425.

This doctrine has been sometimes doubted, and remarked upon with asperity, by the more superficial and less experienced legislators. But since every citizen is entitled to the protection and privileges guarantied by the constitutions of the United States and the states, he has a right to demand that the courts in applying the laws to his person, his property, or his interests, should be controlled and guided by those constitutions. And what renders the contrary doctrine absolutely impracticable is, that the Congress and the states may pass, and in fact in some instances have passed, laws inconsistent with each other, and therefore, if the courts could not look beyond the law into the constitution, but were bound to accept as constitutional and valid whatever the Congress or state legislatures might enact, this would not only deprive the citizens of the benefit and protection of the constitutions, but would also involve the judicial tribunals in the absurdity of applying and administering inconsistent and contradictory propositions.

The extracts we have made sufficiently illustrate the general style of the execution of this work, and would, of themselves, be a sufficient recommendation of its character, if any other recommendation were needed than the reputation of the author. We have noticed a few instances of defectively constructed sentences, on pages 122, 142, and 163, which would be less

worthy of notice, were not the work intended more particularly for readers of the younger class in the profession; they would, however, be blemishes in any work, for whatever description of readers intended. But, in general, it is written with great ability, and, when completed by the publication of the additional volume promised, will doubtless supply the student with the best outline of the law within his reach; and we can entertain no doubt that a book which was so much needed will be very favorably received.

ART. V.—*Indian Treaties, and Laws and Regulations relating to Indian Affairs; to which is added an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the Old Congress, and other important State Papers in relation to Indian Affairs. Compiled and published under Orders of the Department of War.* 8vo. pp. 529. 1826. Washington. Way & Gideon.

WE have placed the title of this work at the head of the present article, not only because it is a valuable compilation, judiciously executed, but because it contains many important documents, exhibiting the general policy of our government in its intercourse with the Indians. The true character of this policy has not been well understood, even in this country, and abroad it has too often furnished the motive or the pretext for grave accusation and virulent invective. This subject we now propose to examine, and in connexion with it briefly to review the conduct of the two rival nations, whose general measures in peace and war had produced the most permanent effects upon the manners, and morals, and condition of the Indians, previously to the existence of the American government. The operation of the British policy has been so much more extensive and durable than that of the French, that in the observations which we shall submit to our readers, this relative importance will be kept in view.

The peace of 1763 terminated the long contest between the French and British, for superiority upon the North American continent. During its continuance, which exceeded a century, the Iroquois were in the English interest, and the other

tribes in the French. We speak in general terms, and without adverting to the inconsiderable exceptions, occasioned by the local residence of some small tribes, and by other partial causes. The great contending parties availed themselves of the passions and wants of the Indians to harass their enemies, and employed them without scruple, wherever their services were useful; and each was more successful in arraigning the conduct of its rival, than in defending its own, for this atrocious practice, equally repugnant to their duty, as civilized and as christian nations.

We feel no disposition to look back upon the revolting scenes of these times gone by. The Indians were employed with a full knowledge of their habits and propensities; and many a traditionary story, as well as the more permanent memorials of history, has brought down to us, even through successive generations, afflicting details of these enormities. The cupidity of the savages was stimulated by pecuniary rewards, and human scalps, as proofs of death, were bought and sold in christian markets.*

As the fortunes of the French waned, and the superiority of the British became more and more manifest, the zeal and exertions of the Indians in the interest of the latter gradually relaxed, and they became spectators rather than actors, in the great drama, which was rapidly approaching its termination. The Iroquois appear to have become sensible, that in exalting one power and annihilating the other, their policy had been directed by very limited views, and that it would convert an ally into a master. Even as early as the reign of Queen Anne, their deputies, in an address to that sovereign, portrayed, with

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*'In the year 1754, the war assumed a very serious aspect, and the French government, in order to stimulate the savages to cruel and merciless depredations, provided a large premium for the scalp of every Anglo-American, which the Indians should produce. This open cruelty was not retaliated by the English government upon the French inhabitants of Canada, but a bounty was offered of £100 on the scalp of the Indians.'—*Sullivan's History of the Penobscot Indians, Vol. IX. of the Mass. Hist. Col.*

'The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as testimonies of his prowess, and receives a premium for each scalp from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.' *Wynne's History of the British Empire in America.* Vol. II. p. 57.

'In the war between France and England, and their colonies, their Indian allies were entitled to a premium for every scalp of an enemy.' *Buchanan's Sketches; Introduction,* p. 19.

great truth and feeling, the calamitous issue, which awaited them. 'We doubt not,' said they, 'but our great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French, and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men.'* Since then, so often has this strong wall been interposed between the British and their enemies, that it is now utterly demolished, and its fragments scattered to the four winds of heaven. 'In 1750, the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, and to endeavor, by means of valuable presents, and promises of more, to wean them from the French interest, into which they had been artfully allured by that intriguing people, and attach them to their former friends and allies, the British.'†

It is evident from many circumstances, that the Indians justly appreciated the motives of the christian belligerents. Pownall says, 'They repeatedly told us, that both we and the French sought to amuse them with fine tales of our several upright intentions. That both parties told them, that they made war for the protection of the Indian rights, but that our actions fully discovered, that the war was only a contest, who should become masters of the country, which was the property, neither of one, nor the other.' (Vol. I. p. 244.) And the Indians told Sir William Johnson, 'that they believed soon they should not be able to hunt a bear into a hole in a tree, but some Englishman *would claim a right to the property of it, as being his tree.*' (Ib. p. 188.) A change in the counsels of the Iroquois was the natural result of this state of feeling, and decided indications of this change are found in the vacillating conduct of their chiefs upon the Ohio, towards Washington, when engaged in his adventurous military embassy to the French posts in that quarter. This state of things became every day less and less equivocal, and in 1774, it led to open hostilities.

But at an earlier period, the unsettled state of their Indian relations must have satisfied the British government, that in succeeding to the power of the French, they had not succeeded to their influence and interest with the Indians. Pontiac's war, and the contemporaneous attack upon most of the posts on the northwestern frontier, and the capture of many of them;

* Wynne, Vol. I. p. 178. † Ib. Vol. II. p. 24.

the expeditions of Broadstreet and Bouquet in that quarter, and of Grant in the south, together with many other military expeditions of subordinate interest, mark the excited feelings, which prevailed among the Indians, from Michilimackinac to Florida. There is a peculiar elasticity in the French character, and we stop not to inquire whether it be feeling or philosophy, by which a Frenchman accommodates himself to any situation, in which he may be placed. Upon the Seine and upon the St Lawrence, if not equally pleased, he is equally pleasant; and during two centuries, in the depths of the American forests, he has associated with their rude tenants, and, as he could not elevate them to his own standard, he has descended to theirs.* A mutual and permanent attachment has been the result of this intercourse, and to this day, the period of French domination is the era of all that is happy in Indian reminiscence.

When we look back upon the long interval of Indian intercourse, which elapsed between the first settlement on the shores of the Atlantic, and the final consolidation of the British power, nothing but a dreary waste meets the eye. Not a verdant spot cheers the sight, nor a single Oasis in this worse than Libyan desert. Remote and feeble colonies had become important and flourishing provinces, and the aboriginal inhabitants had disappeared, or receded, before the mighty tide of population, which already, from the summit of the Allegany, was spreading with exterminating force over the forests and prairies of the west. We hold no fellowship with those, to whom the sound of the Indian's rifle is more attractive than that of the woodman's axe, nor are we believers in that system of legal metaphysics, which would give to a few naked and wandering savages, a perpetual title to an immense continent. But it will not at this day be disputed, that when, in the progress of improvement, the hunting grounds of the Indians give place to cultivated fields, it is our duty to render them a full equivalent. The British government is responsible for the whole course of measures, in relation to the Indians in this country, until the war of the Revolution. Their orders were executed by their

* In 1685, the Marquis de Denonville wrote to the French government; 'It has long been believed that it is necessary to mingle with the Indians in order to Frenchify them (Franciser). But this is a mistake. Those with whom we mingle do not become French, but our people become Indians.'

own officers, and during a part of this period, a superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern, and another for the southern department, were appointed by the crown.

Not a vestige remains of any permanent advantage derived by the Indians from the cessions or sacrifices they made Their actual relations with the British government may be emphatically stated in few words. *They were useful, and were used, in war to fight, and in peace to trade.* Queen Anne, indeed, presented sacramental vessels to the Mohawks, and other furniture for a chapel, and this is about the extent, as far as we have been able to discover, of the direct interference of the British government in any plan to improve the moral condition of the Indians. Pious and benevolent men were engaged then, as they are now, in this interesting task, and the names of Eliot and Brainerd have come down to us with apostolic sanctity. The Society for Propagating the Gospel attempted something; but they discovered, as they said, 'that the Indians obstinately rejected their care,' and abandoned the effort, without suspecting, that the fault was in the plan of the teacher, and not in the docility of the scholar. Generally, however, great indifference prevailed, and it is said in the Biographia Britannica, that Lord Granville reproved the converting of the Indians, 'because a knowledge of Christianity will introduce them to a knowledge of the arts, and such a consummation will make them dangerous to our plantations.' Of a similar character is the policy, stated by Hutchinson to have been pursued, that of keeping up so much contention among the Indians, as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to us as umpires necessary from time to time.*

In the few Indian treaties which have escaped from the official bureaus, a piece or two of 'strouding,' some 'duffils,' 'kettles,' 'flints,' &c. constitute the whole value paid for important cessions. These presents were too inconsiderable for general distribution, and they disappeared almost as speedily as the council which produced them. A permanent arrangement, by which an annual consideration should always be given, and a supply thus provided for never ending wants, was neither adopted nor proposed. This plan of permanent annuities, which constitutes an era in the relations existing between the white and the red man upon the continent, was introduced

* Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I. p. 252.

under the American government, and was first extensively embodied in Wayne's treaty of 1795; a treaty to which no parallel can be found in history. The Indians had waged a bloody and causeless war against our settlements for many years. They had been finally overthrown in a signal battle, and their confidence in themselves and their cause utterly destroyed. They were invited to a general council at Greenville, where the same terms were granted, which had been offered to them long before. Many important advantages were secured to them, and perpetual annuities were guarantied to each tribe.

If any restraints were imposed by the British authorities, before our revolution, upon the Indian traders, either in relation to their general conduct, or the price of their goods, such restraints have escaped our investigation. We speak advisedly when we say, that none such now exist. Nor is there any prohibition against the introduction of spirituous liquors into any part of their Indian country. We may close this branch of the subject in few words. There was no attempt to provide a permanent residence for the Indians. There were no schools, and no efforts to introduce agriculture, or the mechanic arts. There were no annuities, no regulations to direct the conduct of the traders, and no law to prevent the sale of ardent spirits. A century and a half had passed away since the first settlement of the country. The rulers who governed it, heedless of the condition and sufferings of its aboriginal inhabitants, abandoned them to that current of events, which is yet hurrying them onward to their doom. The records of history cannot furnish a more cold blooded, heartless document, than the official report of Sir Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief, dated Albany, 13 August, 1763, and communicating the result of Colonel Grant's expedition against the Cherokees. He states, that 'Colonel Grant had burnt fifteen towns, and all the plantations of the country; destroyed fourteen hundred acres of corn; and driven about five thousand men, women, and children into the woods and mountains, where, having nothing to subsist upon, they must either starve or sue for peace.'

But that great revolution had now approached, which has already produced, and is yet destined to produce, important changes in the social and political systems of the world. The American government, at the commencement of its operations,

used every effort to prevent the Indians from taking part in the contest, and the desperate struggle in which the early patriots were engaged, still left them time to devise plans for the moral and physical melioration of their unhappy neighbors. On the 30th of June, 1775, Congress resolved,

'That the committee for Indian affairs do prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians, for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and *neutrality* in our present unhappy dispute with Great Britain.'

And on the 17th of the following month it was again resolved, in the same spirit of conciliation and humanity,

'That it should be recommended to the commissioners of the northern department to employ Mr Kirkland among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship, and to continue them in a state of *neutrality*, with respect to the present controversy between Great Britain and these colonies.'

But in January and February of the next year, two resolutions were passed, which provided more full security for the protection and improvement of the Indians, than all the measures of the preceding government.

'Resolved—That all traders shall dispose of their goods, at such stated prices, as shall be fixed and ascertained by the commissioners, or a majority of such as can conveniently assemble for that purpose, in each respective department, and shall allow the Indians a reasonable price for their furs and skins, and take no unjust advantage of their distress and intemperance; and to this end, they shall respectively, upon receiving their licenses, enter into bond to the commissioners, for the use of the United Colonies, in such penalty as the acting commissioner or commissioners shall think proper, conditioned for the performance of the terms and regulations above prescribed.'

'Resolved—That a friendly commerce between the people of the United Colonies and the Indians, and the propagation of the gospel, and the cultivation of the civil arts among the latter, may produce many and inestimable advantages to both, and that the commissioners for Indian affairs be desired to consider of proper places in their respective departments, for the residence of ministers and schoolmasters, and report the same to Congress.'

When the infancy of the government, and the object and spirit of these resolutions are maturely considered, they will be found honorable to the body which adopted them. With what little effect attempts were thus made to counteract the efforts of the British authorities, and to restrain the habitual disposi-

tion of the Indians for war and plunder, was soon demonstrated by events, and impartial history has recorded.

The employment of the savages by the French and British, and of bloodhounds by the Spaniards, to destroy their enemies, are among the most atrocious acts, which Christendom has been called to witness. We shall not here tax our own recollection, nor the feelings of our readers, by any recital of the enormities we have *seen*, or of which we have heard or read. The imagination can furnish no aid towards a just conception of these scenes. There is nothing more appalling than the reality. The Indians are impelled to war by passions, which acknowledge no control, and death and desolation are the objects of their military expeditions. From infancy, they are taught to inflict cruelties upon their enemies, and to bear with stern fortitude, whatever may befall them. They are equally prepared to endure and to torture, and in either situation without the slightest symptom of human frailty or feeling. They have not only no principles of religion or morality to repress their passions, but they are urged forward in their career of blood by all around them ; by the examples of their fathers, and by the deeds of their companions. He is the most renowned warrior, whose tomahawk flies swiftest and sinks deepest.

There is a horrible institution among some of the tribes, which furnishes a powerful illustration of this never tiring love of vengeance. It is called, the Man-eating Society, and it is the duty of its associates to devour such prisoners, as are preserved and delivered to them for that purpose. The members of this society belong to a particular family, and the dreadful inheritance descends to all the children, male and female. Its duties cannot be dispensed with, and the sanctions of religion are added to the obligations of immemorial usage. The feast is considered a solemn ceremony, at which the whole tribe is collected, as actors or spectators. The miserable victim is fastened to a stake, and burned at a slow fire, with all the refinements of cruelty, which savage ingenuity can invent. There is a traditionary ritual, which regulates, with revolting precision, the whole course of procedure at these ceremonies. The institution has latterly declined, but we know those, who have seen and related to us the incidents, which occurred on these occasions, when white men were sacrificed and consumed. The chief of the family, and principal member of the society

among the Miamies, whose name was White Skin, we have seen, and with feelings of loathing excited by a narrative of his atrocities, amid the scenes where they occurred.

There are but two serious occupations, connected with the ordinary business of life, to which an Indian willingly devotes himself. These are *war* and *hunting*. Labor is performed exclusively by the women, and this distribution of duties is a marked characteristic of all barbarous nations. The passion for war is fostered and encouraged by institutions, which are admirably adapted to make the warrior brave and enterprising. Nothing in the systems of the ancient republics was better devised to stimulate the ardor of their citizens. And when assembled Greece proclaimed the victor at the Olympic games, and crowned him with the olive wreath, she furnished no more powerful motive for exertion and distinction, than is provided in the institutions of our aborigines. It is the same love of distinction, which impels the warrior to tear from the head of the writhing and reeking victim, the bloody trophy of savage victory, and at the next war dance in his distant village, to strike the post, and to recount the atrocities, which, by the aid of the Sag-a-nosh,* he has been enabled to commit upon the Tshe-mo-ke-maun.†

An Indian war dance is an important incident in the passing events of a village. The whole population is assembled, and a feast provided for all. The warriors are painted and prepared as for battle. A post is firmly planted in the ground, and the singers, the drummers, and the other instrumental musicians, are seated within the circle, formed by the dancers and the spectators. The music and the dance begin. The warriors exert themselves with great energy. Every muscle is in action, and there is the most perfect concord between the music and their movements. They brandish their weapons, and with such apparent fury that fatal accidents seem unavoidable. Presently a warrior leaves the circle, and with his tomahawk or *cassetête* strikes the post. The music and dancing cease, and profound silence ensues. He then recounts, with a loud voice, his military achievements. He describes the battles he has fought, the prisoners he has captured, the scalps he has taken. He points to his wounds, and produces

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* Englishman,
† Bigknife, American, } in the Algonquin dialect.

his trophies. He accompanies his narrative with the actual representation of his exploits, and the mimic engagement, the advance and the retreat, are exhibited to his nation as they really occurred. There is no exaggeration, and no misrepresentation. It would be infamous for a warrior to boast of deeds he never performed. If the attempt were made, some one would approach, and throw dirt in his face, saying, 'I do this to cover your shame, for the first time you see an enemy you will tremble.' But such an indignity is rarely necessary, and as the war parties generally contain many individuals, the character and conduct of every warrior are well known. Shouts of applause accompany the narration, proportioned in duration and intensity to the interest it excites. His station in the circle is then resumed by the actor, and the dance proceeds till it is interrupted in a similar manner.

In the poem of Ontwa, a scene like this is so well described, that we cannot resist the temptation to transfer it to our pages. Of all who have attempted to embody in song the 'living manners' of the Indians, the anonymous author of that poem has been most successful. His characters, and traditions, and descriptions, have the spirit and bearing of life, and the whole work is not less true to nature than to poetry.

'A hundred warriors now advance,
All dressed and painted for the dance,
And sounding club and hollow skin
A slow and measured time begin;
With rigid limb and sliding foot
And murmurs low, the time to suit,
Forever varying with the sound
The circling band moves round and round.
Now slowly rise the swelling notes,
When every crest more lively floats,
Now toss'd on high with gesture proud,
Then lowly 'mid the circle bow'd;
While clanging arms grow louder still,
And every voice becomes more shrill,
Till fierce and strong the clamor grows,
And the wild war whoop bids it close.
Then starts Shuuktonga forth, whose band
Came far from Huron's storm beat strand,
And thus recounts his battle feats,
While his dark club the measure beats.'

But this scenic representation must not be confounded with the ordinary Indian war songs, which are sung by the warriors, when leaving their villages upon a hostile excursion, and whenever, during the march, the excitement of music is necessary to stimulate the party to encounter the fatigues or dangers of the expedition. The chief warrior commences the song, and after its termination, he is greeted with the well known exclamation, *yeh*, *yeh*, from all the warriors.

A scalp is the most honorable trophy a warrior can exhibit. Authors have already remarked, that Herodotus describes this custom as existing among the Scythians, and Polybius, among the Carthaginians. It is commonly taken from the crown of the head, but Long, an English traveller in the Indian country, during our revolutionary war, tells us, that "some of the Indians in time of war, when scalps are well paid for, divide one into five or six parts, and carry them to the nearest posts, in hopes of receiving a reward proportioned to the number.' p. 23. Some strong moral or religious barrier would be necessary to restrain the Indians from the perpetration of cruelties, to which they are impelled by the powerful motives, which we have described. But no such barrier exists; and the experience of two centuries has demonstrated, that in all their battles with the whites, when resistance ceases the slaughter begins. Man in his strength, woman in her weakness, and infancy in its innocence, are alike devoted to destruction, and frequently with circumstances of atrocity, to which no parallel can be found in other ages or nations.

No terms of reprehension can be too strong for the employment of such a force. The nation, which authorizes it, should be arraigned at the tribunal of Christendom. It is a force which will not be controlled. Human power cannot stay the tide of slaughter. And '*allies*,'* as the Indians may be, it is an alliance, to which posterity will look back with grief and indignation, and which will tarnish the brightest jewel in the crown of the *Defender of the Faith.* It needs no casuistry to prove, that the government, which employs a force, of whose

* The British to the American Commissioners, Ghent, September 4, 1814. 'The British Plenipotentiaries have yet to learn, that it is contrary to the acknowledged principles of public law, to include *allies* in a negotiation for peace, or that it is contrary to the practice of all civilized nations, to propose that a provision should be made for their future security.'

direct tendency they are aware, is responsible for the conduct of that force. Mr Madison has justly said, that 'for these enormities they are equally responsible, whether with the power to prevent them, they want the will, or with the knowledge of a want of power, they still avail themselves of such instruments.'*

That the savages could not be restrained, was well known to the British authorities, and has been repeatedly avowed by their officers, and even with menaces of the consequences. Such was the avowal in Burgoyne's proclamation, and such was the menace in General Brock's demand of surrender to General Hull, wherein he says, 'You must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences.' This example was also followed by Proctor in his summons to General Harrison, at Fort Meigs; and at the catastrophe of the River Raisin, General Winchester states in his official report, that he 'was informed by the British commanding officer, that unless a speedy surrender took place, he would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages.' And that these were not empty threats, we have many heart rending proofs, and none more decisive than the British official account of the battle at the River Raisin, published at Quebec, February 8, 1813. It is there coolly stated, 'that at daybreak on the 22d January, Colonel Proctor, by a spirited and vigorous attack, completely defeated General Winchester's division, with the loss of between 400 and 500 slain; *for all, who attempted to save themselves by flight, were cut off by the Indians!*' The incidents connected with the employment of the savages, during the progress of our revolutionary war, are embodied in the history of our country. The gasconading proclamation of Burgoyne, which gave the assurance of official sanction to the measure, and in which he says, 'I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction (and they amount to thousands), to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America;' the numerous hordes, which accompanied his army, and the melancholy catastrophe, which, in the murder of Miss M'Crae, gave more horrible celebrity to their employment; the devastation of the country upon the Mohawk; the massacre of Wyoming; the numerous war par-

* Message to Congress, December 7, 1813.

ties, which were detached from time to time, to lay waste the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky; these are but some of the more prominent events in that long and bitter contest.

But it was at Detroit, that this influence was most successfully exerted. That place was then the central point of Indian negotiation and intrigues, and the savages were there collected from every part of the surrounding country, and fed and clothed at the expense of the British government. Many of the principal Canadians received commissions from the provincial authorities, constituting them officers of the savages, in order that their influence might be exerted in raising war parties, whenever circumstances rendered it expedient to attack and lay waste our exposed frontier. We annex a copy of one of these commissions, as well to authenticate the statements we have made, as to hold up to public abhorrence this nefarious practice. As it is copied verbatim, we disclaim all responsibility for the *accuracy* of the language in which it is written.*

When it was determined to detach a war party upon duty, these officers were directed to raise the necessary number of warriors; and in doing so, they depended on the effect of their personal influence, and on presents, and promises, and war dances, and all the moral and *physical excitements*, to which the Indians most readily yielded.

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* 'Par Henry Hamilton, Ecuyer, Lieutenant Gouverneur and Surintendant du Detroit & Dependences, &c. &c. &c.

'A Pièrre Guoin, Ecuyer,

'La confiance particuliere que J'ai de votre integrité & attachement a Sa Majesté Le Roy George, et en vertu du Pouvoir & Authorité qui ma eté donné par Messire Guy Carleton, Chevalier des ordres du Bain, Capitaine General et Gouverneur en Chef de la Province de Quebec & Territoires en dependans en Amerique, Vice Admiral d'icelle, &c. &c. &c. General et Commandant et Chef les armées de sa Majesté dans la ditte Province et frontiere d'icelle, &c. &c. &c. Je vous nomme et etablis Lieutenant des Sauvages pour le District du Detroit pour en faire les fonctions en la ditte qualité, vous obeirés et suivrés les ordres & instructions que vous recevrés de son Excellence le Commandant en Chef du Surintendant des Sauvages, de son Deputé ou de tous autres officiers Superieurs en menant & conduisant les partie des fidelles nations sauvages, alies à sa Majesté qui seront sous vos ordres.

'Donné au Detroit sous ma main et sceau Le 24 Juin, 1777.

Henry Hamilton.

'Par ordre du Lieut. Gouverneur,
P. Dejean.'

When the party returned, they were formally introduced to the commanding officer. The scalps were thrown down before him in the council house, and the principal warrior addressed him in terms like these, 'Father, we have done as you directed us; we have struck your enemies.' They were then paid and dismissed, and the scalps were deposited in the cellar of the council house. We have been told by more than one respectable eye witness, that when this *charnel house* was cleansed, it was a spectacle, upon which the inhabitants gazed with horror.

The Indians, however, were not always ready to undertake these distant and dangerous expeditions. In 1779, Governor Hamilton prepared a feast, and invited all the warriors to a dance. He was desirous of engaging them in an attack upon some of our settlements. The principal chief was a Kickapoo, who, declining to join in the dance, was reproached by Hamilton in the metaphorical language so common among the Indians. 'Your body is very heavy. You do not dance. You will not go against my rebellious children.' The chief replied, 'True, it is heavy. But so is yours. Take one end of this tomahawk, and I will take the other, and we will go together. But no; you will not go yourself. Is it not a shame, that you send us out like dogs, to fight the Americans, while you remain at your own fire? If I have rebellious children, I throw cold water on them.* If yours are so, do as I do. But neither my hands, nor those of my tribe, were made to be washed in the blood of the white man.' This spirited remonstrance was received with great applause by the Indians, and the expedition was abandoned.

We are indebted for the following relation to a respectable gentleman of Detroit, James May, Esq. and as it elucidates important traits in the Indian character, and discloses facts not generally known, we shall give it in his own words.

'During the American revolutionary war, when the Indian war parties approached Detroit, they always gave the war and death whoops, so that the inhabitants, who were acquainted with their customs, knew the number of scalps they had brought, and of prisoners they had taken, some time before they made their appearance. Soon after I arrived in Detroit, the great war party, which had captured Ruddle's station in Kentucky, returned

* This is the usual mode of punishing children among the Indians. More severe chastisement is seldom resorted to.

from that expedition. Hearing the usual signals of success, I walked out of the town, and soon met the party. The squaws and young Indians had ranged themselves on the side of the road, with sticks and clubs, and were whipping the prisoners with great severity. Among these were two young girls, thirteen or fourteen years old, who escaped from the party, and ran for protection to me and to a naval officer, who was with me. With much trouble and some danger, and after knocking down two of the Indians, we succeeded in rescuing the girls, and fled with them to the Council House. Here they were safe, because this was the goal, where the right of the Indians to beat them ceased.

'Next morning, I received a message by an orderly sergeant, to wait upon Colonel De Peyster, the commanding officer. I found the naval officer, who was with me the preceding day, already there. The Colonel stated, that a serious complaint had been preferred against us by M'Kee, the Indian Agent, for interfering with the Indians, and rescuing two of their prisoners. He said the Indians had a right to their own mode of warfare, and that no one should interrupt them; and after continuing this reproof for some time, he told me, if I ever took such a liberty again, he would send me to Montreal or Quebec. The naval officer was still more severely reprimanded and threatened to have his uniform stripped from his back, and to be dismissed from his Majesty's service, if such an incident again occurred! And although I stated to Colonel De Peyster, that we saved the lives of the girls at the peril of our own, he abated nothing of his threats or harshness.'

And in the biography of David Zeisberger, published in the Christian Herald of February 3d, 1821, an incident is related, which is not less shocking to the moral sense of mankind, than the reputed attempt of the Austrian tyrant to render the Swiss patriot the executioner of his son.

'About this time (1778) a large sealed letter had been handed to him by a Wyandot Indian, signed by the governor of Detroit. It contained a positive injunction, with formidable threats annexed to it, to wit, "The teachers of the christian Indians shall, without delay, go on an expedition with us against the rebels, on the other side of the Ohio, kill them, and deliver up their scalps."'

In the same memoir, and in Heckewelder's history of the Moravian Missions, will be found an account of the final destruction of this flourishing mission, and the forcible removal

of the Christian Indians and their teachers. In commenting upon these transactions, the London Christian Observer of August 31st, 1826, deems it '*incredible*' 'that our countrymen,' among whom British officers are mentioned, 'should have countenanced a scheme for the assassination of a band of peaceful Christian Missionaries, and the destruction of their unoffending converts.' And it adds, 'that the narrators of these events were Germans,' and that 'it may not unreasonably be presumed, that the narrators were under some misunderstanding respecting the secret springs of the whole affair.' What these '*secret springs*' were, the pious conductors of that excellent work can now determine.

The recognition of our independence terminated these flagitious scenes, and they were succeeded by a few years of comparative tranquillity. But the relations between the two countries were not permanently established, and discussions soon commenced, which assumed a character of severity. They were fortunately closed by Jay's treaty, at the moment when a war appeared inevitable.

But during the progress of these discussions, the usual indications of Indian hostilities, such as have preceded and accompanied all our differences with the British government, gave unerring warning of the storm, which was approaching. It burst upon our frontiers, and during the administration of General Washington, this unprovoked war embarrassed and perplexed the infant government. We have neither time nor space to review its incidents. We can only group together a few of the principal facts, which demonstrate, that the savages did not want other counsels, and influence, and aid, in the commencement and prosecution of the war. Detroit was then, as in the period of the revolution, the British Indian headquarters. The elder M'Kee was at the head of the Indian department, and he was aided by Elliott and Girty, men well qualified to serve in such a cause, where hands that stayed not, and hearts that relented not, and zeal that tired not, could furnish examples, which even savages might admire in despair.

From 1783 to 1790, not less than three thousand persons were murdered or dragged into captivity, from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The scalps and the prisoners travelled the old war path.* The British Indian de-

* Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. V. p. 339.

partment was numerous and active. A personal inspection was made by Lieutenant Governor Hunter, and a fort was commenced upon the Miami. The hopes of the Indians were elated by the celebrated war talk of Lord Dorchester. Profuse issues of clothing, provisions, and ammunition, were made to them. Several intercepted letters of British officers were published, which leave no doubt of the influence exerted upon the Indians. General Wayne in his official report states, 'that he had obtained a victory over the combined force of the hostile Indians and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit.' And this, too, in a time of profound peace between the American and British governments!

When the Indians fled from the victorious army of Wayne, they applied for admittance into the British fort at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami. Assurances, that they would find shelter there, should the fate of the day prove adverse, had been long before given. The commanding officer, however, took counsel of his prudence, rather than his promises, and closed his gates to the flying savages. This conduct has never been forgotten by the Indians, and Tecumthé in his celebrated speech to Proctor, reproached the British with this gross deception. 'At the battle of the Rapids last war,' said the indignant chief, 'the Americans certainly defeated us; and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place, the gates were shut against us.' And in the speech of Walk-in-the-water, the Wyandot chief, when the Wyandots of Brownstown were importuned to cross the Detroit river, and join the British standard, this untimely occlusion of the fort yet lingered in the memory of the Indians.

In 1812 commenced our second war with England. It was preceded in 1811 by hostilities upon the Wabash, where Tecumthé and his brother the Prophet had collected a considerable band of disaffected Indians, seceders from the established authorities of their tribes. This spirit, however, never extended far, and it was repressed by the vigorous and decisive campaign of General Harrison. Tranquillity was restored upon the borders, until Christian hands again offered the tomahawk to the Indians, and christian presents and promises induced them to accept it. In 1812, as in 1775, did the American government exert every effort to save the Indians from embarking in a hopeless contest, in which they had neither rights to assert, nor wrongs to avenge; but which was prosecuted for objects, that they understood as little as they regarded.

The *talk* of Mr Madison to the Indians in 1812, at the commencement of the war, contains sentiments so honorable to himself and his country, and so appropriately and beautifully expressed, that we shall submit to our readers a part of this interesting document. It may be considered as the manifesto of the American government, establishing the principles of its intercourse with its aboriginal neighbors in the critical circumstances, which imposed new duties upon both. And the contrast between this course, and that pursued by the British government, must awaken reflections here and elsewhere, which although tardy may yet be useful.

'The red people who live on the same great Island with the white people of the eighteen fires, are made by the great Spirit out of the same earth, from parts of it differing in color only. My regard for all my red children has made me desirous, that the bloody tomahawk should be buried between the Osages, the Cherokees, and the Choctaws. I wish also that the hands of the Shawnese and the Osage should be joined in my presence, as a pledge to cherish and observe the peace made at St Louis. This was a good peace for both. It is a chain that ought to hold them fast in friendship. Neither blood nor rust should ever be upon it.

'I am concerned at the war which has long been kept up by the Sacs and Foxes against the Osages; and that latterly a bloody war is carried on between the Osages and Ioways. I now tell my red children here present, that this is bad for both parties. They must put under my feet their evil intentions against each other; and henceforward live in peace and good will; each hunting on their lands, and working their own soil.'

'A father ought to give good advice to his children and it is the duty of his children to hearken to it. The people composing the eighteen fires, are a great people. You have travelled through their country. You see they cover the land, as the stars fill the sky, and are as thick as the trees in your forests. Notwithstanding their great power, the British king has attacked them on the great water beyond which he lives. He robbed their ships and carried away the people belonging to them. Some of them he murdered. He has an old grudge against the eighteen fires, because when he tried to make them dig and plant for his people beyond the great water, not for themselves, they sent out warriors, who beat his warriors; they drove off the bad chiefs he had sent among them, and set up good chiefs of their own. The eighteen fires did this when they had not the strength they now have. Their blows will now be much heavier, and will soon make him

do them justice. It happened when the thirteen fires, now increased to eighteen, forced the British king to treat them as an independent nation, one little fire did not join them. This he has held ever since. It is there that his agents and traders plot quarrels and wars between the eighteen fires and their brethren, and between one red tribe and another. Malden is the place where all the bad birds have their nests. There they are fed with false tales against the eighteen fires, and sent out with bloody belts in their bills, to drop among the red people, who would otherwise remain at peace. It is for the good of all the red people, as well as the people of the eighteen fires, that a stop should be put to this mischief. Their warriors can do it. They are gone and going to Canada for this purpose. They want no help from their red brethren. They are strong enough without it. The British, who are weak, are doing all they can by their bad birds, to decoy the red people into the war on their side. I warn all the red people to avoid the ruin this must bring upon them. And I say to you, my children, your father does not ask you to join his warriors. Sit still on your seats; and be witnesses that they are able to beat their enemies, and protect their red friends. This is the fatherly advice I give you.

'I have a further advice for my red children. You see how the country of the eighteen fires is filled with people. They increase like the corn they put into the ground. They all have good houses to shelter them from all weathers; good clothes suitable to all seasons; and as for food of all sorts, you see they have enough, and to spare. No man, woman, or child, of the eighteen fires ever perished of hunger. Compare all this with the condition of the red people. They are scattered here and there in handfuls. Their lodges are cold, leaky, and smoky. They have hard fare, and often not enough of it.

'Why this mighty difference? The reason, my red children, is plain. The white people breed cattle and sheep. They plough the earth, and make it give them every thing they want. They spin and weave. Their heads and their hands make all the elements and productions of nature useful to them. Above all, the people of the eighteen fires live in constant peace and friendship. No tomahawk has ever been raised by one against another. Not a drop of blood has ever touched the chain that holds them together as one family. All their belts are white belts. It is in your power to be like them. The ground that feeds one lodge by hunting, would feed a great band by the plough and the hoe. The Great Spirit has given you, like your white brethren, good heads to contrive, strong arms, and active bodies. Use them like your white brethren; not all at once, which is difficult, but by little and little, which is easy. Especially, live in peace with one

another, like your white brethren of the eighteen fires; and like them your little sparks will grow into great fires. You will be well fed; well clothed; dwell in good houses, and enjoy the happiness for which you, like them, were created. The Great Spirit is the friend of men of all colors. He made them to be friends of one another. The more they are so, the more he will be their friend. These are the words of your father to his red children. The Great Spirit, who is the father of us all, approves them. Let them pass through the ear, into the heart. Carry them home to your people. And as long as you remember this visit to your father of the eighteen fires, remember these are his last and best words to you.'

In the same spirit a council was held on the western frontier, by three distinguished gentlemen, Governors Meigs, Worthington, and Morrow, the objects and result of which were communicated by them to the public, in the following terms.

'The council with the Indian tribes on the western frontier having been concluded, the Commissioners deem it their duty to give to their fellow citizens a concise view of the proceedings and result.

'The Commissioners, according to their instructions, have endeavored to ascertain their views and dispositions. They informed them of the inevitable consequences of any act of hostility on their part, that the President stood in no need of their assistance in the war with Great Britain, and that for their own sakes, he desired them to remain quiet and pursue their usual occupations. The chiefs, in behalf of the tribes that attended, have made professions of friendship and attachment to the United States, and have, in the most positive manner, declared their intention to adhere to and observe the existing treaties, to remain neutral in the present war, and to reject the overtures of the British (which they state to have been repeated and pressing) to engage in it.'

Most unfortunately for this devoted race, these overtures sometimes assumed a shape, which few Indians can resist. In Buchanan's Sketches, to which we have already referred, the speech of Cornplanter to the Governor of Pennsylvania is quoted in these terms. 'Great Britain requested us to join with them in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians land and *liquor*.' (p. 56.) When such objects are attained by such means, a fearful responsibility is assumed, no less at the tribunal of public opinion, than of justice and morality. These means were but too successful. Many of the northern Indians joined the British standard, and as the vicissi-

tudes of war left our frontier exposed or defenceless, they did the accustomed work of death and desolation.

But no event, since the discovery of the continent, has produced greater changes in the character, feelings, and situation of the Indians, than this war. During the latter part of 1812, and the whole of 1813, the north and the west were almost depopulated. Their ordinary occupations were abandoned, and men, women, and children assembled around the British headquarters upon the Detroit river, the warriors for blood, pay, and plunder, and their families for food and clothing. It is said that twelve thousand rations were daily issued to this subsidized host.* And where are they now? Gone, the victims of war, and want, and disease. They perished by thousands, and however their 'watch-fires'† and the other incidents of savage life may furnish materials for romantic delineation, their recollection now excites a deeper sympathy for the fate of those, who gave life and animation to the scene. Their numbers pressed heavily upon the resources of the British commanding officer. Supplies were obtained with difficulty, and doled out with parsimony. Their usual habits and employments were abandoned. These were succeeded by the listlessness of a sedentary camp, without the recurrence of those duties, which give some variety to that most irksome situation. A warrior has no system of tactics to learn and no labor to perform; and when associated with civilized troops, he must abandon the chase, because the animals he pursues retire from the vicinity of large bodies of men. No resource, therefore, was left for physical exertion or mental excitement, except the war parties, which were occasionally detached upon scalping expeditions. Such was the disposition of General Harrison's force, that these were 'few and far between,' and the time of the warriors was generally passed in a state of morbid inactivity. They were collected in unusual numbers, and many of them were as unaccustomed to the climate, as to the mode of life, and the absence of employment. Under these circumstances, disease was necessarily generated, and it was exacerbated by all the symptoms of a disastrous campaign. The hopeless prospect before them was rendered still more gloomy by the presence of their families, remote from home, and depending for food

* Quarterly Review, No. 61, p. 78. † Id. p. 78.

and clothing upon their 'allies,' whose capture or retreat appeared but too probable. These causes produced their full effect. A grievous mortality prevailed among them, and when the American army made its descent upon the Canadian shore in 1813, there was no foe to oppose it. Proctor had fled with the warriors who adhered to his cause. But much of his savage force had previously disappeared, either in the recesses of the forest, where shelter was nearest, or in the grave. Horrible stories are told of the miseries they endured. We had no pleasure in hearing them, and we should now have none in relating them. Whatever, in the extremity of human suffering, man has done or endured, these wretched outcasts were doomed to do and bear. 'Father,' said the Indians to General McArthur, at the first interview, which they sought with an American officer, after the retreat of Proctor, 'Father, we are now unarmed. We are at your mercy. Do with us as you think proper. Our squaws and children are perishing. We ourselves are also perishing. If you take us by the hand, we are willing to take up the tomahawk against any power, white or red, which you may direct.' But this physical wretchedness was not the only evil entailed upon them by their participation in the war. Their spirits were broken. The series of disasters which occurred, destroyed all confidence in themselves; and when the peace of Ghent restored the American and British governments to their accustomed relations, and the Indians found that all the promises of '*land and liquor*,' which had been made to them, had ended in the loss of one half of their people, and the return of the other to their dependence upon the American government, they yielded with sullen indifference to the fate which they could not avoid.

This feeling was well expressed by Wàbeshà, the principal Sioux chief, to the British commanding officer at Drummond's Island, in 1815. Wàbeshà is venerable for his age, and has always maintained a decided influence over his people. He was treated with marked attention, and valuable presents were spread before him. 'My Father,' said he to Colonel McDowell, then commanding the post, 'what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains. That our

British Father would never make peace, without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told, it was made by our Great Father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war chiefs; that it is your duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost, both in battle and on the road? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can do so still.'*

In this general retrospect, it has been no part of our object to excite feelings which time has happily allayed. For ourselves, we were willing, that the story of these enormities should be forgotten. The losses and sufferings were our country's, and we had little reason to expect, that any attack upon its character and conduct, from the party which inflicted the injury, would render a public examination of these facts necessary. But so it is; imposing charges have gone forth to the world against us, and our relations with our aboriginal neighbors have furnished the occasion for accusations, which have been preferred in no measured terms. The subject has been frequently discussed in the British journals, and always in a tone of reproof and severity; but it was reserved for the sixtyfirst number of the London Quarterly Review, formally to arraign and censure the United States, in an article, not less reprehensible for its temper and sentiments, than false in its statements and conclusions. Its whole scope can be fully understood only by an examination; but its tone and spirit may be estimated from a few quotations.

'If the mode of warfare of the Indians was ferocious, that of the enemy with whom we had to contend [the Americans] was equally so.' p. 102.

'However it may be attempted to preserve appearances by fraudulent and compulsory purchases of land, and declarations of benevolent intentions towards their injured possessors, it has always been the boast of American policy, that "*the Indians shall be made to vanish before civilization, as the snow melts before the sunbeam.*"' [The words printed in italics, are marked in the original as a quotation, and the idea is thus conveyed, that this ferocious sentiment is an acknowledged maxim of the American

* From Joseph Rolette, Esq. of Prairie du Chien, who was present at the interview.

government. Let the place be pointed out, where this sentence is to be found, in a connexion to justify the inference obviously deducible from it, and we shall then have reason not to believe it a fabrication.] 'How far,' continues this journal, 'the practice has been assimilated to the design, may be gathered from the butchery by the Kentuckians, of Indian families in cold blood, after their surprise at Tippacanoe on the Wabash; from massacres committed by General Harrison's troops in their attacks on the Indian settlements in the autumn of 1812; from the murder, after the affair at the Moravian Town, of squaws and children, who received no more mercy, than did the wounded warriors; and from the more recent and authorized horrors of General Jackson's Seminole war.' p. 108.

'We affirm without fear of contradiction or of error, that there is not to be found, on the face of the globe, a race of men, so utterly abandoned to vice and crime—so devoid of all fear of God and regard towards man, as the outsettlers of Kentucky, Ohio, and the other back states.' p. 94.

'It would surely have been a despicable submission to the mawkish sensibility of our patriots, to have rejected the cooperation of the Indians in repelling an invading enemy, who at least equalled them in bloodthirsty qualities.' p. 102.

This article has gone forth to Christendom, and as yet uncontradicted. The whole discussion is in this temper, and specific charges are urged against us, with all due formality, evincing equal disregard of courtesy and truth. And shall our countrymen sit still, with folded arms, while the civilized world are believing, and judging, and condemning, deceived, as they well may be, by such bold assumptions, and by the imposing particulars of time, place, and circumstance, with which the statements are surrounded? And this, too, because all must be bland and courteous in literary discussions? We confess that we have no part in such frigid philosophy. Vainly shall we look back with pride, or forward with hope, or around us with congratulation, if we do not cherish a sacred regard for national character, and an unshaken determination to maintain and defend it against the detractions of malevolence, and the attacks of unprincipled illiberality.

It is certainly among the wayward inconsistencies of human nature, and excites our surprise, while we deplore its occurrence, that a literary journal, which has produced powerful effects upon public opinion, and whose general execution is honorable to the age and nation, which it has so often instruct-

ed and delighted, should systematically display, upon some important topics, a deep malignity of feeling and of purpose, equally incompatible with the discharge of the high functions it has assumed, and offensive to every reader of generous sentiments, from the St Lawrence to the Ganges. Whenever its peculiar dogmas, religious or political, are impugned, all sense of right, equity, and truth, seems to be forgotten or abandoned, or else all knowledge to be turned as by a miracle into total ignorance. This predetermined hostility has been heretofore too visible on all subjects, connected with the social and political institutions of the United States; with their past history and future prospects; their government, laws, religion, civil condition, and progress in the arts. These topics are the withering blast of the Simoom to its genius, taste, and learning. We are told that a better spirit is now gaining ground in its pages, and we are glad that some recent proofs would seem to encourage this expectation. Let it be understood that we are not here speaking of what this Journal is or will be, but of what it has been. It is only of sins already committed, that we complain.

By peculiar circumstances we have been led to a knowledge of many of the occurrences, which form the groundwork of the charges, in the article to which we have referred, and we are persuaded that a correct relation of them will redeem our country from the imputations with which it has been assailed. Our Indian relations have frequently furnished, either directly or indirectly, the pretence for these misrepresentations; and 'we think it due to the' world, which may 'have been deceived, to state the real merits of the case, and to refute, as we trust we shall be able to do, these slanders, which in our opinion have been suffered to remain too long unanswered, through the same medium, the press, in which they have been conveyed.'*

Influenced by these considerations, we have been led in the preceding part of this article to a retrospective view of the conduct of the British and American governments towards the Indians. If we are not greatly deceived, the facts, we have placed before our readers, will be deemed as discreditable to the one government, as they are honorable to the other. This general historical examination was necessary to a distinct view

* Quarterly Review, No. 57, p. 86.

of the subject, and to a more particular investigation of the accusations boldly preferred by the Quarterly. These we shall proceed to meet and confute.

The tenure, by which the primitive inhabitants of this continent held their land, is a question of metaphysical speculation, rather than one of practical right. All will agree, that they were entitled to as much as would supply them with subsistence, in the mode to which they were accustomed. And there will probably be an assent, little less general, to the proposition, that whatever was not thus wanted and employed might be appropriated by others to their own use. The new race of men, who landed upon these shores, found that their predecessors had affixed few distinctive marks of property in the forests where they roamed. There were none of those permanent improvements, which elsewhere by universal assent become the evidence and the security of individual appropriation. From Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, the various nations of Europe have formed settlements, and have gradually by force or purchase reduced the aboriginal inhabitants to a state of vassallage, or driven them into the interior. European sovereigns have divided this immense country, by their charters or their treaties, into many colonies and provinces, and have assumed a general jurisdiction over them, without the slightest regard to the primitive occupants. And the hoisting of the first flag, and the burying of the first bottle, are important incidents, which have occasioned many a perplexing discussion to grave diplomatists.

Almost all the country, now composing the Atlantic portion of the United States, was thus acquired by England. Our colonial records contain the history of many of these negotiations and purchases, but time has swept away almost every vestige of the consideration paid to the Indians. Since the establishment of their independence, the United States have adopted the system of acquiring the aboriginal title by peaceable purchase, but they have adopted it with an important change, consolatory to all, who look with sympathy upon this falling race. The plan of *permanent annuities* guaranties to the Indians a never failing resource against want, and its beneficial effects are apparent in the improved condition of the Wyandots, the Shawnese, and the Miamies. But one instance in the history of the United States can be found, where they have acquired any title to the unappropriated country by force;

and that was at the termination of the wanton and unprovoked hostilities of the Creeks, originating probably in foreign influence, but prosecuted in a spirit of atrocious cruelty, not often displayed, even in Indian warfare. Peace, without exemplary chastisement, would have been but an invitation to new aggressions.

The condition of our primitive people, is a moral phenomenon, perhaps without a parallel in the whole history of man. During two centuries, they have been in contact with a civilized people. They have seen our improvements, and felt our superiority. They have relinquished their bows, and arrows, and skins, and flint knives, and stone tomahawks, and have adopted our arms and ammunition, our cloths, and many of our instruments of iron and steel. But in their own moral qualities, if they have not receded, they certainly have not advanced. A principle of progressive improvement seems almost inherent in human nature. Communities of men, as well as individuals, are stimulated by a desire to meliorate their condition. There is nothing stationary around us. We are all striving in the career of life to acquire riches, or honor, or power, or some other object, whose possession is to realize the day dreams of our imaginations; and the aggregate of these efforts constitutes the advance of society.

But there is little of all this in the constitution of our savages. Like the bear, and deer, and buffalo of his own forests, an Indian lives as his father lived, and dies as his father died. He never attempts to imitate the arts of his civilized neighbors. His life passes away in a succession of listless indolence, and of vigorous exertion to provide for his animal wants, or to gratify his baleful passions. He never looks around him, with a spirit of emulation, to compare his situation with that of others, and to resolve on improving it. In a season of abundance, he never provides for a season of scarcity. Want never teaches him to be provident, nor misery to be industrious. This fatuity is not the result of ignorance. Efforts, however ill directed, have not been wanting to teach and reclaim him. But he is perhaps destined to disappear with the forests, which have afforded him food and clothing, and whose existence seems essential to his own.

Under such circumstances, what ignorance, or folly, or morbid jealousy of our national progress does it not argue, to expect that our civilized border would become stationary, and some of

the fairest portions of the globe be abandoned to hopeless sterility. That a few naked wandering barbarians should stay the march of cultivation and improvement, and hold in a state of perpetual unproductiveness, immense regions formed by Providence to support millions of human beings? And has England furnished us with any example of such a system of self denial, or rather of canting weakness? We will not inquire in India, for there no barbarians, strictly speaking, are found. But the Australasian continent is now a British province, acquired and settled within the memory of the present generation. And where are its aboriginal inhabitants? Let the following extract from the Sydney Gazette of December 16th, 1824, answer this question.

'The overseer, finding that they had nearly expended their arms, he and his men dismounted, tied their horses together and faced about, commencing a fire of musketry on the natives, then charged them with the bayonet, until they were completely routed and dispersed. The natives left sixteen men dead on the field, and their weapons were completely destroyed.

'After the fight, the party returned in safety to Mudgee.'

That nothing short of that whole continent, exceeding Europe in extent, will satisfy the *forbearance* of the British government, we have full evidence in the measures, which are in progress.* And what permanent advantages, either physical or moral, have the Australasians derived from their civilized

* 'King's Cove, Port Cockburn, Melville Island, Australasia, November 12, 1824.

'On our arrival at Sydney from England, we hired a merchant vessel (the Countess of Harcourt), which we loaded with various provisions, and embarked in her a detachment of 25 men of the 3d regiment of Buffs, commanded by Captain Barlow. We also loaded a colonial brig with various agricultural and mechanical instruments, necessary to form a settlement. After a pleasant passage of six weeks, we arrived at the destined spot, at the northern extremity of New Holland (now called Australasia), named Port Essington, in longitude 131° east of Greenwich, where we landed all our mariners (46 in number), and immediately hoisted the British flag on a high tree, amidst a salute of 21 guns from the Tamar, a volley of small arms from the troops, and the repeated huzzas of all hands. Perhaps never was a martial sound heard here before. The natives were so struck with terror, that they all fled away.'

Simple people! you had no reason for fear. None but Americans cause barbarians 'to vanish as the snow melts before the sunbeams.'

The account then proceeds to describe in detail the defensive works, which were erected, and the force stationed there.

neighbors? We hear of no treaties of cession, no 'purchases *compulsory*,' or voluntary, no mutual discussions, no annuities for future relief. *The land is wanted, and it is taken.*

But the conversion of our gloomy forests into cultivated fields, which is described as the peculiar reproach of the American government, was commenced and zealously prosecuted, as we have already seen, before that government existed, and with such effect, that the royal authorities, some years before their overthrow, had begun to cover with their grants the great valley of the Mississippi.

At the cession of Canada to England, the French settlements were principally confined to the country upon the St Lawrence, about Montreal and below it. A few small military posts, in the extensive regions to the west, with little cultivated belts surrounding them, constituted the whole of the results of French power, and the whole evidence of French enterprise. The integrity of the Indian territory, north of the great lakes, was almost inviolate. Since then, the population of the country has been more than quadrupled, and its settlements have advanced to the upper lakes, and now rest upon Lake Superior. Here, as elsewhere, the tide of civilization has borne before it the tenants of the forest, and from Montreal to Lake Huron, a few small reservations are all, that are left to them of the vast possessions they inherited. We have not the elements of an accurate calculation in our power, but we are satisfied, that the number of Indians living in the unsettled country, within the limits of the United States, is far greater, in proportion to its extent, than can be found in any part of Canada. Nor is the progress of the English settlements limited to this frontier of the British dominions. They have reached the Arctic Circle, and are spreading through the vast possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mercantile sovereigns, to whom that country was granted by the British crown, are establishing their posts, half commercial, half military, wherever a band is to be subjected or a muskrat to be caught.* And with what effect upon the means and morals of the natives, let the facts

* 'They,' speaking of the Northwest Company (now consolidated with the Hudson's Bay Company), 'planted their forts and trading posts over a wide range of territory, and established a more despotic rule, than could be found to exist, even in any Asiatic government.' *Notices of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 39.

decide, which we shall quote by and by, from Captain Franklin and Dr Richardson, who have lately traversed those distant regions.

But the most extensive speculation, we have ever known in the acquisition of Indian title, for we cannot call it purchase, unless the word be technically used, was that made by Lord Selkirk, upon Red river, the settlement of which was commenced in 1812. This country was granted to him by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the project for settlement it is stated, that 'a tract of land of some millions of acres, in point of soil and climate inferior to none of equal extent in British America, is to be disposed of.' This tract contained 117,000 square miles,* or 74,880,000 acres, considerably more than one third of the whole quantity ceded to the United States. It is equal in extent to all the states north and east of the Delaware, and was acquired by a little parchment and wax, without even the ceremony of a purchase, and without the expenditure of a single word in promises, or a single shilling in presents or payment to the Indians.† By what 'degree of fair dealing' this was effected, we must leave to our brethren on the other side of the ocean to determine.

There is a branch of our Indian relations, which it may be well to examine in detail, as it has been sometimes misunderstood, and sometimes misrepresented. The subject is thus sneeringly introduced in the article, which we have before quoted.

'By what degree of fair dealing the purchases of Indian lands have been regulated, since the peace, may be learnt from an abstract in Mr Buchanan's work, (p. 152.) By the items in this formal account current it appears, that to the year 1820, above 190 millions of acres had been purchased from the Indians, for which they had received in annuities something more than two millions and a half of dollars! while the profits of the republican government, in vending their acquisitions by retail, or "the balance of gain," as Mr Buchanan calls it, on the part of the United States in dealing with the Indians, amounted to above two hundred and thirteen millions of dollars.' p. 109.

In all of this, there is enough of truth, to elude the charge of deliberate falsehood, and yet so much of error, as to present a result, utterly fallacious.

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* Communications of Mercator, from the Montreal Herald, a pamphlet published in 1817, p. 50.

† Communications of Mercator, &c. p. 53.

Assuming Mr Buchanan's statement and estimate to be nominally correct, still every one, in the slightest degree acquainted with the operation of our land system, must be aware, that such calculations of the value of the property could be made, only by the most sanguine political economist, or a most blind political adversary. A considerable proportion of the land in every part of the western country, where these cessions have been obtained, is unfit for cultivation and improvement. Ages will pass away, before it can be all amalgamated with the common mass of property. And during that period, it will remain an unproductive fund, unless the proposition submitted by Colonel Benton to the Senate of the United States should be adopted. His proposition is founded on this very fact, that the duration of the present system of land sales will be indefinite, if the price be not reduced. He therefore proposes, that this reduction should be made at short and fixed intervals, and that eventually a gratuitous distribution should be made of all that is unsold. He illustrates the subject, by the operation of the present system in Ohio, where, after an experiment of thirty years, more than half the land is the property of the government.

The expense of surveying the public land amounts to no inconsiderable sum, and the annual appropriation for this object is about $70,000. The fees and salaries of the officers, and the various contingent claims, inseparable from such an extended system, present another important deduction from this estimate of profits. In all the new states, inchoate rights have been acquired by actual settlers, which have in many instances been confirmed by the General Government, and extensive districts have been thus gratuitously alienated. There has been also assigned for the support of common schools, and wisely and providently assigned, one thirtysixth part of all the national domains, besides two or more townships in each State and Territory, formed from it, for the support of seminaries, devoted to the higher branches of learning. And in one section of the country, another thirtysixth part has been appropriated to the maintenance of a religious establishment; not in a form prescribed by law, but as each local vicinage should determine.

Such was the operation of the several causes, affecting the sale of the public land, that up to the 30th of June, 1819, within six months of the period alluded to in the Quarterly, as we are officially informed by the reports of the treasury de-

partment to Congress, the whole amount received on account of these sales, from the organization of the government, was but $18,287,828 dollars.

An experienced and intelligent senator, Mr King, who has since retired from the councils of his country, after a long life devoted to its service, instituted a minute inquiry into this subject, with a view to ascertain its actual effect upon the fiscal operations of the government. The reports, which were received from the executive officers, in consequence of his suggestions, disclosed all the facts, necessary to a correct decision. And it was his opinion, on a careful examination of the subject, that as a mere pecuniary question, the acquisition and sale of lands by the United States had proved an unprofitable adventure. It requires but a moderate portion of that profound science of *profit and loss*, which is not confined to '*republican governments*,' to show, that the value of any article must be estimated by its use, or its power of immediate conversion into money, and if the article itself is useless and unproductive, and cannot be sold for an almost indefinite period of time, it has in reality, no present actual value. Almost any reasonable sum paid for it, would, by the ordinary operation of interest, exceed in a few years the worth of the property.

After deducting the waste and sterile land, the gratuitous concessions, the specific appropriations, and the expenses of survey and sale, from the present actual value of the land, where shall we find that 'balance of gain,' which Mr Buchanan, in his ignorance, and the Quarterly, in its worse than ignorance, have swelled to so formidable an amount? The soundest statesmen in the United States do not look to the public lands as a source of revenue. In the annual estimates submitted by the treasury department to Congress, this branch of national income is computed at a million of dollars.* We have no reason to expect, that it will exceed that amount. Subtracting from this estimate the expenses of survey and sale, and the other contingent claims upon this fund, a sum not sufficient to meet the authorized expenditures for the service of the Indian Department will remain in the treasury. In 1824, the appropriation for this object was $424,978; in 1825, it was $730,000; and

* We exclude the estimate for 1827, because circumstances connected with the change of the credit system, and other considerations stated in the annual treasury report, have increased it beyond the experience of past or the prospect of future years.

in 1826, it was $1,009,741. Every year brings with it peculiar circumstances, which vary the amount appropriated. Such, during the past year, were the sufferings of the Florida Indians, and the incidents connected with the Creek negotiation. These objects require specific appropriations. But so interesting and extensive are the relations, existing between the United States and the Indians, that we have no reason to anticipate any very considerable diminution of this expenditure. It commenced with the commencement of the government, and has gradually and steadily increased; and it will continue, as long as Providence shall continue the Indians in their present state of want and imbecility. In the annual message of the President of the United States, transmitted to Congress December 5th, 1826, it is stated, that the 'appropriations to indemnify these unfortunate remnants of another race, unable alike to share in the enjoyments and to exist in the presence of civilization,' have increased to an unexpected amount. They are applied to the payment of annuities, promised in our various treaties with the Indians; to aid the efforts, which are making to improve their condition; to procure for them occasional supplies of food and clothing; to the purchase of horses and other domestic animals, to improve and promote their agricultural operations; to the support of blacksmiths and other artizans, employed to labor for them; and to the payment of the various officers, necessary to protect them, and to serve as the means of communication, between them and the government and citizens of the United States. If, then, the produce of this public stock is barely equal to the expense entailed upon the country by its acquisition, we shall in vain seek for 'the profits of the American government.'

But our search in another direction will be more successful, and justly offensive as it may be to delicate nerves, it is nevertheless true, that a *regal government* is trafficking in this proscribed article. We are not able to exhibit 'the items of a formal account current,' for these matters have been managed in the Canadas, with prudential secrecy. Much of the public land there has been granted upon a system of favoritism, as rewards for past services, or as motives of future ones. But time and experience produce wonderful changes in the affairs of this world, and it is not now considered disreputable for the regal government to exchange solid acres for sordid pelf. We shall quote, in proof of this assertion, a document, whose authen-

ticity will not be questioned. It is the public notification of the Executive Council of the Province of Upper Canada, signed by order of his Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, in council. It thus commences.

'For the information of persons arriving in Upper Canada as settlers, the following summary of the rules, which his Majesty's government has thought fit to lay down for the future regulation of grants of land in the Province, *in conformity to the system, which has been recently adopted with respect to other Colonies* of his Majesty, has been prepared in conformity to instructions *from Lord Bathurst.*'

It then proceeds to establish nineteen regulations on this subject, three of which we shall quote.

'1. A valuation will be forthwith made of the lands throughout this Colony, and average prices will be struck for each district.

'2. All the lands in the Colony, not hitherto granted and appropriated for public purposes, will be offered for sale at the average prices thus fixed.

'3. The purchase money is to be paid by four quarterly, or five annual instalments, as the party applying may desire, but in the latter case, legal interest shall be charged, and shall be payable annually from the time of making the agreement. A discount of ten per cent. will be allowed for ready money payments.'

The quarterly and annual instalments, the legal interest, and the discount of ten per cent. are highly creditable to the *fiscal knowledge* of Lord Bathurst, and it is due to candor to say, that not a member of the *republican* cabinet could have devised a better system for '*vending these acquisitions by retail,*' and so highly is it esteemed, that it is extended to '*other colonies* of his Majesty.'

But the newspapers have informed us, that a contract was made between the British government and certain individuals for the conveyance to them of one seventh part of the public lands in Upper Canada. The details of this bargain we have never seen. But commissioners were sent from England to appraise the lands, and it is understood, that the arrangement has been completed. The consideration paid was said to be one million of pounds sterling, about one fourth part of the sum received by the United States for the sale of all its public lands, from the organization of the government to July, 1819. And this for one seventh part only of one of the most remote colonies of the British crown.

But even Lord Selkirk, with all his pride of ancestry, did not overlook the important consideration of money, while projecting his colonizing schemes. In the project to which we have before alluded, he says, the land '*will be sold extremely cheap.*' All this is as it should be. No government, not wholly abandoned to a system of favoritism or prodigality, would be so regardless of the future, as to cast away a source of income, so unexceptionable as this. Such 'mawkish sensibility' will find little sympathy in the present age. But what shall be thought of the practical wisdom of a journal, which flouts such a principle? This, too, when it has been recognised by its own government, and is in active and *profitable* operation! Whether it be owing to ignorance, or to any less pardonable quality, let its readers determine.

But it is not alone in '*vending these acquisitions*,' that the influence of the *republican* example has been felt. It has begun to operate with equal force, in obtaining them. The inquiries, which we have instituted, have satisfied us, that no system of permanent annuities has heretofore been adopted in the Canadas, as a consideration for cessions obtained from the Indians. But in June, 1825, an arrangement was made at Amherstburg by the British authorities with a band of the Chippewas, residing upon the River St Clair, for the extinction of their title to a tract of country, extending from that river to Matchedash Bay in Lake Huron. Two small reservations were made, and an annuity of $3000 was secured to the grantors. But there was a principle engrafted in this treaty, which may teach even the *republican government* a salutary lesson of thrift, and which has never probably occurred to their commissioners, as it is not to be found in any of their compacts with the Indians. With a *profitable* regard to the rapid declension and eventual extinction of these hapless people, a stipulation was introduced into this instrument, providing, that when one half of the band shall become extinct, one half of the annuity shall cease. And the human and the pecuniary reduction are thus to proceed, *pari passu*, until death shall have done its office.

We have not ourselves seen this treaty, but a friend to whom Wawwawnosh, the chief of the band, exhibited the counter-original, has given us an abstract of its stipulations. In the United States, these conventions are annually published in the statute books, and are thus spread before the nation and the

world. But in the British possessions, publicity is never given to them.

If in any branch of this examination we may appear to treat the subject with undue levity, we can assure our readers, that the tone is assumed with the hope to repress more indignant feelings. We look with deep sympathy on the condition of this feeble remnant, who, like the autumnal foliage of their own forests, are scattered by every blast, but to whom no spring will bring renovation; and we regard with deep solicitude, every effort for their preservation and melioration. Not even a partiality for the character of our country would tempt us to conceal their wrongs, or to magnify their errors. But the callous malevolence of the article, which has rendered this discussion necessary, cannot always be met with perfect equanimity, and we may be allowed to sneer at assertions and insinuations, whose falsehood is too palpable for serious refutation.

There is one consideration, connected with the cession of land by the Indians, too important, in a fair examination of the subject, to be overlooked. The advance of the white settlements is the signal for the recession of the game. There is always an extensive interval of border country, between our cultivated frontier, and the permanent possessions of the Indians. Their unremitted efforts to procure food and clothing, cause a rapid diminution of wild animals in this district; and as these animals flee from destruction, they are followed by those, who look to them for sustenance. The district, thus abandoned, becomes useless to the natives, and this is the land, which is generally acquired by our treaties. In many instances, and we speak from personal observation, the amount paid for these cessions has been more valuable to the Indians, than all the animals existing there, whose flesh and furs are sought by them.

We come now to other topics. 'It is not necessary to prove in this place for the fiftieth time,' says the Reviewer, 'that our cause was common with that of the Indian nations. *Against them, as against us, the Americans had been the real aggressors.*' With what truth these assertions are advanced, will be best determined by a brief examination of the various acts of the American government towards the Indians, and by a comparison of these with the course, which has been pursued by the British government.

Our attention has already been called to the unremitting ex-

ertions of the republican government to restrain the Indians from hostilities; to induce them, whenever a contest between their white neighbors appeared unavoidable, to remain in their own country, and suffer the storm to pass away, without exposing themselves to its violence. In the same spirit, hostile tribes have been brought together, *and the tomahawk buried beneath the ashes of the council fire.*

The whole history of the intercourse, between the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent, and the European invaders and their descendants, does not furnish a more consolatory spectacle, than the council held at Prairie du Chien upon the Mississippi in August, 1825. During many generations, a war had been waged between the Chippewas and the Sioux. Its origin is lost in the depths of time, and no other motive for its prosecution has existed, since these tribes have been known to us, than the thirst of revenge, and the necessity of having some enemy, from whom trophies of victory might be won. More recently the Sacs, and Foxes, and Ioways joined the Chippewas, and a crisis seemed fast approaching in the northwest, which threatened to anticipate the operation of all the other causes, to which the sufferings and declension of the Indians are attributable. Nothing could have averted this result, but the powerful interference of the United States, and it was interposed promptly and efficaciously. That 'the Indians might *not* vanish as the snow melts before the sunbeam,' commissioners were appointed to meet the various tribes, interested in this procedure, and to conclude a peace among them. This was brought about at the expense of the United States, and the preamble of the treaty so fully explains its objects, that we shall quote it, as another proof of the '*exterminating*' policy of the republican government.

'The United States of America, have seen with much regret, that wars have for many years been carried on between the Sioux and Chippewas, and more recently, between the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux, and also between the Ioways and the Sioux; which, if not terminated, may extend to the other tribes, and involve the Indians upon the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, in general hostilities. In order therefore to promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them and the other tribes, who live in their vicinity, and thereby to remove all causes of future difficulty, the United States have invited the Chippewa, Sac, and Fox, Menomonie, Ioway,

Sioux, Winebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomie tribes of Indians living upon the Illinois, to assemble together; and in a spirit of mutual conciliation, to accomplish these objects, and to aid therein, have appointed,' &c.

The instrument then proceeds to establish a peace among these tribes, and it affords us great satisfaction to add, that this peace has been thus far preserved inviolate, and there is every reason to believe it will be permanent. The same principle was pursued in 1826, and at a greater expense, by convening a council upon Lake Superior, for the purpose of explaining and enforcing in that remote region, the objects of the treaty of Prairie du Chien. And at St Louis in September last, the Delawares and their allies, and the Osages, were convened, and an arrangement happily effected for the termination of the hostilities existing between these contending tribes.

The amount annually expended by the government of the United States, upon the various matters connected with their Indian relations, has been already stated, as have also the objects to which this expenditure is applied. It has been shown, that the sum now received from the sales of the public lands, is barely sufficient to meet this demand upon the treasury. But during many years, the United States supported an establishment, devoted to the purpose of supplying the Indians with those articles of civilized manufactures, which long habit has rendered essential to their comfort or subsistence. This plan was first adopted in 1796, and was continued by successive legislative enactments, until 1822, when the law regulating it was suffered to expire by its own limitation. A superintendent and agents were appointed, and a capital finally equalling $500,000 was vested in this concern. The salaries of all the officers were paid from the treasury, and the merchandise was required to be sold to the Indians, upon such terms, as would merely preserve the integrity of this capital. Even this utterly failed, owing to causes arising out of the war. It was eventually thought expedient to leave this trade to private competition and to regulate the conduct of the traders, so as to prevent those impositions, which, at an earlier period, were apprehended from the limited capital and few persons engaged in this distant and hazardous traffic.

The laws of the United States, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, have made every provision, which could be devised, for protecting the rights of the Indians,

and restraining our citizens from injuring them. Among these provisions the following are the most prominent.

Places are designated, where the traders must reside, in order that their conduct may be more open to observation, than it would be, if they were suffered to roam at pleasure through the country.

No person can enter the Indian country to trade, without first obtaining a license from the proper agent, and giving bond with sufficient sureties for his good conduct.

These licenses must be annually, or at most biennially renewed, and any maleconduct prevents their renewal.

An invoice must be submitted to the agent, previously to the granting of the license, that proper articles only may be introduced into the Indian country.

An abstract of these licenses is required to be annually submitted to Congress, and thus are they subject to the supervision of the national legislature.

These are the principal provisions, by which the government of the United States has attempted to regulate the conduct of its citizens in their intercourse with the Indians. That they are wholly effectual, or that they are never violated, no one needs to be told, who knows what feeble barriers statutory regulations frequently interpose between ignorance and cupidity. But their object and tendency cannot be misunderstood, and it is difficult to conceive what other general system can be adopted, better suited than this to attain the desired end. Our laws also contain other regulations, not less honorable to the government than useful to the Indians.

All persons are prohibited, under heavy penalties, from hunting or trapping, or settling upon the Indian lands, or from driving horses or cattle to feed thereon.

The purchasing or receiving from any Indian a 'gun or other article commonly used in hunting, any instrument of husbandry, or cooking utensil of the kind *usually* obtained by the Indians in their intercourse with the white people, or any article of clothing, except skins or furs,' are rendered indictable offences.

The United States guaranty to the Indians full payment for injuries done to them by any citizen, who shall pass the boundary line. In all disputes between the Indians and the whites, respecting property, the presumption is declared to be in favor of the Indian, where possession has ever been with him.

There is also a permanent act, which appropriates a sum of money annually, 'for the civilization of the Indian tribes ad-

joining the frontier settlements.' The first section of this act, is a memorable proof of the feelings of the government of the United States, towards the Indians, and is, in itself, too interesting to be passed by unnoticed.

'For the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilized life, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case, where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and for performing such other duties, as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules, as the President may give and prescribe, for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties.'

And yet 'it is the boast of American policy, that the Indians shall be made to vanish before civilization as the snow melts before the sunbeam!'

The inordinate indulgence of the Indians in spirituous liquors is one of the most deplorable consequences, which has resulted from their intercourse with civilized man. Human nature, in its vast variety of aspects, presents no phenomenon like this. Among other nations, civilized and barbarous, excessive ebriety is an individual characteristic, sometimes indulged and sometimes avoided. But the Indians in immediate contact with our settlements, old and young, male and female, the chief and the warrior, all give themselves up to the most brutal intoxication, whenever this *mad water* can be procured. This propensity was remarked at a very early period, for Le Père Ducreu, in his *Historia Canadensis*, says, *Illi austerâ illâ non suavitate, sed acrimoniâ barbarice capti, sine modo legeque, pellium permutatione coëmptum hauriunt.* (p. 62.) There is no reason to believe, that prior to the discovery of America, the Indians north of Mexico used any artificial liquor whatever. We can find no trace of any preparation similar to the *ava* of the Polynesian islands, or to the intoxicating liquor of the Mexicans. This remarkable abstinence, of which few examples can be found, has been succeeded by a melancholy reaction, equally unprecedented. Elsewhere habitual drunkards have paroxysms of intoxication followed by sobriety; but as long as

the stimulus can be obtained, an Indian abandons himself to its indulgence, with the recklessness of desperation.

At the treaty of Chicago, in 1821, the commissioners ordered, that no spirits should be issued to the Indians, and informed them, in their own manner, that the bungs were driven into the barrels. A deputation of the chiefs was sent to remonstrate against this precautionary measure, and at its head was Topnibe, the principal chief of the Potawatomie tribe, a man upwards of eighty years of age. Every argument was used to convince them that the measure was indispensable; that they were exposed to daily murders, and that while in a state of intoxication, they were unable to attend to the business, for which they were convened. All this was useless, and the discussion was only terminated by the peremptory refusal of the commissioners to accede to their request. 'Father,' said the hoary headed chief, when he was urged to remain sober, and make a good bargain for his people, 'Father, we care not for the money, nor the land, nor the goods. We want the whiskey. Give us the whiskey.'

But fortunately, these revolting scenes are confined to the vicinity of the settlements, where spirituous liquors can be more easily procured. In the interior, the transportation of all articles is so expensive, that whiskey cannot be profitably sold in any considerable quantity. The ascent of rapid streams, and the crossing of numerous portages, where boats and their lading must be conveyed by human labor, render the Indian trade hazardous and expensive. And if the laws could be eluded, still the trader would be admonished by his own interest, not to attempt the sale of this deleterious article. If introduced at all, its introduction must be to the exclusion of commodities, essential to the subsistence of the Indian, and consequently to the object of the trader. We have seen many Indians, remote from the white settlements, who had never tasted of spirituous liquors, and we can testify, from personal knowledge, that the evil itself is almost unknown there.

Every practicable method has been adopted by the government of the United States, effectually to prevent this traffic. The introduction of spirituous liquors into any part of the Indian country is rendered penal, and subjects the offender to fine and imprisonment, and to absolute forfeiture of all his goods. And the officers upon the frontier are enjoined to search all packages entering the country, and to seize and

confiscate all outfits, among which this proscribed article shall be found. These regulations are rigidly enforced, and as there are certain great avenues of communication, by which alone, merchandise can be imported into the Indian country, it is not difficult to control the arrangements of the traders. These routes are the Mississippi and Missouri, the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, the Illinois river, the St Peter's river, and the straits of St^e^ Marie. By closing these great natural highways, all entrance into the country beyond is effectually interdicted, and upon or near all of them, military posts are established, where a rigid system of *surveillance* is maintained. The police of the Indian trade is here in active operation, and every security is provided against fraud and oppression, which can be applied in such a complicated and extensive concern.

The cultivated frontier of the United States, with which the Indians are placed in contact, extends from Detroit to Nachitoches, a distance upon this line of fifteen hundred miles. Settlements occur at intervals, of greater or less extent along this whole border. There is nothing to prevent a daily intercourse between the inhabitants and the Indians; and where the passion for spirituous liquors is so strong, and the determination to indulge it at all hazards, so fixed, it is easy to conceive, that opportunities would not be wanting, even were our institutions less free than they are.

A solitary settler, whose nearest neighbor is some miles distant, has little to fear from the operation of a law, whose violation there is none to witness. And this is the difficulty, which has heretofore rendered abortive every exertion wholly to suppress this traffic, in the vicinity of our settlements. The peculiar organization of our government has vested in the United States complete jurisdiction over the Indian country, and as we have already seen, their duty has been fearlessly performed, by the enactment of laws to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors, and by an efficient administration of them. But as soon as the Indian title to any part of this country is extinguished, the jurisdiction of the general government, for all the purposes of internal police, ceases, and that of the proper state or territory commences. All the states and territories upon the western frontier have also passed laws to correct this evil, and why these laws have been less effectual than those passed by Congress, the facts we have stated will fully explain.

During the administration of Mr Jefferson, that distinguished philanthropist regarded with deep solicitude the condition and prospects of the Indians, and promoted with untiring zeal every measure for their improvement. He addressed a circular letter to the governors of the several states and territories, upon the Indian frontier, respecting this traffic in spirituous liquors; and as this letter discloses the views of the government upon this important subject, we shall insert it below, as another evidence of this 'exterminating' policy, as it was exercised twenty years ago; and similar proofs we might adduce even to the 'fiftieth time,' if it were necessary.

To the judgment of the world we may safely commit the conduct of the American government, in regard to the particulars here touched upon. That full success has not attended their measures, is obviously attributable to the peculiar circumstances which we have examined, circumstances that embarrassed the French government in their efforts to protect the Indians from this deleterious indulgence. The earlier historians of Canada have recorded the edicts and instructions of the French king for preventing '*la traite d'eau-de-vie*,' *et* '*l'yvrognerie à laquelle ces peuples ont un penchant.*' With what little success, is evident from the whole course of the narrative, and from the reiterated and peremptory interference of

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* '*Washington, Dec.* 31, 1808.

'Sir,—The general government of the United States have considered it their duty and interest, to extend their care and patronage over the Indian tribes within their limits; and perceiving the injurious effects produced by the inordinate use of spirituous liquors, have passed laws authorizing measures against vending or distributing such liquors among them. Their introduction by traders was accordingly prohibited, and for some time was attended with the best effects. I am informed, however, that latterly, the Indians have got into the practice of purchasing such liquors themselves, in the neighboring settlements of whites, and of carrying them into their towns; and in this way, our regulations, so salutary to them, are defeated. I must therefore request you to submit this matter to the consideration of your legislature. I persuade myself, that in addition to the moral inducements which will readily occur, they will find it not indifferent to their own interest, to give us their aid in removing from their neighbors this great obstacle to their acquiring industrious habits, and attaching themselves to the regular and useful pursuits of life. For this purpose, it is much desired, that they should pass effectual laws to restrain their citizens from vending and distributing spirituous liquors to the Indians.

I am, &c.

Th. Jefferson.'

the government. The true cause of the failure is stated by Charlevoix, who concludes his account of one of these efforts by the just reflection, that ordinary authority acts feebly against certain passions, '*et que l'intérêt de la religion est un motif peu capable de toucher des cœurs dominés par la cupidité!*' On a retrospect of all that has been attempted and effected, it can excite but little surprise, that the American government has but partially succeeded, when the first possessors of Canada, with military authority, an inconsiderable population, and but one avenue of communication with the interior, were unable to suppress this desolating traffic.

But in the actual state of our Indian relations, the missionary establishments for the education of Indian youth, founded and supported by voluntary contributions and aided by an annual appropriation from the national treasury, almost offer an atonement for the past, and certainly strong encouragement for the future. With a full knowledge of all that has heretofore been done, these institutions are proceeding upon more rational principles. And whatever may be the result of this great and interesting, and we may probably add, final experiment, but one opinion can exist respecting the motives and views of those who are conducting it. Of these establishments there are fortyone in operation, upon the frontiers of the United States. We do not know the number of pupils they contain, but their expenditures were $191,606 in 1824, and $202,070 in 1825. The returns for 1826, we have not seen. They will doubtless exhibit a proportionate increase. When it is recollected, that the value of their own agricultural products, and the labor of their teachers, artisans, and others, which is wholly gratuitous, constitute no part of this amount, some conception may be formed of the value of these eleemosynary foundations. The children, male and female, are here fed, and clothed, and taught, and they are prepared, by a regular discipline for those duties, which subsequent events may probably call them to perform. We shall hazard no predictions concerning the result. Whatever that may be, no holier effort can be found in all the records of human charity.

We shall advert to but one other plan which has been proposed for meliorating the condition of the Indians, and preserving them from further decline and eventual extinction. This is the scheme for removing them to the country west of

the Mississippi, and there establishing them in a permanent residence. It is well known, that this proposition was submitted by the President to Congress two years since, accompanied by a project of the various arrangements required to give it full effect. It has been slightly discussed in the legislative halls, and more fully in the public papers before the nation; and the general opinion on its practicability and consequences is yet unsettled. All agree, that the expense is unworthy the consideration of the government, and that the only important inquiry is, what effect it would produce upon the Indians themselves. The magnitude of the subject is imposing, and its possible consequences appalling. Doubts and difficulties surround the question, and we do not here introduce it, that we may prejudge or even discuss it. We have brought it before our readers merely as an evidence of the feelings of the American government, and of their earnest desire to discharge with fidelity a great moral debt, which is neither concealed nor denied.

But when has England stretched forth a hand, to stay this wasting pestilence, which is sweeping before it all that time has spared us of the race of red men? The whole continent, north of the United States, is under her control. From the gulf of St Lawrence to Nootka Sound, she exercises undisputed sovereignty. In those extensive regions, many tribes of Indians yet remain, if not with primeval manners, yet with strong claims upon the sympathy of the government and people, who assert and exercise jurisdiction over them. There is here no want of physical wretchedness, or of moral depravity. The climate is rigorous, and the country sterile, and a scanty and precarious subsistence is furnished by the rivers and lakes and forests of these hyperborean regions. The living fountain of depravity has sprung up here, and the white man has presented that poisonous draught, which brings forgetfulness of the past and recklessness of the future; which converts an Indian into a demon, with every baleful passion excited, and every moral barrier prostrated, exhibiting a loathsome spectacle, of which no conception can be formed by those, who have seen only the *excesses of civilized* life.

Our inquiries, concerning the measures which have been adopted by the British government on this important subject have been direct, and the answers have been brief. To Upper Canada, however, these inquiries have been principally con-

fined, because there our opportunities have been most favorable, and because in Lower Canada the original population has almost disappeared. *What has been done, no one has told us. What has been left undone, embraces the whole circle of duties, which the relative situation of the parties imposes upon the christian power.* There is no law to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians; none to prevent persons from hunting and trapping upon the Indian lands. There is no law to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors in any quantity into the Indian country; or to require Indian traders to be licensed or to give bonds; or to regulate their conduct; but they trade, when, and where, and how they please. No annuities are paid to the Indians; or rather none is known to be paid to them, except in the case we have already mentioned. And in Mr Halkett's historical notes, respecting the North American Indians, published in 1825, we are told, that 'in Canada, there is but one regular protestant Indian mission!'

We have not heard, that any plan has been digested or proposed for removing the Indians from any part of the lands they now occupy, where they are peculiarly exposed to temptations and danger, to more remote positions, beyond the reach of the advancing tide of civilized vices and population. Mr Buchanan has indeed suggested, that the country on the eastern coast of lake Huron should be appropriated as a land of refuge, where these timeworn pilgrims may find rest and safety. But unfortunately for the success of this well intended project, this tract has been purchased by the British government, since the promulgation of Mr Buchanan's scheme, and the compass and chain are already preparing it for division and sale and settlement.

The reviewer in the Quarterly has also expressed his approbation of this plan of protection and seclusion, but his benevolence is not less catholic, than it is disinterested. He proposes, that the Indians, living within the United States, should be received, and protected, and improved in the British dominions. But he shall speak for himself.

'With us, humanity and policy dictate but one course. As the stream of American population continues to drive the tribes before it, some part of their remaining numbers may be forced northward, within the *nominal* [?] boundary of our possessions. There the fugitives should find shelter and protection, and opportunities of social improvement. There the remains of the primitive people of that vast continent might yet be collected.' p. 110.

This is as just as it is generous, for we are assured, that to the Indians, 'is the preservation of Upper Canada, in the first year of the war, mainly to be attributed.' (p. 100.) That after these essential services, and after being compelled to abandon the 'Michigan country, of which it was intended to give them lasting possession,' (p. 78) a district should be assigned for their permanent occupation, would not be unreasonable to expect. And, in the philanthropy evinced by the proposition, we must find an excuse for the total ignorance displayed of the course of Indian migration, which will never be directed towards the arctic regions. But unfortunately, the concluding sentence, by disclosing the true object of it, converts this benevolent scheme into a mere interested defensive preparation.

'There the remains of the primitive people of this vast continent might yet be collected; and their settlement on the western flank of our cultivated country might form no contemptible barrier and point of support against future aggressions, by which it is idle to suppose, that the Canadas are not yet to be menaced.'

Hapless people! Still destined to fight the battles of others, after your own are fought and lost! You are to become a living bastion on the flank of the Canadian defences! And this after all is the object of the proposition. The Indians are to be concentrated on our boundary, and thence they are to descend upon the cultivated country, as the Goths descended upon Rome, involving in one indiscriminate destruction the monuments and arts of civilized life, and those who reared and cultivated them.

The total absence of all restrictions upon the Indian trade in the British dominions has naturally led to the most revolting scenes. We shall extract from Captain Franklin's narrative a few passages, exhibiting facts, to which nothing similar can be found, from the mouth of the St Croix to the mouth of the Colombia.

In describing York Factory, the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Franklin observes, speaking of the Crees,

'The inmates had a squalid look, and were suffering under the combined afflictions of the hooping cough and measles; but even these miseries did not keep them from an excessive indulgence in the use of spirits, which they unhappily can procure from the traders with too much facility; and they nightly serenaded us with drunken songs.' p. 23

'The tribe of Indians, who reside in the vicinity and frequent these establishments is that of the Crees or Knisteneaux. They were formerly a powerful and numerous nation, which ranged over a very extensive country, and were most successful against their neighbors, particularly the northern Indians, and the tribes on the Saskatchawin and Beaver rivers; but they have long ceased to be held in any fear, and are now perhaps the most harmless and inoffensive of the whole Indian race. This change is to be entirely attributed to their intercourse with Europeans [Englishmen?], and the vast reduction in their numbers, occasioned, I fear, by the injudicious introduction among them of ardent spirits. They are so passionately fond of this poison, that they will make any sacrifices to obtain it.' p. 50.

'It might be thought the Crees have benefited by their long intercourse with civilized nations. That this is not so much the case as it ought to be, is not entirely their own fault. They are capable of being and I believe willing to be taught, but no pains have hitherto been taken to inform their minds, and their white acquaintances seem in general to find it easier to descend to the Indian customs and modes of thinking, particularly with respect to women, than to raise the Indians to theirs. Indeed, such a lamentable want of morality has been displayed by the white traders, in their contests for the interest of their respective companies, that it would require a long series of good conduct, to efface from the minds of the native population, the ideas they have formed of the white character.' p. 59.

'It often happens,' says Doctor Richardson, 'that the meat, which has been paid for, if the poisonous drafts it procures them, can be considered as payment,' &c.

But the full developement of the principles and practice of this trade will be found in the seventieth page of this work, and to it we must refer all, who are anxious to ascertain what are the effects of this intercourse, where there is no authority to check or restrain it. We cannot introduce into this journal the facts, which are disclosed. But the canon of commercial ethics, by which these shocking scenes are permitted and justified, we shall here quote for the benefit of some future Vattel, who may prepare a code of fur regulations for the 'republican government.' '*The masters and wintering partners of the companies, deemed this criminal indulgence to the vices of their servants, necessary to stimulate them to exertion for the interests of their respective companies.*' And this atrocious principle is thus avowed, not by one of the 'outsettlers of Kentucky, Ohio, and the other back states,' but by two great companies, one of

them constituted by the British crown, sovereigns over an immense country, peopled by many tribes of Indians, and the other exercising actual sovereignty, without any delegated authority, over regions as extensive, and as extensively inhabited. Well may the reviewer in the Quarterly commiserate the fate of the Indians, when abandoned to traders like these!

But the contests of these rival companies assumed, at one period, a much more portentous aspect, than the ordinary competition of commercial jealousy. Armaments were prepared, *allies* engaged, forts captured, and battles fought, by these *peltry lords*, in open contempt of their government, and to their own everlasting disgrace. Scenes were exhibited to the Indians in that quarter, which never were, and we may proudly say, never can be witnessed in the United States.* These flagitious scenes continued for years to excite their passions and corrupt their morals, as well by the depraved examples around them, as by the indulgence of their propensity for ardent spirits, which the importance of their services rendered necessary.

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*We shall quote from Lord Selkirk's justificatory pamphlet, published at Montreal in 1817, and entitled 'Notices of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Conduct of its Adversaries,' a few paragraphs descriptive of these incidents.

At page 94 will be found the instructions of the Governor of the Red River Settlement, dated Fort Douglass, 12th April, 1816, to one of his officers detached upon a particular service. This officer is told, 'It is my wish, that you carefully avoid every act of hostility, until fully justified by the conduct of our enemies. The half breeds having been ordered to assemble at the Fort Qui Appelle, any acts of hostility committed by them, must be considered as committed by immediate or authorized agents of the Northwest Company, and repelled or *retaliated* accordingly.'

In a note to page 101, it is stated, that 'in the month of July, 1816, in a council held before the Indian department at Drummond's Island near Lake Superior, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Maule, President, Lieutenant Colonel M'Kay, Superintendent of Indian affairs, John Askin, and others, a declaration was made by Katawaketay, an Indian of Fond du Lac, importing, that he had been solicited by some of the Northwest Company, to lead his nation to make war upon and destroy the English Colony, at Red river. That he had been offered all the goods in three of their stores as a reward, if he would undertake this service. That he had refused their offer, and declined taking arms against the colony, until he knew whether it would be satisfactory to the Indian department, and his great father on the other side of the great lake. That he was some months afterwards offered a bribe, if he would cause the bearers of despatches to the Colony to be intercepted by any of his people, and robbed of their papers or murdered.'

'These Indians,' we are told in the pamphlet just referred to 'are often kept in the forts of the Northwest Company in a state of intoxication, until they are deprived of all they possess.' (p. 53.) Nor was this civil war terminated, as it should have been, by the efficient interposition of the British government. A proclamation of Sir John Sherbrooke is almost the only public measure, which is known to have been adopted. Some of the parties were apprehended by the exertions of their rivals, and committed to prison at Montreal, but they finally escaped with impunity. Lord Selkirk was understood to be at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was influential in London, and Mr M'Gillivray, a member of the Council of Lower Canada, was at the head of the Northwest Company, which was equally influential at Quebec. But a union of the rival companies has terminated all these difficulties. The bustle and noise of war have disappeared, and have been succeeded by the calm, still operations of trade. It is a silence, which will not soon be interrupted. It is already becoming the silence of desolation. In those impassable regions, the oppressor and the oppressed are almost severed from the human family, and there are few now to disclose the deeds of the one, or the sufferings of the other. A vague estimate of them may however be formed from the facts before us.*

In Captain Franklin's Narrative, there is a full confirmation of these statements, but it appears from his account, that both of the companies, now consolidated into one, are guilty of these nefarious practices. After informing us of the methods by which the Indians are induced to dispose of their furs, and particularly the enticement of spirituous liquors, he adds,

'Neither has any attention been paid to the original cost of European articles, in fixing the tariff, by which they are sold to the Indians. A coarse butcher knife is one skin, a woollen blanket, or a fathom of coarse cloth, eight, and a fowling piece, fifteen. p. 74.

He has already told us, that a skin in the language of the

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*'From the manner in which the trade of the Northwest Company is carried on, the natives are subjected to continual and grievous oppressions and cruelties, and their race is menaced with speedy extinction.' *Hudson's Bay Company Pamphlet*, p. 58.

'The intercourse of the Northwest Company with the Indians is not indeed entitled to the appellation of a trade, but under the semblance and disguise of commerce, is an organized system of rapine.' p. 61.

trade, is a beaver skin, and is the standard of value; and we are thus enabled to compute the prices of the articles mentioned, and to form some general conception of the enormous profits of this traffic. The expense of transportation is inconsiderable, when compared with the excessive prices, at which the goods are sold; for the pamphlet before quoted informs us, 'It is well ascertained, that the conveyance of goods through Hudson's Bay, to the Red River Settlement, is not more expensive, than the conveyance of goods from England to York, in Upper Canada' (page 67); and again it is said, that 'these goods are sold at an advance of one thousand per cent. upon the Montreal prices' (page 40). We are told by M'Kenzie, (Travels, vol. I. page 24,) that thirteen thousand three hundred and sixty-four skins of fine beaver weigh nineteen thousand two hundred and eightythree pounds,' giving about one pound and a half as the average weight of each skin. This at five dollars a pound, which is the usual price, would fix the value of a skin at seven dollars and a half. A butcher knife, which probably costs in England $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, would thus sell for seven dollars and a half; a blanket or two yards of coarse cloth, which cost two dollars, would sell for sixty; and a fowling piece, which M'Kenzie (Vol. I. p. 19) says 'costs no more than twenty-one shillings in Great Britain,' would sell for one hundred and twelve dollars and a half. We may safely affirm, 'without fear of contradiction or error,' that human avarice has never devised a more stupendous system of fraud and rapine, and that a more iniquitous traffic, or one evincing a more utter destitution of 'all fear of God and regard towards man,' has never administered to the insatiate thirst for riches. The extracts we have furnished exhibit a full view of this trade. A hunter is enticed in the autumn, to receive, what, in the language of the trade, is called '*credits*,' or such articles as are essential, in the altered condition of the Indians, to the subsistence of his family. With the products of the chase, he is anxious to discharge the debt, but he is allured to another post, and supplied with ardent spirits at 'one thousand per cent. advance,' till his reason is overpowered, and his little stock dissipated. He is then turned out, with a miserable family about him, and the frigid zone before him.

These are the effects of an unrestrained trade. We have sketched them briefly, but truly. And that the moral degradation of the Indians is not confined to these countries, we have

the evidence of the anonymous author of the 'Remarks on the Indians of North America,' who is understood to be Mr Bannister, Attorney General of New South Wales, and who says, 'The Indians in Nova Scotia are perhaps more degenerated than any other tribes.' (p. 37.) We trust the *outsettlers and traders of the back States*, will not again be taunted by a British journal with 'their vicious lives,' and 'the poison of ardent spirits,' until the general character of the Indian trade in the British dominions shall have approximated to the standard, which is established by the laws of the United States, and to which their citizens have approached, if they have not conformed.

The Reviewer dismisses with affected indifference, as we have seen, the question of the employment of the savages by the British government in the late war. 'Against them, as against us, the Americans had been the real aggressors.' This pretence of fighting the battles of the Indians is a stale artifice, and one which they themselves well understand, as is sufficiently evinced by their declaration already quoted from Pownall. Mr Bannister is more candid. He says, 'Nor must it be forgotten, that Indian hostilities have rarely been carried on in the absence of European instigations.' (p. 27.) We have no disposition to tax the patience of our readers by investigating the causes of our second war with Great Britain. He, who has yet to learn, that it originated in a series of maritime aggressions, unexampled in duration and extent, must seek it in the history of the times. The hope of possessing Canada had no more influence upon the declaration of war, than the possession of Paris in 1814, by the allies, had upon the origin of the war, which was consummated by that event. In all belligerent operations, injuries are mutually inflicted, until the parties are willing to relinquish the contest, with or without an adjustment of the difficulties, which caused it.

The war with the tribes, here alluded to, was the hostile movement upon the Wabash in 1811, which commenced in the fanatical or political schemes of Tecumthé and his brother, the Shawnese prophet, and was terminated by the battle of Tippacanoe. The Reviewer, with characteristic ignorance, denominates this a furious war with the Indian tribes. It was a very partial affair, in which not a single tribe was engaged. During several preceding years, a fanatical spirit had gone forth among the Indians, of which the Prophet was rather the dupe than the cause. Circumstances, partly the result of his personal

character, but still more of his situation and associations, gave to his rhapsodies an influence and to his name a celebrity, which the prophets of other tribes have never acquired. But the same phrenzy prevailed through the whole extent of the Indian country, and was felt amid the ice and snow of the polar regions. It was not alone upon the frontiers of the United States, that a prophet appeared to rouse his countrymen, by religious denunciations, to cast away the manufactures of the white man, and to bid the forest resume its empire over his cultivated fields. The disaffected party under the influence of the Prophet, which threatened our frontiers in 1811, before the movements of General Harrison's army, and which was dispersed by his successful operations, was composed of deserters from a few of the tribes. The acknowledged government of each tribe disavowed any participation in their projects. And they were in fact a lawless, predatory band, obeying no common authority, and seeking no rational object.

The Reviewer is either not aware of the fact, or conceals it from his readers, that some of the most important tribes never joined the British interest, but faithfully preserved their friendly relations with the United States. It is usual to consider the Indians as one people, with the same feelings, views, and policy. But they are broken into independent communities, frequently enemies and always rivals, claiming and occupying separate districts of country, and receiving for their cessions separate considerations.

The intercourse of the United States with the Delawares, had been varied and extensive, and they had gradually retired as our settlements advanced, ceding in succession the lands possessed by them; and at the declaration of war, they were established upon White river, an important tributary of the Wabash. They withstood every temptation, and not a Delaware raised a weapon against the United States, during the whole contest.

The Shawnese were also faithful. Their history is involved in much obscurity. Their language is Algonquin, and closely allied to the Kickapoo and other dialects, spoken by tribes, who have certainly lived for ages north of the Ohio. But they are known to have recently emigrated from the south, where they were surrounded by a family of tribes, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, &c. with whose language their own had no known affinity. Their traditions assign to them a foreign origin, and

a wild story has come down to them of a solemn procession to the brink of the ocean, and of a miraculous passage through the great deep. That they are closely connected with the Kickapoos, the actual identity of language furnishes irrefragable proof, and the incidents of the separation yet live in the oral history of each tribe. We are strongly inclined to believe, that not long before the arrival of the French upon the great lakes, the Kickapoos and Shawnese composed the tribe, known as the Erie ; living on the southern shore of the Lake, to which they have given their name. It is said, that this tribe was exterminated by the victorious Iroquois. But it is more probable, that a series of disasters divided them into two parties, one of which, under the name of Kickapoos, sought refuge from their enemies in the immense prairies between the Illinois and Mississippi, and the other under the name of Shawnese fled into the Cherokee country, and thence farther south. Father Sagard in 1632, called the Eries, the *nation du chat*, or of the racoon, on account of the magnitude of those animals in their country ; and that is the *soubriquet*, which to this day is applied by the Canadians to the Shawnese. But however this may be, the tribe itself, like the Delawares, had been migratory, and had removed its council fire from place to place, as the white man advanced to extinguish it. They, too, had made important cessions, and occupied the country at the sources of the great Miami. Their relations with the United States were scrupulously preserved ; but Tecumthé and the Prophet, instigated by personal ambition, abandoned their brethren, and with a little party of seceders, estimated in the Quarterly at ' half a score,' * passed over to the British camp.

The Miamies had long been stationary in the country between Lake Michigan and the Ohio, and had yielded to the United States, for valuable returns, valuable tracts of country. At the commencement of the war, and for some months afterwards, they adhered to their engagements, and forty of their warriors accompanied William Wells, who was sent to conduct the garrison of Chicago to Fort Wayne. When our operations in the northwest were palsied by imbecility, and one disaster seemed to make way for another, this tribe yielded to the combined effects of threats and promises, and accepted the tomahawk, which was tendered to them by the British officers

* Quarterly Review, No. 61, p. 107.

The Senecas, who also occupied a portion of the country, south of Lake Erie, were a shoot from the main stem in New York. They preserved their integrity with honorable firmness.

The history of the Wyandots, we shall presently examine. We have here but to remark, that their claims extended over important sections of the country, and that they were parties to various treaties, by which the American government had acquired extensive jurisdiction. The great body of the tribe resided upon the Sandusky river, and there its legitimate government was established. Neither people nor government abandoned their friends, nor forgot their duties.

These were the tribes upon our frontier, with whom our relations had been most complicated, and they were the tribes, who evinced the strongest disposition to remain neutral, or to join us in the contest.

The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomies are more closely connected, than any other tribes. They have one council fire, and almost an identity of interest. The Chippewas extend from Lake Erie far to the north and west, and their different bands have no common point of union, but manage their concerns like independent tribes. Those in the peninsula of Michigan are associated with the Ottawas and Potawatomies, and previously to the war of 1812, not an acre of the country belonging to these tribes, had ever been occupied by the United States. The settlements were confined to the districts, acquired by their predecessors, French and British, and although a cession of territory had been made in 1807, yet not a white man had settled upon it, and the entire usufruct was in the Indians. The northern Chippewas, the Menomonies, the Winebagoes, and the Sioux, who are enumerated in the Quarterly as active *allies*, and who probably constituted three fourths of the British savage force, had never been brought into contact with the American government, nor ever ceded to it the smallest portion of their lands. Nor to this day has a rood of their country been bought, or claimed, or settled, or occupied. The little insulated communities at Green Bay and Praire du Chien are now, as they were at the capitulation of Montreal.

What then becomes of the pretext, that the Indians engaged in this war 'for the preservation of their territory?' When, in fact, those, who had ceded most, were most anxious to remain at peace. And when those, who had ceded nothing, and who

will for ages cede nothing, clutched the tomahawk with as little scruple as it was presented. Was it a provident regard for the future, that dictated to the aboriginal politicians the necessity of providing for events, which, if they ever come, must come when some mighty physical revolution shall render the southern coast of Lake Superior and the table land of the Mississippi pleasant residences for civilized man? Such prospective wisdom is rarely found among the Indians. It would disclose, not a mere trait of character, but a new feature of human nature, if these improvident beings, with whom the past is forgotten and the future contemned, and whose whole existence is absorbed in the present, should encounter the United States in war, lest their country might be sold after the lapse of centuries.

But it is felt, that some justification is necessary for this union of St George's cross and the Indian *Kukewium*,* and it is now discovered, that the christian troops were fighting the battles of the Indians. And whose battles were they fighting in the revolutionary war? What land had the infant government acquired, or what aggression had it committed? When the British ministry quailed before the eloquent invective of Chatham, it was said by Lord Suffolk in the House of Lords, that if they did not employ the Indians, the Americans would. How false this was, we have already shown. But the ministry adhered to their resolution, with a tenacity of purpose, which in a better cause would have merited the appellation of just inflexibility. As the alliance was consummated openly, better to avow it boldly. Better to avow at once, what no canting will ever conceal, that the savage '*cooperation*' was useful to the British troops; and it was therefore sought with an anxiety, no ways diminished by the ruthless consequences of its employment.

We shall now proceed to examine another subject, which may properly be considered in this place.

'The surrender of Hull,' says the Quarterly, 'had been shortly preceded by the accession of the tribe of Wyandots or Huron

* This is the Indian standard, and the word, which is Algonquin, means *something to stand by*. It is a long spear, with feathers attached to the staff from one end to the other, and issuing at right angles from it. The color of the feathers is variegated; and this ensign is borne by the chief warriors. Whenever it is displayed, the hostile parties well understand that there is neither peace nor truce, and that a battle alone can decide between them.

Indians, to our alliance. Inhabiting the banks of the Detroit river or strait, these people form a singular exception to the degeneracy, which usually attends the intercourse of the Indians with the whites. The Wyandots have all the energy of the savage warrior, with the intelligence and docility of civilized troops. They are christians,' &c. p. 103.

As the occurrence, here mentioned, forms no uninteresting episode, and developes the system of operations, by which the Indian alliance was secured, we shall give the history of the transaction, as *we know* it happened.

Charlevoix long since described the Wyandots as 'the nation of all Canada, the most remarkable for its defects and virtues.' When Jacques Cartier ascended the St Lawrence, he found them established near Hochelega, now Montreal; and when Champlain entered the same river, their war with the Iroquois had already commenced, and that enterprising officer accompanied one of their parties in a hostile expedition against their enemies. The events of that war were most disastrous, and they were driven from their country to the northern shore of Lake Huron. But distance afforded no security, and the Iroquois pursued them with relentless fury. Famine, disease, and war made frightful havoc among them, and the accounts of their sufferings, given by the old missionaries, who witnessed and shared them, almost task the belief of the reader. They were literally hunted from their resting place, and the feeble remnant of this once powerful and haughty tribe owed their preservation to the protection of the Sioux, in whose country, west of Lake Superior, they found safety and tranquillity. In a few years, however, the power of the Iroquois was crippled by their wars with the French, and the Wyandots descended Lake Superior, and occupied the land about old Michilimackinac. When the French fort at Detroit was first established in 1701, this tribe was invited to settle in its vicinity, and their services were important in resisting the hostile operations, which the Foxes long conducted against the infant colony. Their final migration was to the plains of Sandusky, and here they resided, when the ill fated expedition of Crawford was consummated by his horrible sacrifice at the stake.

This tribe is at the head of the great Indian family. How this preeminence was acquired, there is none now to tell. They were the guardians of the great council fire, and they alone had the privilege of sending their messengers, with the well

known credentials, wampum and tobacco, to summon the other tribes to meet their uncle, the Wyandot, when any important subject required general deliberation. In the calamities, occasioned by the victorious career of the Iroquois, the site of this fire had been often changed, but always with the prescribed ceremonial, and with proper notice to all, who had a right to convene around it. In 1812, the fire was at Brownstown, at the mouth of the Detroit river; but it was extinguished in blood. And the whole institution has now disappeared, and will soon be remembered only in the traditionary stories, which it is the province of age to repeat, and of youth to learn.

The Wyandots are divided into seven bands or tribes. There are three Turtle tribes; namely, the Little Turtle, the Water Turtle, and the Large Land Turtle tribes; the Porcupine tribe, the Deer tribe, the Bear tribe, and the Snake tribe. Their offices are in form elective, but in reality hereditary, and the succession is through the female line. A chief is succeeded by his sister's son, or by the nearest male relative in that descent. There was formerly a great chief, called Sarstaritzee, and by the English the Half King. But the office, not being suitable to the declining fortunes of the Wyandots, has been abolished. A peace chief is at the head of each tribe, and the chief of the Porcupine tribe is now the acknowledged head of the nation. The seven chiefs are called the counsellors, and they constitute the actual government of the Wyandots.

In 1812, Tarhé or the Crane, an aged and venerable man, was the principal chief of the Porcupine tribe of the Wyandot nation. He lived at Upper Sandusky, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the Detroit river, and there he was surrounded by his counsellors, and by almost all his people. A small party, amounting to about sixty persons, including men, women, and children, lived upon the River Aux Canards near Malden, in Canada, and another party of about two hundred and fifty persons, lived on the American shore of the Detroit river, nearly opposite the British post at its mouth. Such was the distribution of the Wyandot nation at the declaration of war in 1812.

When the Crane became satisfied, that a war between the United States and Great Britain was inevitable, he directed the proper measures to be taken for convening a general council at Brownstown; and alarmed at the situation of his own people,

he attended in person with his confidential counsellor, Between-the-logs, and with the principal Shawnese chief, Black-hoof. At this council the Wyandots were asked by the Potawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas, whether they intended to take hold of the British hatchet, which was offered to them. Walk-in-the-water, who was at the head of the Wyandots on the American side of the river Detroit, and was the chief speaker of the nation, answered; 'No, we will not take up the hatchet against our father the Long-knife. Our two fathers are about to fight, but we red men have no concern in their quarrel, and it is best for us to sit still, and remain neutral.' This advice was generally approved; but the result of the council having been communicated to the British authorities, immediate measures were taken to counteract a decision so adverse to their hopes. A council was convened at Malden, which was attended by the chiefs of the various tribes in the vicinity. Elliott, the Indian agent, and the British commanding officer were present. The former demanded of the Wyandots, whether they had advised the other tribes to remain neutral. To this, Walk-in-the-water answered; 'We have, and we believe it is best for us, and for our brethren. We have no wish to be involved in a war with our father, the Long-knife, for we know by experience, that we have nothing to gain by it, and we beg our father, the British, not to force us to war. We remember, in the former war between our fathers, the British and the Long-knife, we were both defeated, and we the red men lost our country; and you, our father, the British, made peace with the Long-knife, without our knowledge, and you gave our country to him. You still said to us, my children, you must fight for your country, for the Long-knife will take it from you. We did as you advised us, and we were defeated with the loss of our best chiefs and warriors, and of our land. And we still remember your conduct towards us, when we were defeated at the foot of the rapids of the Miami. We sought safety for our wounded in your fort. But what was your conduct? You closed your gates against us, and we had to retreat the best way we could. And then we made peace with the Americans, and have enjoyed peace with them ever since. And now you wish us, your red children, again to take up the hatchet against our father, the Long-knife. We say again, we do not wish to have any thing to do with the war. Fight your own battles, but let us, your red children, enjoy peace.'

Elliott here interrupted the speaker, and said; 'That is American talk, and I shall hear no more of it. If you do not stop, I will direct my soldiers to take you and the chiefs, and keep you prisoners, and will consider you as our enemies.' Walk-in-the-water then took his seat, to consult the other chiefs, and Round-head, who had openly espoused the British interest, and who was the chief of the small party of Wyandots living in Canada, immediately rose, and said; 'Father, listen to your children. You say, that the talk just delivered by my friend Walk-in-the-water, is American talk, and that you cannot hear any more of it; and if persisted in, you will take the chiefs prisoners, and treat them as enemies. Now hear me. I am a chief, and am acknowledged to be such. I speak the sentiments of the chiefs of the tribes, assembled round your council fire. I now come forward, and take hold of your war hatchet, and will assist you to fight against the Americans!' He was followed by Tecumthé and the Prophet, and by two Wyandot chiefs, Worrow and Split-log, the former residing in Canada, and the latter in the United States. Walk-in-the-water, and his associates, still declined the invitation. Elliott then arose and said; 'My children, I am now well pleased at what you have done; that you have accepted the hatchet of your British father, and are willing to assist him in fighting against the Americans. As for these men, my friend Walk-in-the-water, and the others, I shall bring them and their people to this side of the river, where I can have them under my own eye, for they are in my way at Brownstown.'

Walk-in-the-water made no reply, but left the council house, and recrossed the river, to communicate the result to the Crane. Apprehensive for his personal safety, the old chief and his attendants instantly left Brownstown, and returned to their people at Upper Sandusky. A detachment of the British troops, under the command of Captain Muir, with a party of the militia under Captain Caldwell, amounting to about three hundred men, accompanied by Round-head and Tecumthé, with two hundred Indians, crossed the river the same night. They surrounded and took prisoners, the Brownstown Wyandots, and compelled them to embark in their boats. They were then carried to Malden. A few days before this occurrence, this party had sent a deputation to the American general at Detroit, at the head of which was Walk-in-the-water, representing their exposed condition, and requesting that a block

house might be erected at Brownstown for their defence. Why this obviously useful measure was not adopted, we cannot tell. The proposition evinces the earnest desire of the party to be protected in their neutrality. And this is the 'sagacity' displayed by the tribes, who 'hastened' to join the British troops.

But we shall develope the whole progress of this Wyandot '*alliance*,' as the incidents, connected with it, reflect much light upon the secret management of Indian '*cooperation*.'

About a year after this forced '*accession*,' the Crane proposed to General Harrison, who was then encamped with his army at Seneca, that a formal embassy should be sent by the Wyandots, to their brethren in the British camp, and to all the Indians, who adhered to the British cause, advising them to consult their true interest, and retire to their own country. The proposition was approved by General Harrison, and the Crane was requested to take such measures, as appeared most proper to give it effect.

Between-the-logs was appointed the ambassador, and a small escort of eight warriors, commanded by Skootash, the principal war chief of the nation, was selected to accompany him. Two speeches were sent by the Crane, one to be delivered privately to his own people, and the other publicly to the British Indians.

The Wyandot embassy arrived at Brownstown in safety, and the following morning a general council assembled to hear the message from their uncle. The multitude was prodigious, and Elliott and McKee, the British agents, were present. We have been told, that Between-the-logs arose in the midst of this host of enemies, and delivered with unshaken firmness the following speech from the Crane, which had been entrusted to him.

'Brothers, the red men, who are engaged in fighting for the British king, listen! These words are from me, Tarhé, and they are also the words of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnese, and Senecas.

'Our American father has raised his war pole, and collected a large army of his warriors. They will soon march to attack the British. He does not wish to destroy his red children, their wives, and families. He wishes you to separate yourselves from the British, and bury the hatchet you have raised. He will be merciful to you. You can then return to your own

lands, and hunt the game, as you formerly did. I request you to consider your situation, and act wisely in this important matter; and not wantonly destroy your own people. Brothers, whoever feels disposed to accept this advice will come forward and take hold of this belt of wampum, which I have in my hand and offer to you. I hope you will not refuse to accept it in presence of your British father, for you are independent of him. Brothers, we have done, and we hope you will decide wisely.'

Not a hand moved to accept the offered pledge of peace. The spell was too potent to be broken by charms like these; but Round-head arose, and addressed the embassy.

'Brothers, the Wyandots from the Americans, we have heard your talk, and will not listen to it. We will not forsake the standard of our British father, nor lay down the hatchet we have raised. I speak the sentiments of all now present, and I charge you, that you faithfully deliver our talk to the American commander, and tell him it is our wish he would send more men against us, for all that has passed between us, I do not call fighting. We are not satisfied with the number of men he sends to contend against us. We want to fight in good earnest.'

Elliott then spoke. 'My children; as you now see that my children here are determined not to forsake the cause of their British father, I wish you to carry a message back with you. Tell my wife, your American father, that I want her to cook the provisions for me, and my red children, more faithfully than she has done. She has not done her duty. And if she receives this as an insult, and feels disposed to fight, tell her to bring more men, than she ever brought before, as our former skirmishes I do not call fighting. If she wishes to fight with me and my children, she must not burrow in the earth like a ground hog, where she is inaccessible. She must come out and fight fairly.'

To this, Between-the-logs replied. 'Brothers, I am directed by my American father to inform you, that if you reject the advice given you, he will march here with a large army, and if he should find any of the red people opposing him in his passage through this country, he will trample them under his feet. You cannot stand before him.

'And now for myself, I earnestly entreat you to consider the good talk I have brought, and listen to it. Why would you

devote yourselves, your women, and your children, to destruction? Let me tell you, if you should defeat the American army this time, you have not done. Another will come on, and if you defeat that, still another will appear, that you cannot withstand; one that will come like the waves of the great water, and overwhelm you, and sweep you from the face of the earth. If you doubt the account I give of the force of the Americans, you can send some of your people, in whom you have confidence, to examine their army and navy. They shall be permitted to return in safety. The truth is, your British father tells you lies, and deceives you. He boasts of the few victories he gains, but he never tells you of his defeats, of his armies being slaughtered, and his vessels taken on the big water. He keeps all these things to himself.

'And now, father, let me address a few words to you. Your request shall be granted. I will bear your message to my American father. It is true, none of your children appear willing to forsake your standard, and it will be the worse for them. You compare the Americans to ground hogs, and complain of their mode of fighting. I must confess, that a ground hog is a very difficult animal to contend with. He has such sharp teeth, such an inflexible temper, and such an unconquerable spirit, that he is truly a dangerous enemy, especially when he is in his own hole. But, father, let me tell you, you can have your wish. Before many days, you will see the ground hog come floating on yonder lake, paddling his canoe towards your hole; and then, father, you will have an opportunity of attacking your formidable enemy in any way, you may think best.'

This speech terminated the proceedings of the council. All the Indians, except the Wyandots, dispersed, and they secretly assembled to hear the message sent to them by their own chief.

Governments frequently preserve their forms, long after essential changes occur in their institutions, and the Turkish edicts are yet dated from the Imperial stirrup, although the successors of Amurath have long since exchanged the camp for the seraglio. The Crane's message was a peremptory mandate, evincing in its manner, that the time has been, when sterner authority was exercised by the Wyandot chiefs, than they would now assume, or the warriors obey.

The Wyandots were directed to quit Skorah* immediately. They were said to be liars and deceivers, and that they had always deceived the Indians. And facts, in evidence of this, were quoted. The building of Fort Miami was particularly referred to. It was said to be erected as a refuge for the Indians, but when they were overpowered by Wayne, the gates were shut against them.† The comparative strength of General Harrison's army and of the British forces was concealed from them, and they were in a very dangerous condition.

This message was faithfully delivered to the Wyandots, and produced its full effect upon them. They requested Between-the-logs to inform the Crane, that they were in fact prisoners, but they that had taken firm hold of his belt of wampum, and would not fire another gun. They promised, that on the advance of the American army, they would quit the British troops, as soon as it was safe to take that decisive measure. And such in fact was the result. When Proctor left the country, his Wyandot allies abandoned him, a few miles from the mouth of the River Tranche and retired into the forest. Thence they sent a message to General Harrison, imploring his mercy.

But this formal interposition of the tribe, which has stood for ages at the head of the great Indian confederacy, produced an excitement, visible and menacing. To counteract it, the usual means were employed, and the embassy was directed to leave the country instantly. So apprehensive were their friends, that even the sacred character attached to them, would not protect them from the machinations of Elliott, that a party of the warriors accompanied them, some miles on their return. No sinister accident however occurred.‡ But we return to the Reviewer.

'A watchful care and a fortunate degree of influence over our Indian allies, prevented the infliction of such enormities in the

* The *British*, in the Huron dialect.

† The Crane was wounded in this action, and the loss fell heavily upon the Wyandots.

‡ Every Indian speech is accompanied by its appropriate belt, which is deposited with the chief speaker. These belts constitute the records of the tribe. They are formed of wampum, which is small beads manufactured from shells for this purpose. These beads are strung upon sinews, and are then united into a belt. The beads are generally white, blue, or black, and a symbolical meaning is attached to their distribution. The memory is aided by the faculty of association, and the speeches are repeated at stated intervals, and thus preserved for posterity. We have seen a very ancient belt of the Wyandots, and heard

Canadian war, and after the moment of slaughter in action, the Indians yielded their prisoners to our ransom.' p. 100.

'And the exertions of our officers which so generally obtained quarter for the prisoners, who fell into their hands,' &c. p. 102.

'It was customary for the British to secure the lives of prisoners, by paying head money for every American delivered up in safety by the Indians.' p. 106.

'*A watchful care and fortunate degree of influence!*' Never have public and notorious facts been so openly contemned. The writer of this article could not have known the extensive circulation of the journal, in which his misrepresentations have been embodied. He could not have known, that it would reach those, who had heard the Indian war whoop; who had seen these atrocious cruelties, which yet flit, like pale spectres, across the memory. This affectation of mercy, and of merciful exertions, we shall proceed to expose, and to reveal some of the horrible enormities which are here passed over.

We have already seen the official account in the Quebec Gazette, of the four or five hundred men, who were slaughtered by the Indians at the battle of the River Raisin in 1813, because they attempted to effect their escape. This account is signed by Edmund Baynes, Adjutant General, and there is inserted in it the following complimentary notice. 'The Indian chief, Round-head, with his band of warriors, rendered essential service by his bravery and good conduct.' But the most authentic evidence yet exists, of the barbarities, which were perpetrated upon the prisoners taken in this '*brilliant*

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the speech repeated in a language, bearing little resemblance to that now spoken by them.

The facts connected with this deportation of the Wyandots and the embassy from the Crane, we have received from Mrs Walker, a respectable half Wyandot woman, and her two sons, Isaac and William. The former is the public interpreter at Upper Sandusky, and the latter is the teacher of the Missionary school at that place. Both are intelligent and well educated, and both are men of integrity. They and their mother were with the Wyandots of Brownstown, and were taken across the Detroit River. And they were present at the great council, where Between-the-logs delivered his speech.

We are also indebted to Mr Stickney, then the United States agent for the Wyandots, for his account of the transaction. And we may add, that the general facts respecting the capture of these people were known to us at the time; and that we were present, when the ambassador received his instructions; and we heard the Crane, when he made his report to General Harrison of the result.

action.' We shall introduce a part of it here, and leave to our readers to judge for themselves, of the '*watchful care, and fortunate degree of influence,*' which are thus loudly proclaimed to the world. The facts which we are about to quote, were taken at the time from eye witnesses under oath, whose names are attached to their testimony. *

'Joseph Robert says, that on the next day after the battle on the River Raisin, a short time after sunrise, he saw the Indians kill the American prisoners with their tomahawks; that the Indians set the houses on fire, and that in going out, the prisoners were massacred and killed as aforesaid; that is, three were shot, the others were killed in the houses and burned in the houses.'

'Antoine Boulard says, that on the next day after the last battle at the River aux Raisins, he saw the Indians kill the Secretary of the American General, who was on the horse of the Indian who had taken him prisoner, with a rifle shot; that the prisoner fell on on one side, and an Indian came forward with a sabre, finished him, scalped him, and carried away his clothes. The body remained two days on the high way, before the door of the deponent.'

'Louis Bernard states the same fact, respecting the massacre of the Secretary of the American General, and also, "that on the next day after the battle, I was near the house of Gabriel Godfrey, Junior, and the house of Jean Baptiste Jereaume, where a great number of prisoners were collected, and that I heard the screaming of the prisoners, whom the Indians were tomahawking; that the savages set the houses on fire," ' &c.

Ensign Baker was left by General Winchester to take care of the prisoners, and in his report of these outrages, after stating the names of many whom he knew to have been killed by the Indians subsequently to the battle, adds,

'Many fresh scalps have been brought in since the battle, and dead bodies seen through the country, which proves that others have been killed whose names I have not been able to find out, independent of those reported to Colonel Proctor.

'The fifteen or eighteen mentioned in the remarks to the return made to Colonel Proctor, whose names do not appear, were not known by those who saw them killed.'

'For the greatest number of our unfortunate fellow citizens being sent from Detroit, we are indebted to the exertions of our

* The documents in full may be found in Niles's Register, Vol. IV. pp. 92, 93. They were transmitted to our Government by Judge Woodward in March, 1813.

fellow citizens there, who with unexampled generosity,' &c. 'lavished their wealth for their ransom.'

'Hubert Lacroix deposes, that on the day succeeding the massacre at the River Raisin, he was proceeding from the battle ground of the preceding day to Sandy Creek in company with another person, and on arriving near the creek, their attention was attracted by violent screams, apparently of some one in extreme terror or agony, issuing from a house near them. After hesitating a moment, they cautiously approached the house and looked in, when they saw standing in the middle of the room a wounded American soldier, bound hand and foot and tied to a stake. Bundles of straw were attached to him, as high as his breast, and around him, singing a death song, were dancing a number of Indians, with lighted torches in their hands, with which at short intervals, they kindled the straw around the prisoner. The next morning the deponent saw the dead body of the prisoner, mangled and half burned, lying in the door yard before the house, where it had been thrown by the Indians, as soon as death had put a period to their tortures.'

To this we might add the mass of testimony presented to a committee of the House of Representatives appointed to examine the subject, and all tending to confirm the same shocking facts; as well as innumerable proofs from other quarters. But we forbear. These details are as afflicting to us as they can be to our readers, and we shall therefore only refer to the massacres, which followed the surrender of Colonel Dudley's detachment on the north side of the Miami on the 5th of May, 1813. The particulars will be found in the public journals of the times.* A large body of the prisoners was placed within the walls of old Fort Miami, and many of them were assassinated by the Indians, who passed the British centinels, and attacked these unarmed men. We never knew the number of those, who were thus massacred. An honest half Shawnese, Joseph Parks, has more than once described the scene to us, and stated, that he saw one Potawatomie kill three prisoners.

But we here terminate this recital of horrors, and pass by the conflagrations and murders, which studded our exposed frontier with burning dwellings and mangled corpses, from Lake Erie to the gulf of Mexico.

'It was customary,' says the Quarterly again, 'for the British to secure the lives of the prisoners, by paying head money for

* See Niles's Register, May 22 and 29, 1813.

every American delivered up in safety by the Indians; and this measure was generally successful.' pp. 105, 106.

We shall probe this matter to the bottom. The war was commenced in June, 1812, and the cooperation of the British and Indians was confined almost exclusively to the northwestern frontier. The services of the Indians upon the Niagara and St Lawrence were scarcely felt, and certainly produced no effect upon the operations of the war. Incursions were made upon our territory, in that quarter, in a few instances only, and there were no aggressions there to mark the '*alliance.*' The surrender of Detroit opened our whole frontier to the enemy, and it required the most vigorous exertions for many months to retrieve the effects of this unlooked for disaster. During this period, Winchester's troops were defeated at the River Raisin, Fort Meigs was twice besieged, and an attempt was made to carry Lower Sandusky, by a *coup de main.* This last attack was made on the 2d of August, 1813, and it terminated the offensive operations of the British in this quarter. General Harrison had been embodying and disciplining his troops, and collecting all the necessary *matériel*, preparatory to those vigorous measures, which were eventually so honorable to himself, and so useful to his country. Proctor retreated from Sandusky, without capturing a single prisoner, and of course without the opportunity of '*ransoming*' any. The Moravian Towns on the river Tranche were the next place, where he saw the American troops, and here his force was annihilated, and his Indian allies scattered like leaves before the blast. This authority to pay *head money* was first given in a general order issued by Sir George Provost, dated at Kingston, July 20th, 1813.

'With a view to *soften and restrain* the Indian warriors in their conduct towards such Americans, as may be made by them prisoners of war, his Excellency is pleased to approve of the following arrangements, submitted by that board, and directs that the same be acted on, namely,' among other things, 'for head money upon prisoners of war, brought in by Indians, allowance should be made to them for each prisoner brought in alive of FIVE DOLLARS!'

After the war had existed more than a year, and unheard of barbarities had been inflicted upon our captured troops, and the storm, which at last overwhelmed the British army in the northwest, was gathering and approaching, this order appears.

The proffered reward never saved a single human being ; and for the most conclusive of all reasons, because not a human being was taken by the Indians *after its promulgation.* The massacres we have related, all occurred before this humane attempt '*to soften and restrain the Indian warriors.*' And this effect is to be produced by a gratuity of *five dollars!* Not enough as we have seen, to buy a butcher knife! The hand of the warrior, in the excitement of battle, is to be stayed by this paltry sum! The miserable victim of savage caprice is to be protected during the paroxysms of fury and intoxication, to which he is exposed in the camps and villages of the Indians, by the cupidity of his master, who is to receive five dollars! We ask seriously, how much more was given for the dead scalp, than the living head? Let those answer, who can. For ourselves, *we know*, that every successful war party, on its return, was taken to the public store, and profusely supplied with clothing and other necessary articles.

We shall now introduce unquestionable evidence to show, that so far from any real attempt to *soften and restrain* the Indians, the citizens of the subjugated Territory of Michigan, were actually prohibited by the British authorities from rescuing their suffering countrymen, by purchasing them of the Indians.* The British General, Proctor, is now beyond the reach of human judgment. What motive induced him to issue an order, so shocking both in its immediate and remote consequences, we cannot tell, nor can any of the respectable gentlemen, who have signed the statement below. Persons most charitably disposed will attribute the measure to some unknown

* 'We, whose signatures are to this paper, were in this country during the whole occupation of it by the British troops in 1812 and 1813. It is within our knowledge, that during that period, no American prisoner was redeemed from the Indians by the British government by the payment of his ransom; that an express official order was issued prohibiting the American citizens from ransoming such prisoners; and that until such prohibition the citizens of the country redeemed such prisoners whenever it was in their power. The average value at which the American prisoners were held by the Indians was not less than fifty dollars.—[Signed.] Robert Smart, John Whipple, Oliver W. Miller, Peter J. Desnoyer, Antoine Dequindre, J. McDonell, Joseph Spencer, William Meldrum, Laurent Durocher.'

'I am well acquainted with all the persons, who have signed the preceding statement, and know them to be respectable and intelligent, and entitled to full credit.—[Signed.] Solomon Sibley, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan.'

effect upon the active operations, in which he was engaged; while others will seek a solution in his personal character, and in the policy of inspiring his enemies with terror.

But whatever doubt there may be respecting the motive, there is none of the fact. It is as well known as any other occurrence, which marked the dark year of British domination in Michigan, and now constitutes part of her history.

But there is another document, which *we have seen*, and which was never intended for an American eye, that affords a practical commentary upon this plan of '*softening and restraining the Indian warriors.*' It was an original letter from General Brock to Proctor, apparently in the handwriting of the former, and dated the day preceding his death. It was found among the papers of Proctor, which were captured after the action at the Moravian Towns, and was first discovered by Lieutenant Norton, Aid de camp to the general officer, who then commanded upon that frontier, and was generally read by the officers. The purport of this letter was as follows.

'You say you had thoughts of using the force under your command to restrain the Indians from committing depredations on the inhabitants. The person or persons who have advised you to a course of this kind, cannot be friendly to our government. I would advise you to beware of them. This species of force is necessary to us, and *they must be indulged.*'

The pretended '*butcheries*,' '*massacres*,' and '*murders*,' after the actions at Tippecanoe, the Massasinewa, and the Moravian Towns, are vile fabrications. We use strong terms, but the following letter from the able general, who personally commanded in two of those actions, and by whose orders the expedition was undertaken, which led to the other, will prove that the terms are no stronger than the circumstances fairly justify.

'Sir,—In answer to your inquiries respecting the statement in the sixtyfirst Number of the London Quarterly Review of the murders committed by the American troops upon the Indians, after the battles of Tippecanoe and at the Moravian Towns, and at the attack upon the Indian settlements in the autumn of 1812, alluding, I presume, to Colonel Campbell's expedition to the Massasinewa, I have to state that the entire account is a base calumny, unsupported by the slightest testimony, and wholly and absolutely false.

'Not an indian woman, nor child, living or dead, was seen at or subsequent to the battle at the Moravian Towns. They had all

been secreted in the forest, before the approach of the American troops, nor was one of them discovered by us. Nor was a wounded Indian warrior left upon the field. Agreeably to the uniform custom of the Indians, all who were not killed, were removed by them, and the situation of the army, and the nature of the country forbade all pursuit.

'Colonel Campbell, in his attack upon an Indian town, the day preceding the action at the Massasinewa, killed seven Indian warriors and captured thirtyseven men, women, and children. The next morning he was himself attacked, and after a vigorous contest, the Indians were repulsed with considerable loss. During this action his prisoners were protected, and not one of them was injured. They were all brought in safety to the settlements, except some who were dismissed with messages to the Indians. An Indian child was carried by Colonel Ball, the second in command, upon his horse, and his life was thus preserved.

'At Tippecanoe our troops were attacked by the Indians, who occupied a formidable position in a fortified town, near the site of our encampment. The attack was made before day on the morning of November 7th, 1811, and after the Indians were repulsed, they retired to their town, and thence they sought secrecy and security in the forest. The American troops did not enter the town till the eighth, when it was found wholly abandoned except by one old decrepid squaw, who was supplied with provisions and left unharmed. Not an Indian family was seen during the whole expedition. Two wounded Indian warriors were taken, both of whom were carefully attended. One of them died on the following day, and the other, a distinguished Potawatomie chief, was left on the ground, at his own earnest request, with every thing necessary to his comfort. He was found by his friends a few hours after our army had commenced its retrograde march. He lived some weeks after, but died from an attempt to amputate his wounded leg with a tomahawk. I had offered to have this operation performed by the army surgeons, but he could not be prevailed on to have it done. These two warriors and the squaw were the only living Indians seen subsequent to the battle.

I am, &c.

W. H. Harrison.

Our testimony is feeble and useless after this decisive refutation, but we cannot refrain from saying, that the statement of General Harrison respecting the battle at the Moravian Towns is in coincidence with our distinct recollection.

As to what is said of 'the more recent and authorized horrors of General Jackson's Seminole war,' which Mr Buchanan declares, 'he has deemed it *prudent* to omit in his work,' we

suppose it refers to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and of the Indian Prophet, who instigated his countrymen to war. The following observations are annexed in the form of a note to the words just quoted. 'It is curious to connect this caution on Mr Buchanan's part with the assurance which almost immediately follows on the same page, that "the kindness and civility, which he has experienced from all ranks in the United States, he shall ever be ready to acknowledge." And this, too, is *prudence*.' We confess, that we comprehend the meaning of Mr Buchanan, as little as we do the point of the note. His Majesty's consul will never meet the fate, nor obtain the crown of martyrdom, if his other virtues be not more strongly tempted, than was his prudence here. Certainly he could not mean to insinuate that there was any *danger*, either to his person or to his social intercourse in the examination of a transaction, whose details had been published in every newspaper, and discussed in every political circle in the Union; which had formed the subject of inquiry in the Senate and House of Representatives, and upon which a committee in each of those bodies had reported unfavorably; and which had furnished matter for a serious diplomatic correspondence between our government and the British and Spanish authorities.

To this correspondence we may safely refer all, who have yet any interest in investigating the occurrences of the Seminole campaign, and the conduct of the commanding General. With many it has been a triumphant vindication, and with others a satisfactory justification; and all have felt the force of the argument, and ackowledged the perspicacity of the writer on the part of the United States. General Jackson is no favorite with the English journalists, nor is it natural he should be, till the affair of New Orleans can be forgotten. His fame must rest upon the affections of his countrymen, and upon his own splendid achievements. They are proud and durable monuments.

We shall now examine some of the other facts, stated in this article. They are, perhaps, not very important, but as they were thought worth fabricating, they are worth refuting. 'For these *truths*,' says the Quarterly, 'we will pledge ourselves.' (p. 100.) How indiscreetly this pledge has been given, and how tardily it will be redeemed, we shall presently see.

'Every man who has served in that country, can attest the fact, that the Kentuckians invariably carry the tomahawk and scalping

knife into action, and are dexterous in using them. It is well authenticated, that the first scalp taken in the late war, was torn from the head of a lifeless Indian by the teeth of a captain in the American service. This wretch, whose name was McCulloch, was killed in a skirmish on the 5th of August, 1812, and in his pocket was found a letter to his wife, boasting, that on the 15th of the preceding month, a few days after the opening of the war, when an Indian had been killed on the river Canard, and was found scalped, he had performed the exploit.' p. 102.

The character of the Kentuckians is beyond the reach of *tirades* like this. We know them well. They are generous, hospitable, high spirited, and patriotic ; fearing nothing and regarding nothing in the heat of battle ; but kind and humane when the battle is over. Their exertions and those of their sister state, Ohio, in support of the late war, will be recorded among the proudest events of American history. Their citizens voluntarily joined the standard of their country at New Orleans and on the northern shore of lake Erie.

Every hunter or woodsman carries a knife, whenever his occupations lead him into the forest. It is as necessary to him as his rifle and blanket. Without it, he could not skin and dress his game, nor strike his fire, nor cut a stick, nor prepare for encampment, nor divide his victuals, nor perform the thousand offices, where such an instrument is required. But this writer probably supposed, that every night, a comfortable table, with its knives and forks, and other apparatus, is spread for the citizen soldier, who mounts his horse at the summons of his country, and is soon lost to all but himself and his companions, in the everlasting solitude of pathless forests. Here, his roof is the heavens, his pillow a saddle, his bed a blanket, a pointed stick his only culinary utensil, and his knife the only manual instrument. And how long is it, since similar implements were carried by the Highlanders, and since ' the clanking of knives and forks, lifted from the table, above the salt, and *drawn from the sheath* below it,' was heard at Highland dinners ? And these hardy mountaineers, and we speak it seriously, were as likely to scalp their living companions, as the Kentuckians to inflict outrages upon a dead or dying savage. It may be, that such gross violations of decency and humanity were committed. Individual passions cannot always be restrained, but the man and the deed would be reprobated, as generally and as vehemently in Kentucky as in London.

The story of the *first scalp torn from the head of an Indian by Captain McCulloch*, we shall tell in few words. The first scalp taken during the late war between the United States and Great Britain, was torn from the head of a British soldier by an Indian *in the British service*, and carried to Malden, we presume for the customary reward. For this fact, we can appeal to the gallant General Miller, to Colonel Snelling, and other living officers, to whom the occurrences, which we shall relate, are well known.

Soon after General Hull crossed the Detroit river, a detachment was ordered to advance towards Malden, and observe the position of the enemy. A British party was stationed to protect the bridge over the River aux Canards, and when the American detachment arrived near that river, one company was directed to advance along the road, concealing as long as possible their approach, and to fire upon the British party, as soon as they discovered the main body of the detachment in the rear. To attain a position in the rear, the river was crossed a few miles above the bridge, and when the advancing detachment was descried, the British party was attacked, and instantly fled. The sentinel upon the bridge was killed, and another man wounded ; and from this simple occurrence, where there was almost no fighting, and certainly no resistance, Sir George Provost favored the world with a specimen of military fanfaronade, to which no equal can be found except in Hudibras. His order is dated August 6th, 1812, and in it, he talks of the 'heroism and self devotion displayed by two privates, who being left as sentinels, when the party, to which they belonged, *retired*, continued to maintain their situation against the whole of the enemy's force, until they both fell, when one of them, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing upon him, till he was overwhelmed by numbers,' &c. The soldier, who was killed, was buried near the spot, and as soon as the detachment retired, he was disinterred by the Indians, and his scalp taken off and carried to Malden.

McCulloch had in early life been taken prisoner by the Indians. Their manners and habits were familiar to him, and he had married a half Wyandot woman. He was employed as one of the guides of General Hull's army, and when that army reached Detroit, he voluntarily crossed over to Canada, anxious, no doubt, to participate in scenes, which recalled the

incidents of his early youth. He remained with the army but a few days, and was killed on his return. We believe he shot an Indian in a skirmish, while in Canada, and, without however knowing the fact, we may well admit, that he scalped him. He had often fought with the Indians, and his memory was stored with many a tale of their barbarities, and his passions excited to revenge them. The *dental* tearing of the scalp, is doubtless a gratuitous ornament of the writer of this article, to place the story in bolder relief. Was this too in the letter, or was the narrator present to witness an operation, which might bid defiance to a tiger's teeth? As to the captaincy, it is another fabrication. McCulloch was as much a captain in the army of the Grand Lama, as in the American service. He was, as we have seen, a guide—a pilot, through an ocean of forest.

And is this laceration of a dead body, inhuman as it is, to be an offset against a system of pecuniary rewards, which led to murders, that the prescribed voucher might be obtained for their payment? Many of these facts are known to ourselves. And for others, we refer to living witnesses, or to publications or documents, which have long been before the public.

Before quite closing our long article, we must beg the patience of our readers to listen one moment to a curious story told by the Quarterly.

'After Hull's advance into Canada, the little river Canard for some time separated our troops from the enemy; its banks were overgrown with long rushes and rank grass, and the Indians frequently crossing it in their canoes, found cover to watch every motion of the enemy's outposts. One morning a small picquet of twelve or fourteen Americans, were sent forward to the river to reconnoitre, and were observed in their advance by a single Indian, who lay concealed among the rushes. He marked out one of the party, fired, and killed him. While the smoke of his rifle was dissipating, he had already crept round to the rear of the picquet, who had just time to pour a volley into the spot, which he had quitted, when a second shot from behind them, brought another of their companions to the earth. The fire of the party was ineffectually repeated, and immediately followed by a third bullet, as deadly as the two first, from an opposite quarter. Then believing themselves surrounded, and panic struck at the unerring discharge of their enemy, the party precipitately retreated, and left the field to the Indian.' p. 103.

If one man can be found from Johnny Groat's house to the Land's End, who believes this idle rhodomontade, our estimate

of British intelligence has been higher than it should be. There is not a tree nor a bush, within a mile of the spot, where this *brilliant exploit* was achieved. Memory has placed before us the whole panorama, freshly and vividly. The little sluggish stream winds its devious course through an extensive prairie, as level as the noble strait which bounds it, and but little elevated above it; affording no shelter for an ambush, nor safety against an attack. Yet here, a party of fourteen men, woodsmen too, is *surrounded* in broad day, by a single Indian, who fires and succeeds in obtaining their rear, enveloped in the smoke of his own rifle, while they are firing where he *was!* And three times he thus fires, travelling the circumference of the circle, while his bewildered enemy is employed in facing about, and attacking, not the *shadow*, but the *smoke!* We have seen something of Indian fighting, and know, that in the forests, and behind trees and logs, they are formidable, and even terrible assailants. And when the sleep of the soldier is broken by the war whoop, the firmest heart may well confess its fearful anxiety. But this wonderful improvement in aboriginal tactics, this *ambulatory ambuscade*, we had yet to learn. Certainly the Monk of Canterbury could not have invented gunpowder. This stratagem would seem to afford an explanation of the mode, in which the Trojan adventurer, unharmed and unobserved, advanced to the very palace of the Carthaginian queen. The *neque cernitur ulli* must refer to the very hero of the River Canards.

> Infert se septus nebulâ, mirabile dictu,
> Per medios, miscetque viris; neque cernitur ulli.

But lest the Reviewer should lay the flattering 'unction to his soul,' that the trifling skirmishes upon the River Canards, prevented the passage of the American troops, we can tell him, that after the first attack, when the British detachment was driven into Malden, and possession obtained of the bridge, the American parties were expressly prohibited by their commander from crossing that river. For the truth of this fact, we appeal to General Miller, to General McArthur, and to General Findlay. That stream was the *impassable gulf*, beyond which our troops might gaze, but over which they could not pass. We do not here investigate the motives of the American general. That is the province of history.

Our task is finished. Much of it has afforded us no pleasure. But the glove was thrown down, and recreant indeed

should we of this country prove, were there none willing to take it up. The charges were made in no measured terms, and the manner and the matter were equally exceptionable. In their examination, we have been necessarily led to investigate facts, some of which were never thus publicly disclosed, and others had passed away, and were forgotten. Although, when grouped together, they present scenes at which humanity shudders, yet they are the lessons of history; and profitable lessons too, if they prevent the recurrence of similar enormities, or if they produce any permanent improvement in the condition of the Indians. The experience of the past is only valuable, as it influences the present and the future. History can never become 'philosophy teaching by example,' if we exclude from its records all transactions to which the parties cannot look back with complacency. To the mariner, the buoy that marks the sunken rock and warns him to avoid it, is not less dear, than the beacon which discovers his destined port and invites him to enter. The massacre of St Bartholomew's, the Sicilian Vespers, the Noyades of the Loire, the martyrdoms of Smithfield, and the infinite multitude of events, which exhibit the ascendancy of pernicious passions, are yet useful memorials for after ages. History, and even modern history, is already sufficiently fabulous, without a *suppressio veri*, which will leave to posterity little more than a knowledge, that battles were fought, and kingdoms won.

Many of the facts, which we have stated, will be new to the British nation. Indifference to the sufferings of others is no trait of their character, and it is not probable, that either they or their government were ever fully aware of the horrors, which attended the employment of the savages. The scene of action was far distant, their feelings were excited by war, and the facts were systematically concealed or misrepresented, by those, who conducted their operations in this hemisphere. Were it even in our power, it would afford us no pleasure to lower the rank of England in the general scale of national character. It was the land of our forefathers. We are connected with England by many a grateful recollection, by many a sympathetic feeling, by the ties of consanguinity, by the bonds of a common language and a common religion, and by kindred habits, feelings, and pursuits. In all that is valuable in life, in literature, in science, and in the arts, she has contributed her full proportion to the general stock.

But while we award this justice, we may be permitted to express our regret, that discussions, such as we have now spread before our readers, are ever rendered necessary by the violent attacks of the British press upon the mind and manners of this country. Who is to profit by this warfare, we are unable to conjecture. Even while we are writing these remarks, we perceive that one of the most respectable of the English journals has recently travelled out of its course to observe, that '*we are not fond of relying upon American reports.*'* And what is gained by this affectation of contempt? The malice is ineffectual, the dart falls *imbecili ictu*, and the world is at no loss to attribute such coarse invective to the remembrance of events that have happened, or still more to gloomy visions of those, which may happen. Whatever we are, or are to be, we are far beyond the reach of mere literary denunciations, which, however they may gratify malevolence abroad, or provoke irritation at home, can never impede our progress in the career of national improvement.

How much more honorable would it be, and we cheerfully add, how much more becoming the British character, to cherish kindly feelings; to look back upon the little band of pilgrims, who sought liberty of action and of conscience beyond the ocean, and who carried with them the spirit of those institutions, which, in their native land and in their newly sought home, have secured so much national prosperity and private happiness; and to look forward to the United States, as the great depository of English literature and science and arts, and the living evidence of English intelligence and principles, when her own insular monuments shall be swept away, as all things else have been swept away, by the rolling tide of time. Sincerely do we hope that her day of glory will not be shrouded in a night of gloom; but what has happened to other nations may happen to her; and the traveller may yet inquire for the site of London, as we now inquire for those of Nineveh and Babylon.

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* Retrospective Review. Article, Pontoppidan's Natural History of Norway.

ART. VI.—1. *The League of the Alps, The Siege of Valencia, The Vespers of Palermo, and other Poems.* By MRS FELICIA HEMANS. Boston. 1826. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 8vo. pp. 480.

2. *The Forest Sanctuary, and other Poems.* By MRS FELICIA HEMANS. Boston. 1827. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 8vo. pp. 232.

THE collection of Mrs Hemans's miscellaneous Poems opens with verses in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers. She has celebrated with solemnity and truth the circumstances which give sublimity to the glorious scene of their landing, and their descendants cannot but be pleased to see the devotedness, displayed by them, introduced into poetry, and incorporated among the bright examples, held up by the inventive as well as the historic muse for the admiration of mankind.

Freedom, not licentiousness, religious freedom, not the absence of religious rites, was the object for which the fathers came. An air of earnestness was thus originally imparted to the character of the country, and succeeding ages have not worn it away. Though it may suit the humor of moralizers to declaim against the degeneracy of the times, we believe that the country has of late years made advances in moral worth. We infer this from the more general diffusion of intelligence and the higher standard of learning; from the spirit of healthy action pervading all classes; from the diminished number of crimes; from the general security of property; from the rapid multiplication of Sabbath schools, than which no discovery of our age has been more important for the moral education of the people; from the philanthropy which seeks for the sources of vice, and restrains it by removing its causes; from the active and compassionate benevolence, which does not allow itself to consider any class so vicious or so degraded as to have forfeited its claim to humane attention, which seeks and relieves misery wherever it is concealed, and, embracing every continent in its regard, has its messengers in the remotest regions of the world. Religious freedom is the last right, which even in our days the inhabitants of this country would surrender. It would be easier to drive them from their houses and their lands, than to take from them the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience. There is no general assertion of this right.

and no energetic display of zeal in maintaining it, solely because it is menaced by no alarming danger.

In a state of society like ours, there may be little room for the exercise of those arts, of which it is the chief aim to amuse and delight; and yet attention is by no means confined to those objects, which are directly connected with the advancement of personal or public wealth. For the costly luxuries of life and even for its elegant pleasures, there may as yet be little room; and still the morality of the nation be far from forming itself on the new system of morals, devised by our political economists. There has been no age, we assert it with confidence, there has been no people, where the efforts of mind, directly connected with the preservation of elevated feeling and religious earnestness, are more valued than they are by the better part of our own community. We cannot support, or we hold it not best to support, an expensive religious establishment, but every where the voice of religious homage and instruction is heard; we cannot set apart large estates to give splendor to literary distinction; but you will hardly find a retired nook, where only a few families seek their shelter near each other, so destitute, that the elements of knowledge are not freely taught; we cannot establish galleries for the various works of the arts of design, but the eye that can see the beauties of nature is common with us, and the recital of deeds of of high worth meets with ready listeners. The luxuries, which are for display, are exceedingly little known; but the highest value is set on every effort of mind connected with the investigation of truth, or the nurture of generous and elevated sentiments.

Where the public mind had been thus formed, the poetry of Mrs Hemans was sure to find admirers. The exercise of genius, if connected with no respect for virtue, might have remained unnoticed; the theory, which treats of beauty, as of something independent of moral effect, is still without advocates among us. It has thus far been an undisputed axiom, that if a production is indecent or immoral, it for that very reason cannot claim to be considered beautiful.

We do not go so far as to assert, that there can be no merit in works of which the general tendency is immoral; but the merit, if there is any, does not lie in the immoral part, in the charm that is thrown round vice, but rather in an occasional gleam of better principles, in nature occasionally making her

voice heard above the din of the dissolute, in the pictures of loveliness and moral truth, that shine out through the darkness. Amidst all the horrors and depravity of superstition, the strange and the abominable vagaries of the human imagination, exercised on religion in heathenish ignorance, the observing mind may yet recognise the spirit that connects man with a better world. And so it is with poetry; amidst all the confusion which is manifest where the heavenly gift is under the control of a corrupted judgment, something of its native lustre will still appear. When we see the poet of transcendant genius, delineating anything but the higher part of our nature, when we observe how, after borrowing fiendish colors, he describes states of mind, with which devils only should have sympathy, rails at human nature in a style which spiteful misanthropy alone can approve, or gives descriptions of sensuality, fit only for the revels of Comus, when we see him 'hurried down the adulterate age, adding pollutions of his own,' we can have little to say to excuse or to justify an admiration of poetic talent, till we are reconciled to human nature and the muse by the pure lustre of better guided minds.

In what view of the subject can it be held a proper design of poetry to render man hateful to himself? How can it delight or instruct us to see our fellow men, ranged under the two classes of designing villains, and weak dupes? Or what sources of poetic inspiration are left, if all the relations of social life are held up to derision, and every generous impulse scorned as the result of deluded confidence?

To demand that what is called *poetical justice* should be found in every performance may be unreasonable, since the events of life do not warrant us in expecting it; but we may demand what is of much more importance, *moral justice*, a consistency of character, a conformity of the mind to its career of action. It may not be inconsistent with reality, though it is with probability, that an unprincipled miscreant, governing himself in his gratifications by the narrowest selfishness, should be successful in his pursuits; but it is unnatural and false to give to such a nature any of the attributes of goodness. Vice is essentially mean and low; it has no dignity, no courage, no beauty; and while the poet can never impart to a production, tending to promote vice, the power and interest which belong to the worthy delineation of honorable actions, he can never invest a false heart with the noble qualities of a generons one.

Observe in this respect the manner of the dramatic poet, who is acknowledged to have delineated the passions with the greatest fidelity. Shakspeare describes the mind as gradually sinking under the influence of the master passion. It stamps itself on the whole soul, and obliterates all the finer traces in which humanity had written a witness of gentler qualities. Macbeth is a moral picture of terrific sublimity, and an illustration of that *moral* justice, which we contend should never be wanting. The one, strong passion moulds the character, and blasts every tender sentiment. When once Othello is jealous, his judgment is gone; the selfishness of Richard leads to wanton cruelty. In one of Shakspeare's tragedies, not a crime, but a fault is the foundation of the moral interest. Here too he is consistent, and the irresolution of Hamlet leaves his mind without energy, and his contending passions without terror. We might explain our views by examples from the comedies of the great dramatist, but Macbeth and Richard furnish the clearest illustration of them. And it is in such exhibitions of the power of vice to degrade, that 'gorgeous tragedy' performs her severest office, lifting up the pall which hides the ghastliness of unprincipled depravity, and showing us, where vice gains control, the features, that before may have been resplendent with loveliness, marred and despoiled of all their sweet expression.

There can then be no more hideous fault in a literary work than profligacy. Levity is next in order. The disposition to trifle with topics of the highest moment, to apply the levelling principle to the emotions of the human mind, to hold up to ridicule the exalted thoughts and kindling aspirations of which human nature is capable, can at best charm those only, who have failed to enter the true avenues to happiness. Such works may be popular, because the character of the public mind may for a season be corrupt. A literature, consisting of such works, is the greatest evil, with which a nation can be cursed. National poverty is nothing in comparison, for poverty is remedied by prudent enterprise; but such works poison the life-blood of the people, the moral vigor, which alone can strive for liberty and honor. The apologists for this class of compositions, in which Voltaire and La Fontaine are the greatest masters, defend it on the ground, that it is well adapted to give pleasure to minds, which have been accustomed to it, and that foreigners need only a different moral education to be able to enjoy it. Now without wasting a word on the enormity of defending what

is intrinsecally sensual, we reply merely on the score of effect. He who adapts his inventions to a particular state of society, can please no further; he depends on circumstances for his popularity; he does not appeal to man, but to accidental habits, a fleeting state of the public mind; he is the poet, not of nature, but of a transient fashion. The attraction which comes from the strangeness or novelty of the manner is of very little value. On the most brilliant night a meteor would be followed by all eyes for a while; and why? Because it is as evanescent as bright; we must gaze at once, or it will be too late. Yet the mind soon returns to the contemplation of the eternal stars which light up the heavens with enduring lustre. Any popularity, obtained by gratifying a perverse taste, is essentially transitory; while all that is benevolent and social, all that favors truth and goodness, is of universal and perpetual interest.

These are but plain inferences from facts in the history of literature. The plays of Dryden were written to please an audience of a vicious taste; they may have been received with boisterous applause, but nobody likes them now, though in their form not unsuited to the stage; and as for the grossest scenes, any merit in the invention is never spoken of, as compensating for their abominable coarseness. On the other hand, Milton's Comus, though in its form entirely antiquated, has the beautiful freshness of everlasting youth, delights the ardent admirer of good poetry, and is always showing new attractions to the careful critic. And where lies this immense difference in the lasting effect of these two writers? Dryden, it is true, fell far short of Milton in poetic genius; but the true cause lies in this; virtue, which is the soul of song, is wanting in the plays of Dryden, while the poetry of Milton bears the impress of his own magnanimity.

We are contending for no sickly morality; we would shut out the poet from the haunts of libertinism, not from the haunts of men; we would have him associate with his fellows, hold intercourse with the great minds that light up the gloom of ages, and share in the best impulses of human nature; and not under the influence of a too delicate sensibility treat only of the harmless flowers, and the innocent birds, and the exhilarating charm of agreeable scenery; and still less in the spirit of a sullen misanthropy delight in obscure abstractions, find comfort only in solitude, and rejoice or pretend to rejoice chiefly in the mountains, and the ocean, and the low places of the earth. Their pur-

suit of moral beauty does not lead to an affected admiration, or an improper idolatry of the visible creation. The genius of the poet can impart a portion of its eloquence to the external world, and elevate creation by connecting it with moral associations. But descriptions, except of scenes where moral beings are to move, possess little interest. If landscape painting is an inferior branch of that art, though the splendid works of Claude demand praise without measure, landscape poetry is a kind of affectation, an unnatural result of excessive refinement. Description is important, but subordinate. The external world with all its gorgeousness and varied forms of beauty; the cataract 'with its glory of reflected light;' the forests as they wave in the brilliancy of early summer; the flowers that are crowded in gardens, or waste their sweetness on the desert air; 'the noise of the hidden brook that all night long in the leafy months sings its quiet tune to the sleeping woods;' the ocean, whether reposing in tranquil majesty or tossed by the tempest; night, when the heavens are glittering with the splendor of the constellations; morning, when one perfect splendor beams in the sky, and is reflected in a thousand colors from the glittering earth, these are not the sublimest themes, that awaken the energies of the muse. It is mind, and mind only, which can exhibit the highest beauty. The hymn of martyrdom, the strength by which the patriot girds himself to die, 'God's breath in the soul of man,' the unconquerable power of generous passion, the hopes and sorrows of humanity, love, devotion, and all the deep and bright springs of affection, these are higher themes, of permanent interest and exalted character.

Here too we find an analogy between poetic and religious feeling. The image of God is to be sought for, not so much in the outward world, as in the mind. No combination of inanimate matter can equal the sublimity and wonderful power of life. To impart organic life with the power of reproduction is a brighter display of Omnipotence than any arrangement of the inanimate, material world. A swarm of flies, as through their short existence they buzz and wheel in the summer's sun, offer as clear and to some minds a clearer demonstration of Omnipotence, than the everlasting, but silent courses of the planets. But moral life is the highest creation of divine power. We at least know and can conceive of none higher. We are, therefore, not to look for God among the rivers and the forests, nor yet among the planets and the stars, but in the hearts of men; he is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

Those who accord with the general views, which we have here maintained, will be prepared to express unqualified approbation of the literary career of Mrs Hemans. Had her writings been merely harmless, we should not have entered into an analysis of them; but the moral charm, which is spread over them, is so peculiar, so full of nature and truth and deep feeling, that her productions claim at once the praise of exquisite purity and poetic excellence. She adds the dignity of her sex to a high sense of the duties of a poet; she writes with buoyancy, yet with earnestness; her poems bear the impress of a character worthy of admiration. In the pursuit of literary renown she never forgets what is due to feminine reserve. We perceive a mind, endowed with powers to aspire; and are still further pleased to find no unsatisfied cravings, no passionate pursuit of remote objects, but high endowments, graced by contentment. There is plainly the consciousness of the various sorrow to which life is exposed, and with it the spirit of resignation. She sets before herself a clear and exalted idea of what a female writer should be, and is on the way to realize her own idea of excellence. Living in domestic retirement in a beautiful part of Wales, it is her own feelings and her own experience, which she communicates to us. We cannot illustrate our meaning better than by introducing our readers at once to Mrs Hemans herself, as she describes to us the occupations of a day.

AN HOUR OF ROMANCE.

'There were thick leaves above me and around,
And low sweet sighs, like those of childhood's sleep,
Amidst their dimness, and a fitful sound
As of soft showers on water—dark and deep
Lay the oak shadows o'er the turf, so still,
They seem'd but pictur'd glooms—a hidden rill
Made music, such as haunts us in a dream,
Under the fern tufts; and a tender gleam
Of soft green light, as by the glowworm shed,
Came pouring through the woven beech boughs down,
And steep'd the magic page wherein I read
Of royal chivalry and old renown,
A tale of Palestine.*—Meanwhile the bee
Swept past me with a tone of summer hours,
A drowsy bugle, wafting thoughts of flowers,
Blue skies, and amber sunshine—brightly free,

* 'The Talisman—Tales of the Crusaders.'

On filmy wings the purple dragonfly
Shot glancing like a fairy javelin by;
And a sweet voice of sorrow told the dell
Where sat the lone wood-pigeon.
But ere long,
All sense of these things faded, as the spell,
Breathing from that high gorgeous tale, grew strong
On my chain'd soul—'twas not the leaves I heard;
—A Syrian wind the lion-banner stirr'd,
Through its proud floating folds—'twas not the brook,
Singing in secret through its grassy glen—
A wild shrill trumpet of the Saracen
Peal'd from the desert's lonely heart, and shook
The burning air.—Like clouds when winds are high,
O'er glittering sands flew steeds of Araby,
And tents rose up, and sudden lance and spear
Flash'd where a fountain's diamond wave lay clear,
Shadow'd by graceful palm-trees.—Then the shout
Of merry England's joy swell'd freely out,
Sent through an Eastern heaven, whose glorious hue
Made shields dark mirrors to its depths of blue;
And harps were there—I heard their sounding strings,
As the waste echoed to the mirth of kings.

The bright masque faded—unto life's worn track
What call'd me, from its flood of glory, back?
—A voice of happy childhood!—and they pass'd,
Banner, and harp, and Paynim trumpet's blast—
Yet might I scarce bewail the vision gone,
My heart so leapt to that sweet laughter's tone.'

pp. 143—145.

The poetry is here as beautiful as the scene described is quiet and pleasing. It forms an amiable picture of the occupations of a contemplative mind. The language, versification, and imagery are of great merit, the beauties of nature described by a careful observer; the English scene is placed in happy contrast with the Eastern, and the dream of romance pleasantly disturbed by the cheerfulness of life. But we make but sorry work at commenting on what the reader must feel.

If we would form a right estimate of the literary career of Mrs Hemans, it is but justice to her to remark, that it has been begun and continued under many disadvantages. A woman has always much to struggle with, on entering the lists of authorship, and she was more peculiarly left to her own resources and her own efforts, passing her life in the bosom of domestic retire-

ment, remote from all the advantages of literary intercourse. To her own mind and her native endowments is she solely indebted for the name she has now acquired. The first productions, by which she became known, were 'The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy,' and 'Modern Greece,' both written at an early age, and first published in 1816 and 1817. These were followed by 'Translations from Camoens and other Poets, with Original Poetry.' These translations are many of them very beautiful; but her own short poems, more recently written, have far surpassed them. In 1819 were published 'Tales and Historic Scenes in Verse.' They are, as it were, the *studies* of an artist, whose powers are rapidly maturing. One of them in particular we must notice, 'Alaric in Italy,' for its similarity in subject to 'The Dirge of Alaric,' a noble effusion, that has justly obtained extensive admiration. In 1820 Mrs Hemans published 'The Skeptic,' a poem of great merit for its style and its sentiments, of which we shall give a rapid sketch. She considers the influence of unbelief on the affections and gentler part of our nature, and, after pursuing the picture of the misery consequent on doubt, shows the relief that may be found in the thoughts that have their source in immortality. Glancing at pleasure as the only resort of the skeptic, she turns to the sterner tasks of life.

> 'E'en youth's brief hours,
> Survive the beauty of their loveliest flowers. * * *
> The soul's pure flame the breath of storms must fan,
> And pain and sorrow claim their nursling—Man.'

But then the skeptic has no relief in memory, for memory recalls no joys, but such as were transitory, and known to be such; and as for Hope,

> 'She, who like Heaven's own sunbeam smiles for all,
> Will *she* speak comfort? Thou hast shorn her plume,
> That might have raised thee far above the tomb,
> And hush'd the only voice whose angel tone
> Sooths, when all melodies of joy are flown.'

The poet then asks, if an infidel dare love; and, having no home for his thoughts in a better world, nurse such feelings as delight to enshrine themselves in the breast of a parent. She addresses him on the insecurity of an attachment to a vain idol, from which death may at any time divide him '*forever*.'

> 'If there be sorrow in a parting tear,
> Still let "*forever*" vibrate on thine ear.'
> * * * * *

'It is not thine to raise
To yon pure heaven, thy calm confiding gaze,
No gleam reflected from that realm of rest,
Steals on the darkness of thy troubled breast;
Not for thine eye shall Faith divinely shed
Her glory round the image of the dead;
And if, when slumber's lonely couch is prest,
The form departed be thy spirit's guest,
It bears no light from purer worlds to this;
Thy future lends not e'en a dream of bliss.'

For relief the infidel is referred to the Christian religion, in a strain, which unites the fervor of devotion with poetic sensibility.

But perhaps the skeptic scorns the advice, and like the heathen who was chained to a rock to be the constant prey of the vulture, for whom he himself produced sustenance, the pride of reason may support the infidel principles which gnaw at his heart. To him the mirth of frenzy, the laughter of delirious despair must read a lesson.

'They tell thee, reason, wandering from the ray
Of Faith, the blazing pillar of her way,
In the mid darkness of the stormy wave,
Forsook the struggling soul she could not save.
Weep not, sad moralist! o'er desert plains,
Strew'd with the wrecks of grandeur—mouldering fanes,
Arches of triumph, long with weeds o'ergrown,
And regal cities, now the serpent's own;
Earth has more awful ruins—one lost mind,
Whose star is quench'd, hath lessons for mankind
Of deeper import than each prostrate dome,
Mingling its marble with the dust of Rome.'

The poem proceeds to depict in a forcible manner, the unfortunate state of a mind, which acquires every kind of knowledge but that which gives salvation, and, having gained possession of the secrets of all ages, and communed with the majestic minds that shine along the pathway of time, neglects nothing but eternity. Such an one, in the season of suffering, finds relief in suicide, and escapes to death as to an eternal rest. The thought of death recurs to the mind of the poet, and calls forth a fervent prayer for the divine presence and support in the hour of dissolution; for the hour, when the soul is brought to the mysterious verge of another life, is an 'awful one.'

'In the pride
Of youth and health, by sufferings yet untried,
We talk of death, as something, which 't were sweet
In Glory's arms exultingly to meet,
A closing triumph, a majestic scene,
Where gazing nations watch the hero's mien,
As undismay'd amidst the tears of all,
He folds his mantle regally to fall!
Hush, fond enthusiast! still obscure and lone,
Yet not less terrible because unknown,
Is the last hour of thousands;—they retire
From life's throng'd path, unnoticed to expire,
As the light leaf, whose fall to ruin bears
Some trembling insect's little world of cares,
Descends in silence—while around waves on
The mighty forest, reckless what is gone!
Such is man's doom—and, ere an hour be flown,
—Start not, thou trifler!—such may be thine own.'

This is followed by an allusion to the strong love of life which belongs to human nature, and the instinctive apprehension with which the parting mind, musing on its future condition, asks of itself mystic questions, that it cannot solve. But through the influence of religion,

'He, whom the busy world shall miss no more
Than morn one dewdrop from her countless store,
Earth's most neglected child, with trusting heart,
Call'd to the hope of glory, shall depart.'

After some lines expressing the spirit of English patriotism, in a manner, with which foreigners can only be pleased, the poem closes with the picture of a mother, teaching her child the first lessons of religion by holding up the divine example of the Savior.

We have been led into a longer notice of this poem, for it illustrates the character of Mrs Hemans's manner. We perceive in it a loftiness of purpose, an earnestness of thought, sometimes made more interesting by a tinge of melancholy, a depth of religious feeling, a mind alive to all the interests, gratifications, and sorrows of social life.

In enumerating the earlier productions of Mrs Hemans, we have omitted to mention two prize poems, one entitled 'Wallace,' and the other on a less promising subject. They have never been republished, and are, therefore, not very generally known. The latter we have never seen.

The 'Vespers of Palermo' was the earliest of the dramatic productions of our author. The period in which the scene is laid, is sufficiently known from the title of the play. The whole is full of life and action. The same high strain of moral propriety marks this piece, as all others of her writings. The hero is an enthusiast for glory, for liberty, and for virtue; and on his courage, his forbearance, the integrity of his love, making the firmness of his patriotism appear doubtful, rests the interest of the plot. It is worthy of remark, that some of its best parts have already found their way into an excellent selection of pieces for schools, and thus contribute to give lessons of morality to those who are most susceptible of the interest of tragedy.

It may not be so generally remembered, that the same historical event was made the subject of a French tragedy, about the same time that the English one was written, and by a poet now of very great popularity in France. We hesitate not to give the preference to Mrs Hemans, for invention and interest, accurate delineation of character and adherence to probability. Both the tragedies are written in a style of finished elegance.

The 'Siege of Valencia' is a dramatic poem, but not intended for representation. The story is extremely simple. The Moors, who besiege Valencia, take the two sons of the governor, Gonzalez, captive, as they came to visit their father; and now the ransom demanded for them is the surrender of the city; they are to die, if the place is not yielded up. Elmina, the mother of the boys, and Ximena, their sister, are the remaining members of a family, to which so dreadful an option is submitted. The poem is one of the highest merit. The subject is of great dignity, being connected with the defence of Spain against the Moors, and at the same time it is of the greatest tenderness, offering a succession of the most moving scenes that can be imagined to occur in the bosom of a family. The father is firm; the daughter is heroic; the mother falters. She finds her way to the Moorish camp, sees her children, forms a plan for betraying the town, and then is not able to conceal her grief and her design from her husband. He immediately sends a defiance to the Moors; his children are brought out and beheaded; a *sortie* is made from the besieged city; finally the king of Spain arrives to the rescue, the wrongs of Gonzalez are avenged; he himself dies in victory, and the

poem closes with a picture of his wife, moved by the strongest grief, of which she is yet able to restrain the expression. The great excellence of the poem lies in the delineation of the struggle between the consciousness of duty and maternal fondness. We believe none but a mother could have written it. We will quote a few passages, and leave it to our readers to commend.

Elmina learns of her husband the terrible choice submitted to them. The mother entreats;

'I *must* be heard!
Give me my sons!
Gonzalez. That they may live to hide
With covering hands th' indignant flush of shame
On their young brows, when men shall speak of him
They call'd their father?—Was the oath, whereby,
On th' altar of my faith, I bound myself,
With an unswerving spirit to maintain
This free and christian city for my God,
And for my king, a writing traced on sand?
That passionate tears should wash it from the earth,
Or e'en the life-drops of a bleeding heart
Efface it, as a billow sweeps away
The last light vessel's wake?—Then never more
Let man's deep vows be trusted!—though enforced
By all th' appeals of high remembrances,
And silent claims o' th' sepulchres, wherein
His fathers with their stainless glory sleep,
On their good swords! Think'st thou *I* feel no pangs?
He that hath given me sons, doth know the heart
Whose treasures he recalls.—Of this no more.
'Tis vain. I tell thee that the inviolate cross
Still, from our ancient temples, must look up
Through the blue heavens of Spain, though at its foot
I perish, with my race.'

* * * * * *

'*Elmina.* What! must we burst all ties
Wherewith the thrilling cords of life are twined;
And for this task's fulfilment, can it be
That man, in his cold heartlessness, hath dared
To number and to mete us forth the sands
Of hours, nay, moments?—Why, the sentenced wretch,
He on whose soul there rests a brother's blood
Pour'd forth in slumber, is allow'd more time
To wean his turbulent passions from the world

His presence doth pollute !—It is not thus !
We must have Time to school us.
Gonzalez. We have but
To bow the head in silence, when Heaven's voice
Calls back the things we love.
Elmina. Love ! love !—there are soft smiles and gentle words,
And there are faces skilful to put on
The look we trust in—and 'tis mockery all !
—A faithless mist, a desert-vapor, wearing
The brightness of clear waters, thus to cheat
The thirst that semblance kindled !—There is none,
In all this cold and hollow world, no fount
Of deep, strong, deathless love, save that within
A mother's heart.—It is but pride, wherewith
To his fair son the father's eye doth turn,
Watching his growth. Aye, on the boy he looks,
The bright glad creature springing in his path,
But as the heir of his great name, the young
And stately tree, whose rising strength ere long
Shall bear his trophies well.—And this is love !
This is *man's* love !—What marvel ?—*you* ne'er made
Your breast the pillow of his infancy,
While to the fulness of your heart's glad heavings
His fair cheek rose and fell ; and his bright hair
Waved softly to your breath !—*You* ne'er kept watch
Beside him, till the last pale star had set,
And morn, all dazzling, as in triumph broke
On your dim weary eye ; not *yours* the face
Which, early faded through fond care for him,
Hung o'er his sleep, and, duly as heaven's light,
Was there to greet his wakening ! *You* ne'er smooth'd
His couch, ne'er sung him to his rosy rest,
Caught his least whisper, when his voice from yours
Had learn'd soft utterance ; press'd your lip to his,
When fever parch'd it ; hush'd his wayward cries,
With patient, vigilant, never-wearied love !
No ! these are *woman's* tasks ! —In these her youth,
And bloom of cheek, and buoyancy of heart,
Steal from her all unmark'd !—My boys ! my boys !
Hath vain affection borne with all for this ?
—Why were ye given me ? ' pp. 173—181.

Elmina meets with a priest, and holds a long discourse with him. She obtains of him no relief for her mind. ' Let them die,' he answers to her questions.

'Let them die *now*, thy children! so thy heart
Shall wear their beautiful image all undimm'd,
Within it, to the last! Nor shalt thou learn
The bitter lesson, of what worthless dust
Are framed the idols, whose false glory binds
Earth's fetter on our souls!—Thou think'st it much
To mourn the early dead; but there are tears
Heavy with deeper anguish! We endow
Those whom we love, in our fond passionate blindness,
With power upon our souls, too absolute
To be a mortal's trust! Within their hands
We lay the flaming sword, whose stroke alone
Can reach our hearts, and *they* are merciful,
As they are strong, that wield it not to pierce us!
Aye, fear them, fear the loved!'

p. 199.

We have no room for further quotations; or the scene in which Elmina, after her visit to the Moorish camp, meets her daughter and her husband, the scene in which her daughter expires, and that in which the battle of the king of Spain with the Moors is described, would furnish us with abundant matter.

We will now say a few words of 'The Forest Sanctuary.' But it so abounds with beauty, is so highly finished, and animated by so generous a spirit of moral heroism, that we can do no justice to our views of it in the narrow space, which our limits allow us. A Spanish Protestant flies from persecution at home to religious liberty in America. He has imbibed the spirit of our own fathers, and his mental struggles are described in verses, with which the descendants of the pilgrims must know how to sympathize. We dare not enter on an analysis. From one scene at sea in the second part we will make a few extracts. The exile is attended by his wife and child; but his wife remains true to the faith of her fathers.

'"*Ora pro nobis, mater!*"—What a spell
Was in those notes, with day's last glory dying
On the flush'd waters!—seem'd they not to swell
From the far dust, wherein my sires were lying
With crucifix and sword?—Oh! yet how clear
Comes their reproachful sweetness to mine ear!
"*Ora!*"—with all the purple waves replying,
All my youth's visions rising in the strain—
—And I had thought it much to bear the rack and chain!

Torture !—the sorrow of affection's eye,
Fixing its meekness on the spirit's core,
Deeper, and teaching more of agony,
May pierce than many swords !—and this I bore
With a mute pang. Since I had vainly striven
From its free springs to pour the truth of heaven
Into thy trembling soul, my Leonor !
Silence rose up where hearts no hope could share :
—Alas ! for those that love, and may not blend in prayer !

We could not pray together 'midst the deep,
Which, like a flood of sapphire, round us lay,
Through days of splendor, nights too bright for sleep,
Soft, solemn, holy ! We were on our way
Unto the mighty Cordillera land,
With men whom tales of that world's golden strand
Had lured to leave their vines.—Oh ! who shall say
What thoughts rose in us, when the tropic sky
Touch'd all its molten seas with sunset's alchemy ? '

pp. 74, 75.

The strength of Leonor sinks under her sufferings, and meantime the ship is becalmed.

'I knew not all—yet something of unrest
Sat on my heart. Wake, ocean-wind ! I said ;
Waft us to land, in leafy freshness drest,
Where through rich clouds of foliage o'er her head,
Sweet day may steal, and rills unseen go by,
Like singing voices, and the green earth lie
Starry with flowers, beneath her graceful tread !
—But the calm bound us 'midst the glassy main ;
Ne'er was her step to bend earth's living flowers again.

* * * *

A fearful thing that love and death may dwell
In the same world !—She faded on—and I—
Blind to the last, there needed death to tell
My trusting soul that she *could* fade to die !
Yet, ere she parted, I had mark'd a change,
—But it breathed hope—'twas beautiful, though strange :
Something of gladness in the melody
Of her low voice, and in her words a flight
Of airy thought—alas ! too perilously bright !

* * * *

On the mid seas a knell !—for man was there,
Anguish and love—the mourner with his dead !
A long low rolling knell—a voice of prayer—

Dark glassy waters, like a desert spread—
And the pale shining Southern Cross on high,
Its faint stars fading from a solemn sky,
Where mighty clouds before the dawn grew red;—
Were these things round me?—Such o'er memory sweep
Wildly when aught brings back that burial of the deep.

* * * *

The wind rose free and singing:—when for ever,
O'er that sole spot of all the watery plain,
I could have bent my sight with fond endeavor
Down, where its treasure was, its glance to strain;
Then rose the reckless wind!—Before our prow
The white foam flash'd—ay, joyously—and thou
Wert left with all the solitary main
Around thee—and thy beauty in my heart,
And thy meek sorrowing love,—oh! where could *that* depart?

I will not speak of woe; I may not tell—
Friend tells not such to friend—the thoughts which rent
My fainting spirit, when its wild farewell
Across the billows to thy grave was sent,
Thou there most lonely!—He that sits above,
In his calm glory, will forgive the love
His creatures bear each other, ev'n if blent
With a vain worship; for its close is dim
Ever with grief, which leads the wrung soul back to Him!

And with a milder pang if now I bear
To think of thee in thy forsaken rest,
If from my heart be lifted the despair,
The sharp remorse with healing influence press'd,
If the soft eyes that visit me in sleep
Look not reproach, though still they seem to weep;
It is that He my sacrifice hath bless'd,
And fill'd my bosom, through its inmost cell,
With a deep chastening sense that all at last is well.'

pp. 76—84.

But we must cease making extracts, for we could not transfer all that is beautiful in the poem, without tranferring the whole.

It has been said, that religion can never be made a subject of interest in poetry. The position is a false one, refuted by the close alliance between poetic inspiration and sacred enthusiasm. Irreligion has certainly no place in poetry. There may have been atheist philosophers; an atheist poet is an

impossibility. The poet may doubt and reason like Hamlet, but the moment he acquiesces in unbelief, there is an end to the magic of poetry. Imagination can no longer throw lively hues over the creation; the forests cease to be haunted; the sea, and the air, and the heavens to teem with life. The highest interest, we think, attaches to Mrs Hemans's writings, from the spirit of Christianity which pervades them.

The poetry of our author is tranquillizing in its character, calm and serene. We beg pardon of the lovers of excitement, but we are seriously led to take notice of this quality as of a high merit. A great deal has been said of the sublimity of directing the passions; we hold it a much more difficult, and a much more elevated task, to restrain them; it may be sublime to ride on the whirlwind, and direct the storm; but it seems to us still more sublime to appease the storm, and still the whirlwind. Virgil, no mean authority, was of this opinion. The French are reported to be particularly fond of effect and display; but we remember to have read, that even in the splendid days of Napoleon, the simplicity of vocal music surpassed in effect the magnificence of a numerous band. It was when Napoleon was crowned emperor in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. The Parisians, wishing to distinguish the occasion by some novel exhibition, and to produce a great effect, filled the orchestra with eighty harps, which were all struck together with unequalled skill. The fashionable world was in raptures. Presently the pope entered, and some thirty of his singers, who came with him from Rome, received him with the powerful *Tu es Petrus* of the old fashioned Scarlatti, and the simple majesty of the air, assisted by no instruments, annihilated in a moment the whole effect of the preceding fanfaronade. And in literature the public taste seems to us already weary of those productions which aim at astonishing and producing a great effect, and there is now an opportunity of pleasing by the serenity of contemplative excellence.

It is the high praise of Mrs Hemans's poetry, that it is feminine. The sex may well be pleased with her productions, for they could hardly have a better representative in the career of letters. All her works seem to come from the heart, to be natural and true. The poet can give us nothing but the form under which the objects he describes present themselves to his own mind. That form must be noble, or it is not worthy of our consideration; it must be consistent, or it will fail to be

true. Now in the writings of Mrs Hemans we are shown, how life and its concerns appear to woman; and hear a mother entrusting to verse her experience and observation. So in 'The Hebrew Mother,' 'the spring tide of nature' swells high as she parts from her son, on devoting him to the service of the temple.

'Alas! my boy, thy gentle grasp is on me,
The bright tears quiver in thy pleading eyes,
And now fond thoughts arise,
And silver cords again to earth have won me;
And like a vine thou claspest my full heart—
How shall I hence depart?'

'And oh! the home whence thy bright smile hath parted,
Will it not seem as if the sunny day
Turn'd from its door away?
While through its chambers wandering, wearyhearted,
I languish for thy voice, which past me still
Went like a singing rill?'

'I give thee to thy God—the God that gave thee,
A wellspring of deep gladness to my heart!
And precious as thou art,
And pure as dew of Hermon, He shall have thee,
My own, my beautiful, my undefil'd!
And thou shalt be His child.

Therefore, farewell!—I go, my soul may fail me,
As the hart panteth for the water brooks,
Yearning for thy sweet looks—
But thou, my firstborn, droop not, nor bewail me;
Thou in the Shadow of the Rock shalt dwell,
The Rock of Strength.—Farewell!'

pp. 29—31.

The same high feeling of maternal duty and love inspires the little poem, 'The Wreck,' which everyone has read. 'The Lady of the Castle,' 'The Grave of Körner,' 'The Graves of a Household,' are all on domestic subjects. But why do we allude to poems, which are in everyone's hands? The mother's voice breaks out again in the piece entitled 'Elysium.' Children, according to the heathen mythology, were banished to the infernal regions, and religious faith had no consolation for a mourning parent.

'Calm on its leaf-strewn bier,
Unlike a gift of nature to decay,
Too roselike still, too beautiful, too dear,

The child at rest before its mother lay;
E'en so to pass away,
With its bright smile!—Elysium! what wert *thou*,
To her who wept o'er that young slumberer's brow?

Thou hadst no home, green land!
For the fair creature from her bosom gone,
With life's first flowers just opening in her hand,
And all the lovely thoughts and dreams unknown,
Which in its clear eye shone
Like the spring's wakening! But that light was past—
—Where went the dew drop, swept before the blast?

Not where thy soft winds play'd,
Not where thy waters lay in glassy sleep!—
Fade, with thy bowers, thou land of visions, fade!
From thee no voice came o'er the gloomy deep,
And bade man cease to weep!
Fade, with the amaranth plain, the myrtle grove,
Which could not yield one hope to sorrowing love!

For the most lov'd are they,
Of whom Fame speaks not with her clarion voice
In regal halls—the shades o'erhang their way,
The vale, with its deep fountains, is their choice,
And gentle hearts rejoice
Around their steps! till silently they die,
As a stream shrinks from summer's burning eye.

And the world knows not then,
Not then, nor ever, what pure thoughts are fled!
Yet these are they, that on the souls of men
Come back when night, her folding veil hath spread,
The long remember'd dead!
But not with *thee* might aught save Glory dwell—
Fade, fade away, thou shore of Asphodel!'

pp. 211—213.

And the same feelings of a woman and mother dictated 'The Evening Prayer at a Girls' School,' a poem, which merits to be considered in connexion with Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College.'

'Oh! joyous creatures, that will sink to rest,
Lightly, when those pure orisons are done,
As birds with slumber's honey-dew oppress'd,
'Midst the dim folded leaves, at set of sun—
Lift up your hearts!—though yet no sorrow lies
Dark in the summer heaven of those clear eyes.'

p. 147.

Of other spirited, and lively, and pathetic short poems of Mrs Hemans, which form some of the brightest ornaments of the lyric poetry of the language, we take no particular notice, for in what part of the United States are they not known? So general has been the attention to those of her pieces adapted to the purposes of a newspaper, we hardly fear to assert, that throughout a great part of this country there is not a family of the middling class, in which some of them have not been read. The praise which was not sparingly bestowed upon her, when her shorter productions first became generally known among us, has been often repeated on a careful examination of her works; and could we hope that our remarks might one day fall under her eye, we should hope she would not be indifferent to the good wishes which are offered her from America, but feel herself cheered and encouraged in her efforts by the prospect of an enlarged and almost unlimited field of useful influence, opened to her among the descendants of her country in an independent land. The ocean divides us from the fashions as well as the commotions of Europe. The voice of America, deciding on the literature of England, resembles the voice of posterity more nearly than anything else, that is contemporaneous, can do. We believe that the general attention which has been given to Mrs Hemans's works among us, may be regarded as a pledge that they will not be received with indifference by posterity.

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*A Letter to an English Gentleman on the Libels and Calumnies on America by British Writers and Reviewers.* 8vo. pp. 43. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

The author treats this matter too gravely. He has chosen a subject, indeed, fertile of 'high words, jealousies, and fears,' as are all 'civil dudgeons;' for such we may call this strife of words between two nations, alike in language, religion, and laws. We say alike, for though the English tongue suffers manifold corruptions in the dialects of England, yet English is nevertheless the prevailing language there. Her religion too, though grievously encumbered by an established church, is almost as good protestantism as ours; and her laws, when they come to be pruned of certain deformities, which 'Custom, grown blind with age,' insists on retaining, will resemble our own, more happily, at least, than those of any other people. Our author in remembrance of this, should therefore have been less earnest, perhaps, in the tone of his rebuke to his English correspondent; as it is very probable that the worthy gentleman, like the rest of his countrymen, has sinned as much in ignorance as spleen. Our own vexation at the faultfinding spirit of these splenetic islanders, is, we own, often moderated by the reflection, that it is as indigenous among them as their hips and haws. It is a perfect idiosyncrasy, which, like the old man of the sea, on the back of the luckless Sinbad, mercilessly pursues them everywhere, as much, it is evident, to their own discomfort, as to the astonishment of their neighbors.

It is indeed, quite melancholy to think that worthy people like the English, when the fogs, the blue devils, and the taxes have driven them from home to take refuge among strangers, should be wholly prevented by this one weakness of temper, from either pleasing their hosts, or even pleasing themselves. Travelling is emphatically to them, what Madame de Staël calls it, 'un triste plaisir.' While a Frenchman in England reconciles himself to everything, except perhaps an English sunday, the Englishman neither reconciles anybody nor is reconciled to anything. Yet this fault of his is so well understood, and is so much a matter of course, that his repinings carry their remedy along with them. In this country everybody, from long experience, knows what he is to expect from an English tourist; and the people on the continent of Europe think they explain everything by shrugging their shoulders and saying, 'He is an Englishman.'

The English themselves, in moments of compunction, sometimes excuse their slanders of America, by alleging that their bet-

ter sort of travellers seldom get among us. Our author seems inclined to give into this explanation; but our charity, in this instance, does not run so far. This failing of theirs is more general among them than they like to own, and by the accounts of their own writers, has long beset them. Lord Chesterfield more than once, for this same reason, admonishes his son against associating with his countrymen abroad; and Doctor Moore, (a Scotchman, by the way,) ridicules it in his own peculiar manner. Townsend, a very judicious observer, tells us that the English who visited Spain in his days picqued themselves on living there as they did in their own cool climate, till an ague, or bilious fever came to reinforce the suggestions of common sense. A later traveller in that country, (the author of the 'Recollections of the Peninsula,') who had a turn of civility about him, exclaims, with a kind of despair, that his countrymen seemed to find a pleasure in setting every body against them, and that they seldom failed of success, even where they were at first received with open arms. So far are *i signori Inglesi* from 'doing at Rome as Romans do,' that all the money their idlers lavish there, scarcely serves to keep the astonished Romans in good humor. St Peter's they have converted into a fashionable promenade, and, some years ago, their behavior was such, during the performance of the usual anthem in the church, in laughing and talking aloud, in otherwise interrupting the service, and crowding out the natives from their places, that the good Pope found it necessary to interfere. In England a police officer would have brought things to order very shortly and roughly; but the Pontiff actually ordered the anthem to be discontinued for the future, and begged the interposition of the Dutchess of Devonshire with her countrymen! On this occasion the English clergyman deemed it necessary to give his polite audience a lecture on good manners.

What can our author think to do by his serious reasoning with a people, who thus beard the Pope himself; who, when driven from their climate, by aches and the vapors, insist nevertheless that it is the most *comfortable* in the world, and complain of the everlasting sunshine of Italy and America; who conscientiously believe that grapes and pine apples are better flavored in England than on their native soil; retain their stiff garments in the hottest climes, in despite of comfort, and, as it were, in the very face of the sun; and fondly talk of the roast beef of England, while the rioters of Birmingham are asking rather angrily for bread? By what sort of argument does he hope to approach those, who think the national debt a national blessing; the right of primogeniture wise and just; imperfect representation a safeguard of their liberties; a Constitution grown up by accident, more perfect than any devised scheme possibly can be; who modestly

rail against negro slavery, while Ireland lies under their very eyes; who believe the state machine, called the established church, a bulwark of religion; and whose people think they sufficiently revile a man by calling him a Frenchman or a foreigner? To set about refuting, with much seriousness, people who are honestly persuaded of all this, seems so much good argument thrown away; and to predict that misfortune may hereafter bring them to a more reasonable way of thinking, is really a very small consolation to us, who have so many reasons for wishing them well.

2.—*Report of the Board of Public Works of the State of Georgia, to the General Assembly.* Milledgeville, 1826.

We have heretofore spoken of the recent legislative proceedings of Georgia, in regard to the internal improvements of that state. We have now before us the first Report of the Board of Public Works to the Legislature, from which it appears, that several surveys have been executed during the last year, with a view to ascertain the routes of rail roads and canals in different parts of the state. Two great objects were had in mind; first, the practicability and expediency of connecting the waters of Georgia with the Tennessee River, so as to bring the produce of the West to the Atlantic through that state; secondly, the internal navigation of the state itself.

On the first point, the Board make a decidedly unfavorable report, and their reasoning is conclusive. Cotton can now be transported from Florence on the Tennessee river, to New Orleans, for 80 cents a bag. To convey the same by a canal to Milledgeville, a distance of 240 miles, would cost, at the lowest estimate, $1,90; and thence to Darien on the seacoast $1,50 more, making in the whole $3,40. 'Adding to the expense of conveyance (80 cents) down the Mississippi $1,50, the increased charge for insurance and freight from the port of New Orleans, the relative expense of the two channels of conveyance will be as $3,40 to $2,30; that is, it will cost $1,10 more, to transport a bag of cotton from Tennessee to the Atlantic through the state of Georgia, than down the Mississippi.' It is very obvious, therefore, that a project of a canal through that state to connect the western waters with the Atlantic, is not one that deserves any further consideration.

The Board, however, speak in sanguine terms of the advantages to be derived from new paths of communication, either

by canals or rail roads, to connect different points in the state; and surveys have in part been made to ascertain some of the most important routes. Georgia is intersected by rivers well suited to boat navigation, but in the low country, these are much obstructed by sand bars, and trees lodged in their channels. It is deemed advisable to clear out these obstructions, and to deepen the channels in some places. To effect this object the Legislature has appropriated $80,000 to be expended in improving the navigation of the rivers Oconee, Alatamaha, Chattahoochie, Oakmulgee, and Ogeechie; and also $40,000 more to be expended in conjunction with South Carolina in clearing the Savanna river. These are liberal appropriations, and show a generous and enterprising spirit in the legislature. It is a mistake, however, to expect much benefit from this mode of improving the navigation of rivers. An obstruction removed in a given place will frequently have no other effect than to draw the water off, and cause a new obstruction above. There is but one effectual mode of improving the boat navigation of rivers, and that is by dams quite across the stream, at such distances that the water will everywhere be raised above obstructions. Let a tow path be constructed on one bank of the stream, and it will then be converted into a canal with a lock at each dam. This method is carried into complete operation on the Schuylkill. We venture to predict, that after much labor and money have been expended in deepening the channels of the Georgia rivers, according to the plan proposed, they will in many places be found to be as shallow and unfit for navigation as before. A broad and deep river, like the Savanna, will undoubtedly be an exception. Small obstructions may there be removed to advantage, because the quantity removed will bear no proportion to the mass of water. Yet the same evil, to a certain degree, will exist in that river. Let the Board inquire what has been done at Wilmington, in North Carolina, in deepening the Cape Fear River, before they proceed far in any similar attempts.

3.—*American Natural History. Vol. I. Part I. Mastology.* By John D. Godman, M. D Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 8vo. pp. 362.

There are few more attractive studies than natural history, and Buffon and Goldsmith, as well as some other writers, have shown that few subjects are susceptible of being treated in a more animated or eloquent manner. It is true, this remark will not apply to mere scientific arrangements, or rather systems of

names, by which different objects, whether animate or inanimate, are classified. This branch of the study can of course have charms only for the adepts in science; yet the more popular parts, such as the structure and uses of minerals, the varieties and virtues of plants, the habits and peculiarities of animals, present innumerable particulars, which afford instruction and amusement.

Our American works on natural history, except in the department of Ornithology, have hitherto been of the scientific, rather than the popular kind. Dr Godman has undertaken the important task of giving to the public a natural history of our country, adapted to the mass of readers, at the same time it adheres so closely to classical arrangement and definitions, as to retain in a sufficient degree a scientific dress. He has published the first volume of the first part, which contains descriptions of various animals, and which, as far as our knowledge and taste will enable us to judge, is a very successful beginning in the execution of his plan. His descriptions are in a language perfectly intelligible to every reader, and he has evidently examined all the best sources of information. His style is flowing and animated; it is not always pruned, and is rather indicative of haste, than of the *limæ labor* of composition; yet it is not ill suited to his subject, and he must be in no very good humor, who will be disposed to stop and carp at the style, when there is so much in the matter and general manner to instruct and please.

The drawings, with which the book abounds, are executed with great beauty and spirit; some of them would do no discredit to Bewick. The engravings are highly finished. The fame, which the Philadelphia artists have acquired in delineating and engraving specimens of natural history, is fully sustained in this work.

As the author advances in his undertaking, we hope to embrace some other opportunity to speak more at large of his labors. The project deserves the unqualified encouragement and patronage of the public.

4.—*Memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina. Jan.* 1, 1827. By A. D. Murphey.

The history of few of the states is so little known, as that of North Carolina. This has not been for any want of materials, or of important events to record. When all these shall be brought to light, it will be found that North Carolina, both in its early character, and in its progress, has maintained a place among the very first of the states. With some means of knowledge on the

subject, we give our entire assent to the following remarks of Judge Murphey. 'Our men of education,' says he, 'who read and study the history of other countries, are ignorant of the history of their native state, and all classes of our people will remain in such ignorance until their history shall be written. When this shall be done, it will be seen that we have just cause to be proud of our ancestors; that in no state was a more early or effectual opposition made to the encroachments of power; that in no one were the principles of civil liberty better understood, more ardently cherished, or more steadily defended; that no state exhibited a purer devotion, and no one, except Massachusetts, made more generous sacrifices in the cause of the revolution; and that our legislature, our jurisprudence, and our institutions have kept pace with the improvements of the age.' The first part of these remarks, will apply to more states than one. Of many, very many persons can it be said, that 'they read and study the history of other countries, and are ignorant of the history of their native state.' In nine tenths of the higher order of our schools, the pupils can tell you more of Greece and Rome, than of the state in which they were born, and can talk more intelligibly of the Achæan league, or the Amphictyonic council, than of the principles of our federal union, or the history of our national legislature.

This ignorance has doubtless resulted in some degree from the want of well written histories. So busy have we been in this country since the revolution, that the public mind has been wholly taken up with the deeds of the present. The living history of the times has crowded as many events both upon the actors and the witnesses, as they have had leisure to attend to. What with the agitations of party, our political changes and progress, and the growth of all our civil and social institutions, the whole community has had abundance to think about and talk about from day to day, and month to month, without resorting to the actions of our ancestors; and under such circumstances there has been very little encouragement for writing history. But times are changed, and most persons are now prepared to read the history of their country, if they can be furnished with it in an attractive and judicious form. It is a matter of public utility, and each state should afford ample facilities to a competent historian, who is willing to give his time and talents to the task. Judge Murphey's Memorial is in the nature of an application to the legislature of North Carolina to grant him aid in preparing a history of that state. The result we have not learnt, but from the liberal spirit manifested by the legislature on a former application, we cannot doubt his wishes will be met.

We confess that we were a little startled to hear Judge Murphey talk of extending his history '*to six or eight octavo volumes,*

exclusive of geology, mineralogy, botany, and meteorology.' Who will ever read such a history? Suppose the historians of all the states were to be as generous, what would be done with all the books? They might be piled up in libraries, but they never would be taken down. It is idle to write books, that never will be read. If the author will take our advice, he will confine himself strictly *to the history of North Carolina,* scrupulously keeping clear of all extraneous matters, and such as have only a remote bearing on his subject. Let him keep close to this purpose, and compress all his materials into two octavo volumes, in which every line shall contain a fact, and every sentence a point, and the whole be arranged with clearness, method, and in just proportions. Such a work will answer its important ends; it will be sought after and read.

5.—*An Address delivered in Burlington, upon the Inauguration of the Author to the Office of President of the University of Vermont; Nov.* 28, 1826. By James Marsh. Burlington. E. & T. Mills. pp. 31.

We are not among those who are tired of a subject, only because it has been often discussed. We therefore, for ourselves, needed no apology from President Marsh, for choosing *education* as the subject of his Address, especially as it was a topic so appropriate, we might even say necessary, to the occasion. The apology which he offers, is, however, so very sensible, and so convincingly put, as we think, to all those who are apt to become fatigued with a discussion by the time they have acquired from it two or three general and superficial notions, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting it.

'This subject, however it may have been exhausted, as to its general and theoretical principles, by eminent writers of both ancient and modern times, and rendered trite in its details by the daily discussions of our own periodical press, has still, like that of religion, a hold upon our attention, that can be lost only when we are no longer capable of improvement. Like that, it mingles itself with the sweetest charities of domestic life, and is second in importance only to that in its relation to communities and nations. It comes home to the heart of every father and of every mother, as they contemplate the future character of a son or a daughter, and in the minds of the wise politician and philanthropist is associated with their dearest hopes and most labored efforts for the

improvement of society. It is practically connected with our daily and most interesting duties, and its principles can never be too well understood, or too faithfully applied by those, who wish well to the happiness of their country.' pp. 3, 4.

The truth is, that so long as education is a subject of intrinsic and inestimable importance, and when it will cease to be so we cannot imagine, so long ought it to be a frequent subject of discourse and reflection, and so long will it possess a strong hold on the minds, and a deep interest in the hearts of thinking men. It will indeed lose its novelty, when it is thoroughly understood in all its relations, and nothing remains to be discovered and developed in any of its departments. But that time has not yet come, and who can say when it will come?

The view which Mr Marsh has taken of the subject, is one especially interesting at this time, and to this country. He considers, in his address, 'some of the peculiar advantages which we enjoy, *as a people*, for giving efficacy to the power and influence of education, and some of the higher results, in the general cultivation and wellbeing of society, which we may reasonably expect it to accomplish, or towards which at least our efforts in relation to it should be directed.' In pursuing this design, he exhibits in a few well drawn sketches, those circumstances in our situation which distinguish us from all other nations, which place education in a new field of experiment, and which promise great and hitherto unknown results from the trial. He could not, of course, omit to notice an institution so characteristic of at least one considerable section of our country, and bearing so closely and powerfully on the destinies of the whole, as that of our public schools. We are far from thinking that these schools have attained to anything like perfection; but we are nevertheless convinced that the principle of their establishment is sound, and that their general operation and consequences have been incalculably great and beneficial. We therefore give our full approbation to the following eulogy upon them.

'In the minds of those, by whom our principles and our form of society were bequeathed to us, the maxim that all men are alike independent, and have the same right to act in the various relations of society, awakened of necessity the idea of so providing for the instruction of all, that they should be qualified to act well. Hence, at a very early period after the settlement of New England, free schools were established, and a system, unknown in every other country, which provides that the property of all shall be taxed for the education of all, under some varieties of form now everywhere prevails. The object or the effect of this is not indeed to give very eminent attainments to any, but to accomplish

what the spirit of benevolence is now aiming at in other countries, to implant the great principles of knowledge, of morality, and religion, and to elevate the condition and character of the great body of the people. It goes among us to establish and secure forever the principles of equality, from which it sprung; to secure the lower from the insults of the higher, and the weak from the oppressions of the powerful. It prevents therefore all those evils, which in other countries have arisen from the opposing interests of different classes of the community, and obstructed the progress of general improvement. Instead of limiting our thoughts to a few only, it extends our hopes and our designs of improvement to all the members of the body politic, while it presents them to us in a condition best suited to receive the benefit of our labors. pp. 7, 8.

One more extract we will offer, because it expresses what we shall hold to be, till we are argued out of our belief, the true doctrine of the union between religion and government, church and state.

'As religious principles were the starting point, and the source of all those ideas, which we have realized in our institutions, so the influence of religion on the moral character and the intellectual habits and acquirements of the great mass of our population is still the foundation on which those institutions rest. Thus, while politicians in Europe consider it an essential part of civil government to support religion, we have reversed the order, and look to our religion, as the only effectual support of our government; not indeed as a part of the political system, associated and become one with it, as seems to have been the original design, but the basis on which it rests in the hearts of the people. For it is not only withdrawn more, than in any other country from all secular interferences, but abstains from directly interfering with all secular interests. It sustains itself in and by its own spiritual life and energy, and while it is independent of all aid from human institutions, and claims connexion only with heaven and the hearts of men, as its appropriate home and abiding place, it still sends forth its energizing and quickening spirit through all the complicated forms of society, building up the ruins that are fallen down, uniting and organizing anew the elements of good, which the warring passions and interests of men had torn asunder, and scattered abroad, and budding and blossoming forth with rich luxuriance in the refined and pure affections of social life, and in the nobler enterprises of benevolence.' pp. 15, 16.

We could not but regret the appearance in this excellent discourse, of several instances of false taste, both in composition and language. In the latter, especially, there are specimens of un-

warrantable license. The author speaks of men 'of large *round-about* sense, and cultivated reason.' What, in the name of common sense, is round-about sense? In the very next page, we are barked at by a tripleheaded monster, hight '*sound-book-learnedness.*' '*The ventriloquists of human reason,*' is a phrase which we might admire more, if we understood it better. 'The thraldom of the *sensuous* and the present.' *Sensuous* is a word which is used twice in places where, as it seems to us, *sensual* would have been the right one. Johnson defines *sensuous* thus; 'Tender, pathetic, full of passion. *Not in use;*' and adds this quotation from Milton; 'To this poetry would be made precedent, as being less subtile and fine; but more simple, *sensuous*, and passionate.' This, we presume, is not the meaning which Mr Marsh intended in his use of the word. We do not like to notice such faults in respectable writers, but we deem it to be our duty.

6.—*Eulogy on the Hon. William Crafts, delivered before the Palmetto Society, in the Second Independent Church.* By E. S. Courtenay. Published at their request. Charleston. Ellis & Neufville. 1826. pp. 15.

Mr Courtenay has rendered a happy and discriminating tribute to the lamented subject of his Eulogy. A sketch is presented of the biography of Mr Crafts, together with an account of his diversified talents and interesting character. The following passage describes his conduct as a statesman.

'Notwithstanding the unpopularity of his political opinions, he was several times elected to a seat in the General Assembly of his native State. In this situation he rendered important services to his constituents. He was early distinguished for his love of letters, and omitted no opportunity of disseminating a love of learning among the people. He felt, to use his own language, that "knowledge was the lifeblood of republics and free governments;" that the eagle was the bird of light, as well as of liberty. In the legislature he always advocated every measure which had for its object the encouragement of scientific and literary institutions. At a period when a shortsighted policy, aided by a parsimonious spirit, would have abolished the Free School System of the State, and left the children of the poor to all those innumerable miseries and crimes which are the almost certain consequences of ignorance, Mr Crafts undertook its defence, and in a speech replete with eloquence and good sense, depicted in glowing terms the blessings of knowledge to a state, and the curses

entailed upon it by the ignorance of its citizens. He was successful; humanity and good sense triumphed over a narrowminded policy, which would have weighed the true wealth of the state, the intellect and moral character of the rising generation, with the gold and silver which fills its coffers.

'His friends might rest his character for usefulness as a legislator on this one act; for if in ancient days, he who saved the life of a single citizen, was deemed worthy of the civic wreath, to what is he not entitled, who by his eloquence and zeal preserved to thousands that means of moral life, without which man is little better than the brute on which he banquets; the prey of appetites and passions that degrade him in the scale of creation; which unfit him for usefulness, and make him a burden to himself, and too often a curse to the state. If gratitude be not an imaginary virtue, while the free schools remain in existence, they will be identified with the name of Crafts; his memory will long be cherished by the thousands who have participated, and the tens of thousands who shall hereafter participate in the blessings they impart. Mr Crafts was a philanthropist in the most extensive sense of that term; he possessed a heart full of the milk of human kindness; the sorrows ofhis friend, were felt as his own, and relieved, if in his power; but his good feelings were confined in their operation to no narrow circle; to no creed; to no party; whenever the voice of misery was heard, it was attended to with promptness; his professional aid was never solicited in vain, by the poor or the oppressed. These feelings, so honorable to him in private life, were carried with him to the legislative halls of the State.' pp. 10, 11.

The numerous friends of Mr Crafts will subscribe to the justness of the following delineation.

'In the private walks of life, no one was more amiable than our friend; possessed of a lively fancy, a social disposition, and attractive manners, he was the idol of his friends and companions. The goodness of his heart was never called in question, it was perceptible in every action of his life, it tempered his wit in such a manner, that though all acknowledged its brilliancy, none complained of its point.' p. 13.

We subjoin one more paragraph, on Mr Crafts' talents as a writer, and believe, that in the wish expressed by the author at the conclusion of it, the voice of the public will very generally concur.

'Our friend was advantageously known as an essayist, both in this country and Europe. His compositions, published in the *Charleston Courier*, were copied into the principal newspapers throughout the United States and Great Britain, and were everywhere read and admired. As a writer he was chaste and concise; his productions abounded with classical allusions, his com-

parisons drawn from the works of nature, evinced a correct taste and an imagination alive to the beauties of creation, that a good Providence had everywhere scattered around him. It is to be hoped that the orations delivered by him on various occasions, with a selection from the essays, printed in the journals of the day, will be collected and published; they would form a volume, which would be a valuable addition to the library of the man of taste, and constitute a durable and appropriate monument to his memory.'

7.—*Remarks on the Practicability and Expediency of establishing a Rail Road on one or more Routes from Boston to the Connecticut River.* By the Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser. pp. 71. Boston. 1827. William L. Lewis.

The report of the Massachusetts canal commissioners, published about a year since, confirmed an opinion which had before prevailed very generally in the community; that the obstacles to the formation and use of a canal from Boston to the Connecticut river, to say nothing about the more difficult route from thence to the Hudson, render the undertaking of such a work clearly inexpedient. Still, the enterprising citizens of Massachusetts are impatient at remaining idle spectators of the great works going on in the middle and western states, facilitating their trade of every kind, and advancing them in wealth and power, with a rapidity unknown in the world before.

The remarks of Mr Hale are calculated to allay this impatience by showing that Massachusetts is not doomed to forego all improvements in intercommunication. They were first published in the 'Boston Daily Advertiser,' probably, to meet the question, then about to be discussed by the legislature of Massachusetts, respecting the expediency of forming a railway from Boston to the Connecticut. Mr Hale appears to have made himself acquainted with most of the works that have been lately written on railways. His familiar knowledge of the geography of New England, cannot be unknown to our readers. With these qualifications, he has examined his subject as minutely as the compass of seventy pages would allow, and his little work must prove highly useful to the community. It is a common sense examination, apparently very impartial, and demands our assent to no more than it proves; and it must be a cause of congratulation to the people of Massachusetts, to know, that, after such an inquiry, Mr Hale is highly in favor of the railway.

We observe that Mr Hale has formed his estimates of cost, on rails of iron, rather than of some cheaper and more imperfect material. We entirely agree with him in the propriety of this. It is absolutely necessary in a work of this kind, to obtain public confidence by that thorough execution, which shall leave no doubt of its being always passable, and preclude apprehension of delay from derangement of any kind. Besides, in the economy of such works, it will be found that, generally, the expense of repairs on an imperfect work, will more than counterbalance the saving in interest on the cost of construction. Under these impressions we doubt whether Mr Hale has not committed an error in supposing, that it will be advisable to build a single pair of rails, with occasional turning platforms and additional rails to permit carriages moving in opposite directions to pass each other; rather than two entire railways. We would form the work to give the utmost facility to the carriages, and trust to the increase of travel, which this facility will itself produce, to redeem the expense incurred by it. An opinion has been somewhat general, that railways are superior to common roads, principally from the application of the steam engine in moving the carriages. This is by no means true; and although carriages are in some places, in England, moved by the steam engine, yet horses are, even there, more generally used; and we think Mr Hale is perfectly right in forming his estimates on the supposition that the use of horse power is best adapted to our circumstances. It certainly is so at present, and we can foresee no change or improvement, which shall reverse this condition.

We apprehend that the people need not the assurance of a revenue to the state, however desirable this might be in itself, to make such a work popular with them. They willingly tax themselves to procure the convenience of common roads. Will they not, then, be content to take the benefit of a highly improved road, without requiring that it shall produce to them a direct income? We believe that if, on examination of the subject, the people of Massachusetts shall have reasonable assurance that a railway to the Connecticut will produce four, or even three, per cent. on the cost, they will cheerfully undertake it. Indeed any loss, were a loss possible, which the present generation can be called upon to encounter, in prosecuting this work, will, we are satisfied, be amply repaid, in the next age, by securing in its ancient relations, a trade, which will otherwise, turn itself into some of the new channels, soon to be opened to it.

We have not examined the details of Mr Hale's pamphlet with sufficient care to warrant us in declaring them to be accurate. It appears, however, to bear those marks of attention to the subject, which seldom fail in directing an author to the truth.

8.—*Catalogue of Books in the Boston Atheneum, to which are added the By Laws of the Institution, and a List of its Proprietors and Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 360. William L. Lewis.

In the number of this Journal for July last, we gave some account of the means which had been successfully adopted for increasing the funds and extending the usefulness of this institution. Since that time the measures, which were then in progress for enlarging the library, for laying it more extensively open to the use of the proprietors and subscribers, and for providing rooms for an exhibition of pictures, for public lectures, and for the accommodation of some of the scientific associations in the city, have been completed. Within the last year 13 or 14,000 dollars have been expended in the purchase of books in Europe, a part of whch have been recently received, and the rest are daily expected; 460 volumes have been purchased here, and 3552 volumes, previously belonging to the library, have been bound or repaired. Besides these purchases, 673 volumes and 155 pamphlets have been received in donations, among which are D'Alembert's Encyclopedia in 35 vols. folio, given by one individual; a complete set of the Turin Academy's Transactions in 29 vols. 4to, by a another; the Copenhagen Transactions in 17 vols. 4to, and the Stockholm Transactions, in 91 vols. 8vo, by another; a complete set of the Memoirs of the French Academies, and Institute, with all their indices and accessories, in 274 vols. 4to, by another; and 79 volumes of military works, by another. These donations consist of works imported for the purpose, to supply deficiencies in the library.

By the regulations of the Atheneum hitherto in force, no books have been permitted to be taken from the building, the original design of the institution being to furnish the means of prosecuting literary and scientific inquiries to those only who should resort thither for the purpose. But by a late regulation, proprietors of shares, and holders of life shares, on the payment of an annual assessment of five dollars, and subscribers to the Scientific Library, which is united with the Atheneum, on the payment of ten dollars annually, are permitted to take out books, each person to have at any one time not more than three volumes, and not to retain them longer than a month. The Librarian attends for the delivery and return of books, every day except Sunday, from noon to two o'clock.

To assist in carrying this regulation into effect, the present catalogue has been prepared. It is only an alphabetical index of the books, with a description of the edition. It embraces the

whole library, with the exception of about a thousand volumes of tracts, which are bound, and about an equal amount of tracts not yet bound. The catalogue of these is yet unfinished. When it shall be completed, another entire catalogue, arranged in the order of subjects, will probably be prepared. The number of volumes now at the Atheneum, together with those which have been ordered, and are daily expected, is about 23,000.

An entirely new arrangement of the apartments, and of the books, has been made. The shelves are numbered, and every book is marked in pencil, on the inside of the cover, with the number of the shelf to which it belongs. The number of the shelf is also annexed to the title of each book in the printed catalogue. Besides the printed catalogue, there is also one in manuscript, in which all the books are named in the order in which they stand upon the shelves. By means of this inventory, the books will be more easily kept in their places, and the annual examinations will be made with greater ease and precision.

The effecting of these improvements has imposed a very laborious duty upon the trustees of the Atheneum, and more especially upon the indefatigable committee under whose direction they have been principally made, and upon the Librarian. A further labor remains to be accomplished in the completion of the catalogues before alluded to, and in the arrangement of the extensive collection of medals and coins. Of these there are two cases containing 2060 silver and copper coins and medals, imperfectly arranged, besides 25 medals of gold, 26 of silver, 12 of white metal, 27 of base metal, and 281 of copper; 2938 ancient copper coins, 256 modern silver coins, and 7822 modern copper coins; making in all 13,437 medals and coins, many of which are very rare and valuable, and many others probably of little value.

The exhibition and lecture rooms, with the other apartments above referred to, are in a new building, just completed, from a plan by Mr Willard, situated in the rear of the main building of the Atheneum, and entirely detached from it. This new building is of three stories, and is sixty feet in length by fifty in width. The cost of it, exclusive of the land, was something more than thirteen thousand dollars. The upper story forms a single room, more than twenty feet in height, and lighted only from the dome. This room is intended for the exhibition of paintings. It is at present occupied by a distinguished artist, by permission of the trustees, with the understanding, that after the first of April, a public exhibition of pictures may be held there, which it is hoped will present a collection of treasures in the art, that will do honor to the city. The second story, which is eighteen feet high, consists of a lecture room, conveniently arranged for the accommo-

dation of a large number of auditors. The lower story contains four rooms, one of which will contain the apparatus for the lectures, another is to be occupied by the Academy of Arts and Sciences, for their library and meetings, the third by the Massachusetts Medical Society, and the fourth is at present unappropriated.

It deserves to be mentioned that during the past winter, the trustees directed the apartment containing the valuable collection of casts selected by Canova, and presented to the Atheneum by one of the proprietors, to be opened and warmed three evenings in each week, for the accommodation of such professional gentlemen as might desire to exercise themselves in drawing.

This institution is now possessed of nearly all the means for accomplishing the objects proposed by its founders. The two buildings afford ample accommodation for all the purposes for which they were designed. The library is placed on a footing for rendering it the most extensively useful, by the circulation of the books among the proprietors, and the excellent arrangements for facilitating the use of them at the library; and permanent funds are provided, the income of which will be sufficient, after defraying all other expenses, to admit of the expenditure of nearly three thousand dollars per annum in the purchase of books. The present property of the institution, including land and buildings, books, and money securely invested, exceeds one hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the many donations, some of which have been very munificent. More than thirtyfive thousand dollars have been given by three individuals of one family. The increase of property the last year has exceeded fortyfour thousand dollars, a part of it by the sale of additional shares, but the greater part by donations. There are now about two hundred and sixty proprietors' shares, which were purchased at three hundred dollars each, fifty life shares, at one hundred dollars each, thirtyfive subscribers to the Scientific Library, who are entitled to visit the Atheneum so long as they pay five dollars per annum, and to take out books by paying ten dollars per annum, and a number of subscribers, who are entitled to visit the Atheneum, by paying ten dollars per annum.

A great part of the medals and coins now in the possession of the Atheneum, were collected by the industry of the late William S. Shaw, Esq. probably with the intention of giving them to the institution, but he died intestate, and this intention remained unexecuted. His administrator, the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, in the most liberal manner, requested the trustees to accept, not only the medals and coins, but a large number of books and pamphlets, which with equal care Mr Shaw had collected. We copy from the last annual report of the committee of the trustees to

the proprietors, the following well merited acknowledgment of the obligation due from the community to this truly public spirited man, who was for many years the librarian of the Atheneum, and who watched over its interests with the most indefatigable attention.

'The committee cannot conclude this report, without adverting to the circumstance, that since our last annual meeting, the earliest and most active among the founders of the Atheneum; the individual to whom more than to any other, its existence and first success are due, has been removed by death. As a distinguished public benefactor, his name and memory should be especially preserved and cherished among us; for we owe him much. There was probably no other person in this community, who would have made so many personal sacrifices, to secure to this city the benefits we now enjoy, and the still greater benefits we may reasonably promise to ourselves and our children, from the foundation of this institution, which was chiefly established by his unwearied exertions, and which he lived long enough to see, not only an object of general interest and regard, but so munificently patronized and sustained, by the most liberal and intelligent among our citizens, that it had already become more than his most sanguine hopes had dared to anticipate.'

9.—*A Treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind; being the Lectures of the late* Thomas Brown, M. D. *Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Abridged, and distributed according to the Natural Divisions of the Subject, by* Levi Hedge, LL. D. *Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Harvard University.* In 2 Vols. 8vo. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 1827.

We have on former occasions given at length, our opinion of the philosophical writings of Dr Brown, particularly of his Lectures, as published from his manuscripts after his decease.* The object of the present notice is simply the edition, whose title we have quoted; the new form in which these Lectures are now presented to the public.

The importance of many of the views of this author, and the many specimens of powerful reasoning and acute analysis contained in his Lectures, rendered it desirable to introduce the work into our systems of metaphysical instruction. Indeed every system of this kind must be regarded as deficient, which does not embrace one of so much celebrity.

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* See North American Review, Vol. XIX. p. 1. and Vol. XXI. p. 19.

To the use, however, of Dr Brown's Lectures as a class book, in the form in which they first appeared, there are serious objections. It is too much to expect of the student in this science, that he should wade through the multitude of recapitulations, repetitions, and illustrations, which, however agreeable in themselves, tend to embarrass and overlay the doctrines of the author, that are thus buried under the weight of four large and closely printed octavos.

Diffuseness is a fault common to most of the writings of this author, which were published under his own inspection, and was of course much more likely to characterize a series of Lectures, written for daily delivery. The progress of a lecturer on an abstruse science, must necessarily be slow; his audience cannot follow him through a long train of deductions. He must be contented with stating a few points, and enforcing these, by presenting them in a variety of lights, and connecting with them numerous illustrations. It is also necessary that each Lecture should commence with a more or less extensive survey of the ground already gone over. The hearer must be put in a position, if we may so express ourselves, proper to enable him to take a new step. Almost every Lecture, therefore, will naturally be divided into three portions, of which the middle one alone will represent the real progress of the lecturer. The remaining portions, though necessary to most of the hearers of a course of lectures, are not at all so to him who is studying the system in the books of the teacher, and who may pause, at any time, to meditate upon and digest the portion, which he has perused. In order, therefore, to render this work useful as a class book, it was necessary that it should be abridged. And in making such an abridgment, no question could arise on the propriety of striking out the first portion of each Lecture, or so much of it as consisted of a mere recapitulation of the preceding. It was not so clear how much farther the reduction should be carried, and the admirers of Dr Brown had reason to fear in any such attempt, the zeal for abridgment might be carried too far, and the test of *cui bono* be too rigidly applied to the variations and eloquent illustrations of the author; that every flower, with which his genius had adorned the dry and unpromising path of psychology, would be condemned as a useless weed. We are happy to find that the editor of the present abridgment has carefully removed only what was evidently superfluous and burdensome, and has left the groundwork entire and uninjured. In plainer terms, as far as we have been able to examine Dr Hedge's edition, we have reason to consider it worthy of high commendation. He has merely retrenched absolute superfluities, and added nothing to the original work except a few

words, where they were necessary to connect the sense of passages, brought together on the removal of rescinded portions. He has thus diminished the work to about half its former size, and abstaining from note or comment of any kind, except a short and modest Preface, has presented it to the public, in a form, we think, in which the author would have been satisfied to see it. The division into Lectures is exchanged, of course, for that of Chapters and Sections, agreeing with the natural divisions of the subject.

Of the propriety and even absolute necessity of some such abridgment, as the present, for the purposes of a class or text book, there can be no doubt. But setting aside the service, which has thus been rendered to the business of education, we think the community have good cause to be gratified by the appearance of this edition. The doctrines supported in the Lectures of Dr Brown have certainly not been so generally understood or received, as their simplicity, truth, and importance to science deserve ; and this is principally owing to the voluminous form, in which they have hitherto been offered to the reader. In their present state they will doubtless be much more attractive, and will soon become more commonly known and understood. And this is the more important, as some of the main points, though obviously correct and unavoidable, have been long regarded with a degree of suspicion and dislike, which is wholly unmerited, and chiefly to be ascribed to the dangerous and unwarrantable inferences drawn from them by Mr Hume and others of his school. The fallacy of these conclusions is in most instances exposed with great success by Dr Brown, and we are thus permitted to receive the truth, without the supposed necessity of connecting with it the offensive consequence.

10.—*Address delivered before the Worcester Agricultural Society, Oct.* 11, 1826, *being their Eighth Anniversary Cattle Show, and Exhibition of Manufactures.* By Emory Washburn Esq.

The influence of the associations throughout the country, for the improvement of Agriculture, has undoubtedly been salutary, principally from the opportunity which they afford to persons engaged in this branch of industry, at their annual exhibitions, to become acquainted with one another, and with the improvements made by any of them, and from the tendency which this inter-

course has to form a better taste, and a more correct judgment of the objects most deserving of their attention. Farmers who devote their attention strictly to the management of their own affairs, are, by the nature of their pursuits, confined to a narrow sphere of observation. They have not the opportunities, which are presented in many other departments of industry, to measure their skill, and the results of their labors, with those of other persons, successfully engaged in a similar pursuit. At these established festivals, the occasion is presented to them, of bringing together and comparing the fruits of their respective exertions, of enlarging the scope of their observation, of wearing off their prejudices, and of participating in common of that spirit of improvement, with which any portion of them may be animated. It affords also a favorable opportunity, in which an enlightened member of the association, appointed for the purpose, may, in a formal address, communicate the results of his observation, on the subjects which engage the common attention, and give useful advice, for the correction of faults which he may have discovered, in systems of husbandry, or in the methods of conducting affairs, prevalent among his neighbors.

The present Address affords a favorable illustration of the species of instruction which the occasion admits of being imparted to the yeomanry of the country. It calls their attention to mistakes and injudicious methods in the management of their concerns, which require only to be pointed out by an intelligent observer to be gradually corrected. The address is suited to the occasion which called it forth, and adapted to the promotion of those improvements, which it is the object of these associations to encourage. As a sample of the advice given in this address, and as a judicious and striking illustration of an error very frequent among our farmers, we extract the following passage.

'The rock upon which the fortunes of many of our most industrious citizens founder, is an overweening desire of possessing *many acres*, rather than *well managed farms*. This propensity is so common, that its effects are visible in the loose state of agriculture in many districts. We generally agree in sentiment with those writers who condemn the large and almost useless commons, to be met with in many parts of England; and yet, many of our farms present but a little better picture, in their pastures, overgrown with brush and briers, and the rank weeds and unseemly balks which deform their mowing and tillage lands. Whether this disposition to become large proprietors is natural, or was brought by our fathers, with other prejudices, from a land where large manors are often the only evidence of greatness in their owners, it would be useless to decide. If it be a relic of those prejudices, it must have been found to produce effects the

reverse of those intended, since the possessor of a large farm, without the means of cultivating it as it should be, becomes a slave rather than a lord, and ere long finds himself dressed in the tatters of poverty, rather than the ermine of state.'

'This becomes not only a private but a public evil. It prevents the increase of our population and of our wealth. It drives our young and enterprising men to seek their fortunes in distant regions and new territories. Every fifty acres, that are thus withdrawn from the market and the improvement of proper husbandry, though they may lead to the occupation of a portion of the western wilderness, deprive us of the enterprise, wealth, and industry of our valuable citizens at least, and proportionably affect the actual wealth and physical strength of the state. By a proper division of our farms, not only would our territory support a larger population, but it would render our land proprietors more independent, since they would possess a more productive capital, than real estate alone, under ordinary circumstances, can ever be. Money would thus be thrown into the market at its fair value, and our farmers and mechanics need no longer be the dupes and victims of rapacious misers and relentless usurers. There would be a more equal proportion between the monied capital and landed interests, and though we might still have the croakings of the discontented about the hardness of the times, the prudent farmer would be beyond their influence, and his cottage, though small, would be the abode of ease and contentment.' pp. 10–12.

11.—*Nouvelles Idées sur la Population, avec des Remarques sur les Théories de Godwin, Malthus, Say, Sismondi, etc.* Par Alexander H. Everett. Traduites de l'Anglais par C. J. Ferry. Paris. Jules Renouard. 1826.

As we have already more than once taken notice of this ingenious work,* we have only occasion now to say, that the translation, in which it is put into the possession of the French public, and of the reading community of Europe, appears, from our partial examination of it, to be made with fidelity and good taste, keeping near enough to the original to present all the thoughts in proper shape and succession, and yet not adhering to it so rigidly, as to lose the beauties of a flowing and idiomatic French style. The new Preface by the author contains, as we have before observed, some brief animadversions on the works of Say and Sismondi, the former of whom, Mr Everett maintains,

* See Vol. XVII. for Oct. 1823, and Vol. XXIV. for Jan. 1827.

deserts the leading principles common to himself and Malthus, in developing the juster views on which he is at issue with that writer; and the latter, though approaching nearer to the true theory, still admits some important errors, which, in consistency, are only to be deduced from that to which it is opposed. These strictures, with some passing remarks upon Malthus, Adam Smith, and Gray, the writer mentioned in the Preface to the first edition of his 'New Ideas,' are made in the frank and respectful tone which becomes philosophical discussion.

12.—*The Substance of two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College, to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board thereon.* Amherst. Carter & Adams. 1827. pp. 22.

The purpose of the two Reports, the substance of which is given in this pamphlet, was to recommend certain improvements in the system of education, pursued in Amherst College. The first of these Reports consists of some general reasoning in favor of a material change in the course of instruction in the College. In the second, the subject is considered more in detail, in obedience to a resolve of the trustees, requesting the Faculty to draw up a specific plan of improvement, upon the basis of their former report.

The results of their investigation of the subject are presented in five distinct propositions. 1. In relation to preparatory studies, they recommend that no change should be made, in the qualifications required for admission to the College. 2. They recommend that the present four years' course of study and instruction, in the languages, and the scientific and literary branches, should remain unchanged, for all students who shall make their election to prosecute that course. 3. They recommend that provision shall be made for pursuing an entirely different course of instruction, for the benefit of all students, who, by the advice of their friends, on admission to the College, shall prefer it; this new course to occupy the same period of time with the other, but to be entirely different from it, by a substitution of several of the modern languages for the ancient, and a more popular and practical course of studies, in the place of those which now form the basis of a collegiate education. 4. They recommend the establishment of a distinct department of instruction, to be devoted to 'the science and art of teaching; but more especially at first, to the education of schoolmasters.' Their views in relation to this new department will be collected from the following paragraphs, which we extract from their Report.

'To occupy the whole ground, will require,

'1. Much time and talent in the selection, revision, and compilation of elementary school books.

'2. An experimental school, consisting of young children, under the entire control of the department, where students may have opportunity to learn the art of teaching from example, and in which new methods of instruction may be tried, and the results carefully recorded.

'3. Adequate provision for the systematic instruction of schoolmasters, in all the branches of education, in which they may have occasion to teach in our primary or district schools, together with the theory of teaching and government.

'4. An able and connected review, or rather series of reviews, of all the popular systems of education now in use, particularly in our own country, with free and critical remarks upon College text books.

'5. A course of lectures annually, by the professor, on the science of education, for the particular benefit of the regular members of College, but which other young men, wishing to qualify themselves for teaching, might be permitted to attend.' p. 18.

Their fifth proposition recommends an establishment of a department of theoretical and practical mechanics; which may serve to afford exercise and amusement to the students, and 'to a few of the more ingenious and active, some pecuniary advantage.' In connexion with these opportunities for exercise, they propose that a course of practical lectures upon mechanics should be provided, during a part of one of the collegiate years. In recommending this measure, they say;

'For a considerable time, at least, the skill and industry of this department might be profitably employed, in furnishing the College rooms upon a uniform plan; in keeping all the buildings and furniture in constant repair; in making some of the more common articles of philosophical and chemical apparatus; as also many curious models in machinery, for the use of the professors in other departments. Here would be ample scope for the exercise of all the mechanical ingenuity in the seminary; and surely, it would be no disadvantage to any professional man in after life, to have learned how to drive a nail, or put on a lock, or use a plane or a saw, when he was a student in College.' p. 20.

It would be out of place here to express any opinion of the merits of these plans of improvement. The subject is much too important to be despatched in a few sentences, which is all that we could here devote to it. We may be disposed on some future occasion to devote a few pages to an examination of a part at least of the projects here stated.

We learn from the pamphlet, that the Report of the Faculty,

in which these improvements are recommended, was adopted by the unanimous vote of the Trustees. No provision, however, was made for carrying the plan into execution,—the pecuniary means of the College not being at present sufficient for that object. By accepting the report, they intended to express their approbation of the general plan, and their intention of incorporating the new course of instruction with their present four years' course; and to add the department of education, as soon as they can obtain the necessary means. The mechanic department they consider of less immediate consequence, but as deserving of a trial, as soon as the funds of the College will permit.

13.—*Elements of Mineralogy, adapted to the Use of Seminaries and Private Students.* By J. L. Comstock, M. D. 8vo. pp. 338. Boston. 1827. S. G. Goodrich.

From the introduction of the Elements of Mineralogy as a branch of study in so many of our schools and higher seminaries, the want of a convenient and correct work, suitable for beginners, has been for some time felt. We know of no book which, in the present state of the science, is every way calculated to serve as an introduction to the more extended treatises. Professor Cleaveland, we had heard, was preparing such a work, and he will not find in the volume before us any cause for relinquishing his undertaking. Although Dr Comstock has presented us with much of the matter of Professor Cleaveland's volumes, we do not think that he has enriched it by the additions from other writers.

Since the publication of Professor Cleaveland's work, mineralogy has advanced with rapid strides, and while a vast number of new substances have been brought to light, others that were then considered as distinct species or varieties have been discarded. Of this Dr Comstock does not seem sufficiently aware, and as to new American localities, we find no evidence of his having ever heard of them. Most surely, in an American work, and one too professedly designed 'to facilitate the progress of science,' our own localities should have been diligently examined and made known. On the contrary, many of those which have afforded choice and abundant specimens are wholly omitted, while old errors, both as regards the localities and the minerals themselves, are retained.

Thus our author does not appear to have known that some of the finest crystals of Chrysoberyl have occurred at Saratoga, that Tabular spar has been *occasionally* found at Ticonderoga;

Yenite, Amethyst, and Grossulare at Rhode Island; Egerane at Worcester; Amazon stone at Beverly; Asparagus stone at Billerica, &c.

Among other instances of an unpardonable inattention to the progress of the science, we may notice the description of Humite, which our author should have known has proved to be Condrodite (or what he calls Chondorcite), and so of Sillimanite, which has been ascertained to be Cyanite, and of Meionite, which is now referred to Scapolite. Under 'crystallized lepidolite,' we are told that it occurs at Paris in Maine, where no such thing is known; what was guessed to be such, is undoubtedly the kind of pseudomorphous talc, a substance *not exactly like a mica.*

In excluding from the external characters of minerals the angular measurements, he has at once struck out one of the three all important characters; and although we have a table at the beginning of the volume, it is incomplete, and, from the trouble of frequently turning back to it, will probably be altogether neglected by the pupil.

An air of parade is given to this book by the introduction of a few of Professor Mohs' new terms; but no kind of explanation is given, and we strongly suspect our author knows but little about it. It is but lately, it is true, that this new system has been made accessible, and its mysteries revealed by the labors of Mr Haidinger, but his work has been long enough before the public for any one to have made himself acquainted with its principles. To introduce us at once, without any preparation, to 'Pyramidal Pearl-Kerate' and 'Empyrodox Quartz,' is somewhat appalling; and we can well imagine the utter despair into which the 'private student' will sink at the sight of 'Brachytypous Parachrose-Baryte.' In giving, here and there, these and a few other of Mohs' synonyms, a ridiculous effect is given to his whole system, which it was due to the distinguished author to avoid, and which a few pages of explanation might have prevented.

This work is as full of errors of the press, as of the pen, and so far from facilitating the progress of science, carries us back something like ten years.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

An Elementary Course of Civil Engineering, translated from the French of M. J. Sganzin, Inspector General of Bridges, &c. With Notes and Applications, adapted to the United States. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 161.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the late Mrs Susan Huntington, of Boston, Massachusetts, with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By B. B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. Second Edition. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

The Life of the Rev Dr Cotton Mather. Philadelphia. 12mo.

DRAMA.

Sylla; a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By a Member of the Institute. Translated from the French, by a Citizen of New York. Behr & Kahl. 12mo.

EDUCATION.

Elements of Mineralogy, adapted to the Use of Seminaries and Private Students. By J. L. Comstock, M. D. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 8vo. pp. 338.

Hawes's United States Spelling-Book. Second Edition. Augusta. W. M. Ladd. 12mo.

A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the French Tongue. By M. De Lévizac. New Edition. New York. 12mo. pp. 444.

American Popular Lessons. Ninth Edition. New York. W. B. Gilley. 18mo.

A Primer of the English Language, for the Use of Families and Schools. By Samuel Worcester. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 79.

Questions adapted to Whelpley's Compend of History. By Joseph Emerson. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 69.

Le Lecteur Français de la Jeunesse, ou Choix d'Historiettes Morales, Anecdotes, Fables en Prose et en Vers, &c. Redigé par F. B. G. Northampton, Mass. Simeon Butler. 12mo. pp. 212.

The Family Instructer; relating to Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Husbands and Wives, &c. with Family Prayers.

Willet's Geography. A New Edition, with Cuts. Philadelphia.

A New Edition of Freeby's Astronomy, with the Method of Determining the Longitude, Aspects, &c. of the Planets for any future

time, and an extensive set of Geographical and Astronomical Problems on the Globes.

The Eagle, or National Arithmetic. By D. Macurdy, Philomath. Baltimore.

Bentley's Spelling Book. Third Edition, improved.

The American Teacher's Assistant, and Self Instructer's Guide; containing all the Rules of Arithmetic, properly explained and illustrated. With an Appendix. By John Mackay. Price $1. Charleston, S. C.

The Second Book, or Reading Lessons for Primary Schools. New Edition. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 18mo.

Primary Lessons in Arithmetic. By Frederick Emerson. Second Edition. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands. 12mo. pp 34.

First Book for the Use of Teachers. By Elizabeth Oram. New York. James W. Campbell.

Practical and Mental Arithmetic, designed principally to accompany Daboll's System of Arithmetic, and equally adapted to any other. By Roswell C. Smith. Providence.

A new Treatise on the Use of Globes, with Notes and Observations. Designed for the Use of Schools ond Academies. By James M'Intyre. Second Edition. Baltimore. E. J. Coale.

Map of the World in Outline, to be filled up by Students in Geography, accompanying the Rev. C. A. Goodrich's Outlines of Modern Geography. Boston. S. G. Goodrich.

The Young Scholar's Manual, or Companion to the Spelling Book; By T. Strong. Fifth Edition. Greenfield. J. Denio.

The Analytical Reader, containing Lessons in Simultaneous Reading and Defining, with Spelling from the same. By Samuel Putnam. Second Edition. Dover. Samuel C. Stevens. 12mo. pp. 160.

Questions adapted to the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts, designed to be used in Academies and Common Schools. By the Rev. Isaac Jones, A. M. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 19.

Geography for Beginners, or the Instructer's Assistant in giving First Lessons from Maps; accompanied with an Atlas. By Emma Willard. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 18mo. pp. 110.

Thompson's Arithmetic. Second Edition. Woodstock. David Watson.

A New and Improved Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Spanish Language. By Emanuel Del Mar, Teacher of the Spanish Language. New York. Bliss & White. 12mo.

The Child's Arithmetic. By William B. Fowle, Instructer of the Monitorial School. Second Edition. Boston. Thomas Wells. 18mo. pp. 104.

The Pestalozzian Primer, or First Step in Teaching Children the Art of Reading and Thinking. By John M. Keagg, M. D. Harrisburg. 12mo. pp. 126.

This work is evidently the production of a well fraught and reflecting mind, which has bestowed much attention on the important subject of early education, and really is what its title intimates, 'A first step in teaching children the art of reading and thinking.' The author says that 'the work was begun under a conviction that something of the kind is much needed in our primary schools, in order to create *a habit of thinking, and of understanding what is read.*' He has according-

ly subjoined to even the first and most elementary lessons, what he calls a *Dianoetic* lesson, consisting of certain words, or sentences, on which it is intended the teacher shall exercise the thinking powers of the learner, by making him point out the differences and resemblances of objects, with which he is most familiarly acquainted; thereby affording gratification to the strongest passion of a child, the desire of information. This seems to be the true way of blending the agreeable with the useful, and of making curiosity the handmaid of improvement. This work, to be useful, needs only to be known; we therefore heartily wish our author success in his undertaking, because we regard every effort to facilitate the acquisition of good knowledge, as doing something for the cause of public order, morality, and happiness.

The True English Grammar, being an Attempt to form a Grammar of the English Language, not modelled upon those of the Latin, Greek, and other Foreign Languages. By William B. Fowle. Boston. Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 180.

A History of the United States, on a Plan adapted to the Capacity of Youth. By the Rev. C. A. Goodrich. Bellows Falls, Vt. Tenth Edition. James J. Cullen & Co. 18mo.

The Moral Instructer, and Guide to Virtue, being a Compendium of Moral Philosophy, in eight parts. By Jesse Torrey, Jr. Fifth Edition. Philadelphia. pp. 300.

This is a duodecimo volume of three hundred pages of very miscellaneous contents; but all of them apparently intended to effect one of the noblest purposes of human ambition, the reformation of manners, and diffusion of correct principles of conduct, among those classes of the community which have fewest opportunities for reading and reflection. Much the greater part of this volume is composed of extracts and abridgments; and these are generally made from the brightest pages of ancient and modern wisdom, as the following heads of its contents will prove; Epitome of the Moral Precepts of the Bible; Abridgment of the Lives and Moral Discourses of Confucius, Socrates, and Seneca; Abridgments of the Law of Nature, of Penn's Maxims, Paley's Moral Philosophy, and Knigge's Art of Conversing with Men; selections from Franklin's Works, from the Spectator, and from the occasional Speeches and Addresses of some of the most distinguished men of our own country; the whole concluded by some didactic poetical extracts. But the first part, consisting of original essays, is the one on which Dr Torrey seems to have expended the most labor, and from which he, perhaps, expected to reap his most enduring laurels. And here we cannot but regret to see good intentions marred by so much bad taste; we subjoin two or three sentences, which are not unfair specimens of his style, carefully italicizing the same words which the Doctor has thought worthy of that distinction. The first is from his address 'To the People of the United States' 'It is but of little avail to the majority of the human family, that philosophers of different ages and nations have exerted their talents in perfecting the science of moral wisdom, as long as no one will take the pains to collect and concentrate the best fruits of their labors into a convenient *portable vehicle* for universal distribution, upon the *boundless table* of the *Printing Press*.' p. 3. And the following, which is the first sentence in his 'Serious Address to the rising Generation of the United States.' 'Favoured Youth, Contemplate calmly and attentively the sacred legacy which must soon be committed to your charge, in trust for your successors, and eventually for the whole human race! You constitute the only insulated *Ararat*, on which the olive branch of peace, and the "*glad tidings*" of freedom and happiness, can be deposited and preserved to a *groaning* world *drowned* in tears'! p. 18. We will add but one more. 'With an incredible infatuation, we have sacrificed the golden presents of Ceres on the hissing *copper* altars of crazy Bacchus. Were I allowed the privilege of obliterating the two greatest scourges of mankind, I would select the art of distilling food, and the art of war,' p. 25; which we take to be a most evident imitation of the following, from the speech of Mr Mathews's Irish Barrister. 'If I could mount the winged horse Pegasus, I would fly over Mount Helicon, and travel the land of Egypt, to emancipate and elucidate all that can reverberate to substantiate the emaculation of all that puts you at present

in a consternation.' However much Dr Torrey may admire the practical wisdom of the ancients, he has never devoted his days and nights to those examples of a neat simplicity in style, which by refining the taste, tend to purify and elevate the morals. They would have taught him better than to bedizen with gaudy patches that philosophy, which ought to have been presented to the laborious and manly portion of the community, for which his work seems to have been designed, in her own sober and decent garments.

Goldsmith's Roman History, for the Use of Schools. Revised and corrected by William Grimshaw. Improved edition, stereotyped. Philadelphia. J. Grigg. 12mo. pp. 240.

Mr Grimshaw has, in this edition, corrected the typographical errors, with which the later editions of Goldsmith's Abridgments so much abound; and removed any grossness in language, which, in some few instances, rendered these valuable compends less useful in the schools to which youth of both sexes resort. He has also added a Vocabulary of Proper Names accentuated, in order to show their right pronunciation, which is a valuable appendage to the history.

An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography, on an Improved Plan. Accompanied by an improved Atlas. By Thomas T. Smiley. Fifth Edition, improved. Philadelphia. 18mo. pp. 252.

This is a compendium, resembling, both in plan and execution, many other small works on the subject; and comprising, in connexion with the Atlas, much geographical information.

Spanish Grammar, dedicated to the Youth of North America. By A. T. Letamendi, late Consul of Spain for East Florida. Charleston, S. C. Wm. Riley. pp. 255.

Mr Letamendi's motto is from Fiorilli;—'Few and clear rules, much reflection, and still more practice.' The author is an exile from Spain in consequence of his active attachment to the late constitution. His grammar is divided into two parts, *theory of words* and *practical use of them*. The execution of the work is full and clear, and well suited to the purposes for which it is designed. The author merits a fair share of patronage, as his grammar takes a high rank among the excellent ones, with which the public has been lately favored.

The American Teacher's Assistant, and Self Instructer's Guide; containing all the Rules of Arithmetic properly explained, and illustrated by an adequate Number of Examples; with an Appendix, containing a Key to the most difficult, and Answers to all the Questions. By John Mackey, Teacher. Charleston. A. E. Miller. 12mo. pp. 294.

Every attempt made by men of sense and experience to improve the common manuals of education, deserves encouragement. The following are the principles which this author exhibits as having guided him in the execution of his work.

'The mathematical theorems on which Arithmetic is founded, being as all other truths, unsusceptible of change, either for better or worse, it follows, that improvement can only be looked for, or successfully attempted in the extension, application, and illustration of its rules. I have accordingly directed my attention solely to these objects.

'Conceiving a knowledge of its first principles to be an essential prerequsite in the pursuit of any branch of art or science, I have given a more ample developement of the primary rules than is usually found in books upon the subject. I have likewise extended the subsequent rules to all their useful cases, and illustrated the whole, throughout by an extra number of appropriate examples. Of these the greater part are questions of business; showing the real uses of the rules in the concerns of future life; but, the better to accommodate the work to the versatility of the youthful mind, I have occasionally introduced such as tend to familiarize it with interesting incidents of history; and others that may be termed questions of curiosity, calculated to obviate the danger of that disgust, which a tiresome sameness of intense application has a direct tendency to inspire.'

From a due examination of this work, we are warranted in recommending it as having fulfilled the promise held out, both in its title, and in the foregoing summary of principles. All is clear, full, and happily managed.

HISTORY.

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4. *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques, pour servir d'Analyse et d' Explication à l' Atlas de l' Océan Pacifique, par le Commodore de Krusenstern. De l' Imprimerie du Département de l' Instruction Publique.* St Petersbourg. 1824. 4to. pp. 324.

SOME of our readers may yet remember the account, which was given in one of the early numbers of the London Quarterly Review, of the two first volumes of Captain, now Vice Admiral Krusenstern's Voyage around the World. At that epoch, it was

usual with the Journal to which we refer to deal in severe strictures on maritime enterprises directed by foreign nations. But in comparing the review of D'Entrecasteaux's Voyage with that of the Russian expedition, a certain graduation of the jealousy and prejudice against strangers may easily be discerned. England was at war with France; the Quarterly Review, if possible, was still more at war with everything connected, however remotely, with that country. Its hostile feeling could only be soothed by the casual circumstance, that some leading character connected with the enterprise, had previously sustained some relation or other to England.

The papers of D'Entrecasteaux had fallen into the hands of the English government. M. de Rossel, one of the most distinguished officers of the expedition, had passed some time in England, and had, it seems, even been employed by the Admiralty, in some professional works, before he returned to his own country, where he shortly afterwards was admitted again into the French navy, and commissioned to draw up an account of his voyage. Nothing apparently but a short residence in England could have shielded M. de Rossel against the ill will of the reviewer; a misfortune which attended the next French maritime expedition. The hardships and sufferings, which befell those who were engaged in it, were almost entirely the result of the carelessness, covetousness, and stupidity of the commander. Baudin was a merchant captain. This circumstance alone would not have been a sufficient motive for lessening the anticipation of the service he might render to science. Eustache Bruix, one of the most distinguished ministers of the French naval department, at least among those who were professional men, began his naval career in the mercantile line. Marchand's voyage has been the source of many useful data in navigation and geography; and the most recent example in England, of distinguished services performed by the captain of a merchant vessel, is Weddel, the immediate object of whose voyage towards the South Pole was to procure a cargo of seal skins, who has furnished valuable information on the islands and seas at the southern extremity of this continent, and whose discovery of the group called by him Orkney Islands, has not, we believe, yet been contested. In our own country, the military navy has drawn some of its most distinguished officers from among the commanders of mercantile ships. The naval annals of Great Britain offer numerous analogous exam-

ples; and in that kingdom it often happens, that officers, and more frequently masters in the royal navy, and officers of that rank, enlist themselves in the commercial marine. Such was the case with Mr Weddel. But there is not now in France, nor, we may say, in all Europe, any other opinion in respect to Captain Baudin, than that which we are far from exaggerating by the language we use. The omission of his name on the title page of the relation, which was published by Péron, of the expedition he had so unskilfully directed, was but a very mild punishment for the miseries he had heaped on the persons whose lives were entrusted to his care. We know from an individual, who was on the eve of embarking with that ill fated expedition, and who consequently may be supposed to have been solicitous to collect information about the commander, that the then secretary of the navy was generally blamed in France for the choice he had made. This was the same minister, who appointed Villeneuve to be admiral in chief of the forces, which were to fight against Nelson, and thus prepared the way for the destruction of the French navy at Trafalgar.

M. de Humboldt had intended to join that expedition, and by recurring to his works, it will be seen how he judged of Captain Baudin. Yet it would seem he had one claim to unusual indulgence. He perished, says the reviewer, in the battle of Trafalgar. That last scene of his life might probably contribute enough to the glory of England to obtain for him, if not an express vindication of his honor, at least some testimony of sympathy for the injustice he was deemed to have suffered. 'A little more delicacy,' they add, 'might have been observed towards the memory of an officer, who fought bravely for his country at Trafalgar, when his ship the Fougueux went down after the action, and Captain Baudin with every soul on board perished.'* In regard to this expression of generous sympathy, we have only to remark, on the authority of the *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, and of M. Esmenard, in particular,† that Captain Baudin died at the Isle of France, after a residence of two years, on the 16th of September, 1803, in consequence of a distemper caught during his long navigation, and, as the biographers observe, 'without having gathered any fruit from his labors, and without having cleared himself from many serious accusations.'

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* Quarterly Review for August, 1810. † Vol. 3. p. 538.

Captain Krusenstern was in the service of a government, for which the reviewers felt bound to express different feelings than for France. He had been for some time, moreover, in the English navy. Nothing in his work indicated, that he was unfriendly to the principles held up by the reviewers. The two vessels which he commanded had been bought in England, and in that country also had been purchased a part of the provisions and the astronomical instruments. Under such mitigating circumstances, the relation of the Russian expedition might be entitled to an exception from the general tone of severity and animadversion, so well deserved, it was thought, by a nation who could dare to come in competition with the sovereigns of the ocean, even in things less lucrative, than conquest and commercial monopoly.

Captain Krusenstern, however, was by no means to be spared, when expressing his regard for another rival nation. The reviewer's propensities are brought out in strong relief by the following remarks of Captain Krusenstern, concerning the name of a cluster of islands in the Pacific. 'Should not an exception be made,' says he, 'in favor of the name of Washington, which must form an ornament to any chart? Is it allowed to erase from the charts, the immortal name of the founder and the protector of a great state, to which one of its grateful citizens had dedicated a new group of islands?' In his translation, the reviewer has omitted a part of the sentence, in which it is asked, 'Is it not conformable to the strictest justice, that the first discovery made by Americans should be preserved in the naval annals with its proper name?' And the passage concludes with the following words, also omitted; 'Yet I leave it to geographers to adopt or reject my suggestions, and until they decide, I preserve the islands on our maps under the name of Washington.' Moreover, the writer would have us believe, that Captain Krusenstern was ignorant of the discoveries of Mendaña, and of the arrivals of Cook, Marchand, and Hergest, at some of the above mentioned islands; yet, with the exception of Captain Wilson's voyage in 1779, all the other visits noticed in the article are also referred to in the relation of the Russian captain.

But the reviewer has neglected to mention that another American navigator besides Ingraham, that is, Captain Josiah Roberts, of the ship Jefferson, had visited the Mendoza islands, and given to a portion of them the name of Washington. This

circumstance was an additional reason with Krusenstern for retaining the name. 'Roberts,' says he, 'had remained three months in Taowatte; from whence, in 1793, a nation of the island of Uahaga conducted him to that spot. Roberts was probably the first who gave to these islands the name of Washington, as may be seen by La Rochefoucault's tour in America. Ingraham had also given that name to the island of Uahaga, and it is therefore, uncertain, which of the two had first bestowed that appellation. At all events the honor of the discovery belongs to the Americans, and whether Ingraham gave the name of Washington to one of these islands, or Roberts to the whole cluster, it is but equitable that it should be preserved.' A little further onward he asks whether such an addition to geographical nomenclature shall be rejected, only with a view of uniting that cluster of islands with another that had been discovered and named two hundred years before.*

In regard to these strictures upon the article in question, we shall only add that while we deprecate all illiberality and hostile feeling, and wonder at the narrow national prejudices of men, whose ability and accomplishments should have raised them above such vulgar impulses; while we blame their avarice of praise when strangers are entitled to it, and unwillingly discover in their expressions of approbation a stammering of their tongues, and in their censures the clamorous triumph of schoolboys and tyros, who happen to remember something better than their teachers; we are at the same time not ignorant that when principles are believed to lie at the bottom of opinions and of behavior, it becomes a duty to consider the basis as well as the superstructure. The severity with which some English journals, and some English statesmen too, canvassed everything connected with the existing government of France, at the period to which we have alluded, their bitter acrimony against the 'Dutch boors' and the 'grande nation,' their parsimonious encomiums on the great scientific researches

*In a note, Captain Krusenstern refers with respect to an extract from the account of Ingraham's voyage, contained in the Memoirs of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the year 1795, inserted in Baron de Zach's *Monthly Correspondence*, vol. I. p. 348. We believe that the general government of the United States recently purchased all Ingraham's papers of his son, and that they are now deposited in the office of the secretary of state, among the documents relating to the Northwest coast of this continent.

pursued by the French, and their spleen against every attempt not only to rival, but even to emulate England, all these now seem unreasonable, contrary to justice and impartiality, to a disinterested love of science, and sometimes contrary even to common charity. But in thus looking back to past events, the contemporaneous political circumstances should not be forgotten. 'It is a characteristic of the English nation,' says Sir Walter Scott, in his Life of Dryden, 'that their habitual dislike against their neighbors is soon and easily blown into animosity.' Moreover, at the epoch to which we refer, England was fighting for her existence, and the interests of national independence and liberty were closely linked with the fate of that country. She was struggling with a foe, who openly professed the most violent hatred of her institutions, who showed the most shameless envy of her prosperity, and a determined resolution to employ every means to destroy the sources of that prosperity, and who made even science subservient to designs of revenge and efforts for supremacy. If under any circumstances animosity could warrant retaliation, England could assert that hers was of such a nature. Political morality had, at that unfortunate epoch, peculiar laws, happily of short duration. We have at last, reached a time, when we can with calmness consider the tempest which ravaged the world, examine impartially the character of the contending elements, and be equitable to errors, and faults, and natural infirmities. We do not feel inclined to see in any other light the prejudices, which disfigured, and sometimes debased the journal to which we have referred.

M. de Krusenstern was, at an early time, one of those who believed that Russia is not absolutely prevented from becoming a commercial country, either by natural, moral, or political causes. He considered the first Russian expedition to Kamtschatka (1696), and the discovery of the Aleutian islands (1741), as an important step towards that end. From this latter date, Russian speculators were intent upon procuring from those islands furs for the consumption of China, by way of the internal trade of Russia. In 1785, a Russian American company was formed, and an establishment was begun in the island of Kodiac, which, by its intermediate situation between the Aleutian islands, Kamtschatka, and the coast of America, was peculiarly important for their enterprises. Factories were successively opened in almost all the Aleutian islands, and fortifications were erected for their security. The principal seat of the

company was Irkutsk. The government had however, not yet afforded any protection to their undertaking ; and upon the complaints which were brought against the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of some of the company's agents towards the natives of the islands, the emperor Paul determined to dissolve that commercial society ; and this would probably have taken place, had not M. Resanoff interceded in their behalf. This gentleman was son-in-law to one of the principal partners of the company, and the fortune which he received upon his marriage, principally consisted in stocks pertaining to that trade. He was fortunate enough, not only to prevent the stroke, which threatened the company, but to procure for it a more stable existence, and important privileges.

The board of directors was from that moment transferred from Irkutsk to St Petersburg, and the activity of the company was soon in a fair way of increasing. An Englishman was sent to the islands, who was not only an intelligent seaman, but a man well qualified to direct the building of ships. The captains of the company's vessels were chosen with great care, and provided with large means to enter with safety upon the execution of their duties. But the most important era in the history of that establishment, was the accession of the late emperor Alexander to the throne, and his becoming himself a partner in the speculations of the company, with the purpose of setting the nobility the example of encouraging national industry. It was also fortunate for the company, that Count Romanzoff was in the ministry, at the head of the commercial relations. The colonies, indeed, were in want of money, and of the most important necessaries, as well for their security, as for the subsistence of the settlers. Neither the Aleutian islands nor the adjacent coast of America could furnish them with breadstuff. But to grant them that assistance, it was necessary to promote a frequent intercourse by sea with the mother country, ast he succors which had been sent over by way of Jakutsk and Ochotzk proved insufficient, excessively expensive, and insecure. Anchors and naval materials could not be sent over land, or when transported in pieces, they were useless, however ingeniously they were arranged. The intercourse between Ochotzk and the islands was also very difficult. All this rendered it indispensable to send supplies directly from Russia either round Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, and the first attempt was made in 1803. This is the expedition which we

are about to bring to the notice of our readers. M. de Krusenstern, who commanded it, was also the chief cause of its being fitted out at that time. Having from 1793 to 1799 served in the British navy, he enjoyed opportunities of witnessing the national as well as individual efforts, by which the English carried on their trade with India and China; and he soon conceived a hope, that his countrymen might share the same advantages, even without venturing upon the expense and the entanglements of permanent establishments in those countries. The greatest difficulty lay in the scarcity of officers in the Russian navy, who had ever navigated the Indian seas.

M. de Krusenstern was anxious to make a voyage, which might redound to the honor and advantage of his country, and through the interest of Count Woronzoff, then the imperial ambassador at the court of London, he obtained in 1797 permission to embark on board a British man of war bound to Cape Horn, whence he proceeded to India in a frigate. After a year's residence in that country, he went in a merchant ship to China, for the purpose of extending his practical knowledge by a navigation of the dangerous seas in those parts. While he was in Canton (in 1798 and 1799), a small vessel of about one hundred tons arrived in that port from the Northwest coast of America; it had been fitted out in Macao, and had been absent but five months. The captain was an Englishman. The cargo, consisting of furs, was sold for sixty thousand dollars. M. de Krusenstern knew that his countrymen carried on the fur trade, by procuring that merchandise from the same places as the English, and that they sent it over by way of Ochotzk to Kiachta, which is the great marketplace between Russia and China. By that circuitous course, they suffered the disadvantage of a late return of their capital, nearly two years being necessary for the transportation and sale of the merchandise; and they were much exposed to losses in the short navigation which they had to perform. M. de Krusenstern was led to believe that his countrymen could acquire greater benefits with less danger, if they could open a direct trade between their American establishments and China.

During his voyage back to Europe, he drew up a memorial, which he intended to present to the Russian government, and in which he endeavored to anticipate and refute the objections that would probably be made by those, who pretended that Russia wanted some of the most important elements for ex-

tending its maritime commerce. Among other things, he suggested, that to the six hundred marine cadets, who were educated at the expense of the government, and who were noble by birth, one hundred of a lower condition should be added, to be educated exactly like the former, but under a stipulation to serve in the mercantile navy. The officers were to recommend to the consideration of the government all the young sailors, who showed a capacity for distinguishing themselves; and the example of Cook, Bougainville, and Nelson, was alleged to prove, that birth was not an indispensable requisite for gaining the highest renown, and for rendering the greatest services. The patriotic captain enlarged upon the advantages of the fur trade, and the difficulties with which in their actual circumstances the American company had to struggle; and lastly he suggested, that two ships should be sent from Cronstadt to the Russian colonies with naval provisions, shipbuilders, charts, books, and a teacher, in order that henceforth ships might be built in the Aleutian islands and in the Russian establishment upon the adjacent coast of America, and that by means of them a direct trade might be carried on by sea with China, without relinquishing, however, that by land. The Chinese products, which would be bought with the proceeds of the furs, were to be conveyed to Russia by ships that were to be kept in readiness at Canton, or by those which had carried the furs.

On his return to Russia, M. de Krusenstern presented his memoir to the president of the board of trade, and to the secretary of the navy. But little attention was paid to it; which is ascribed to the successive changes of the incumbents in these ministerial departments, towards the end of the reign of the emperor Paul, and to the difficulties which the projector found in obtaining permission to attend personally in St Petersburg on those authorities, with whom it rested to promote the execution of his plans. At length, the late emperor mounted the throne; and Admiral Mordwinoff, a gentleman who we believe has family connexions in the United States, being appointed chief of the navy department, the views of M. de Krusenstern found a powerful support, not only in the interest of that minister, but in Count Romanzoff, who was at the head of the department for commercial affairs.

In August, 1802, he was at length appointed commander of two vessels, the Nadeshda and the Newa, which were fitted out for

the expedition. His second, whom he was permitted to designate to the government, was captain-lieutenant Lisianskoy, who was to command the Newa, and who has published an account of his researches, and of the events which occurred during the time that he was detached from the principal commander of the expedition. Among the officers were two other gentlemen, who have since distinguished themselves in separate employments, alike tending to the increase of geographical knowledge, Barons Billinghausen and Kotzebue.

The ships were bought in London, and in January, 1803, all things were in readiness for their departure. At first the object of the expedition related exclusively to what was embraced in M. de Krusenstern's project; but on a sudden an embassy to Japan was engrafted upon it, and M. de Resanoff was appointed to that mission, to which several military and civil officers were attached. The astronomical and philosophical instruments were for the most part procured in England. The astronomer, Doctor Horner, a pupil of Baron de Zach, brought others from Germany; and the expedition may be said to have been well provided with all the means of pursuing successfully scientific researches.

In August, 1803, the two vessels set sail from Cronstadt. They touched at Copenhagen and Falmouth, whence they at last actually set out on the circumnavigation of the globe. Their stay in the Canary, St Catharine, and Washington islands, in Kamtschatka and Japan, in Jesso and the bay of Aniwa, their navigation of the sea of Japan, and the nautical survey of Sachalin, belong to that part of their operations more or less accurately examined in the Quarterly Review; and we shall therefore confine our further remarks to the remaining part of the voyage, and to a brief notice of the works mentioned at the head of this article, in which various details of the expedition are described.

On the 29th of August, 1805, the Russian vessel, Nadeshda, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, anchored in the harbor of St Peter and St Paul, in Kamtschatka. Though according to the latest intelligence, that could be had in that region, so remote from the capital, Russia was then at peace with all other powers, the appearance of a vessel excited some alarm and uneasiness among the inhabitants. Luckily for them an old companion of the famous Behring recognised the vessel by the extreme shortness of her top gallant masts.

No provisions were ready, not a single ship was in the harbor, and no letters had arrived. But in less than five days after the arrival of the expedition at St Peter and St Paul, a ship brought despatches highly gratifying to the commander. A messenger sent by Count Romanzoff, who had performed the journey to Ochotzk in sixtytwo days, brought him two autographic letters from the emperor, a still greater proof of the satisfaction which the commander and the officers of the expedition had given to their government. Captain Krusenstern thought that a great part of his task was now accomplished, and, as he says, ' that at least the honor due to the undertaking was already secured.' He determined, therefore, to despatch by a messenger over land to the admiralty and the directing ministers, a summary account of the discoveries made by the expedition, and the other results of their labors. By some unfortunate accident these despatches were detained until the time had arrived when they could only be forwarded by the winter post, and they were long delayed on their passage to St Petersburg.

The preparations for the return to Europe were meanwhile pursued with zeal. The ships were unrigged and unloaded, and all possible care was taken to provide the necessary supply of provisions. It may serve as proof of the little experience, which the civil and military authorities of Kamtschatka had in such matters, and of the small resources of that country, that the salt meat was thought to be as easily preserved by means of sea water as by salt, and the biscuits were stuffed into leathern bags, instead of being kept in casks of deal, which would have cost less, and preserved them much better. Two distinguished navigators had been buried at St Peter and St Paul, both strangers to Russia, and from remote countries, Lisle de la Croyère and Captain Charles Clerke. This latter gentleman succeeded to the command of Captain Cook, after his murder by the natives of one of the Sandwich islands. La Peyrouse had honored his memory by restoring the escutcheon painted by Webber, and suspended by Captain King in the church at Paratunka. But the officers of the Nadeshda found that memento removed to the house of a Russian officer, without any one of the inhabitants knowing what was its object. It was determined to unite the remains of both these eminent navigators under the same monument, and to this end they caused a solid pedestal of wood to be placed as near as possible to the old tree, in order still to preserve the locality; upon this

a pyramid was erected, on one side of which the engraved plate left by La Peyrouse was fastened, and on the opposite side a copy of Captain Clerke's escutcheon, made for the occasion by M. Tilesius. On the side facing the north was the following inscription in Russian ;—' In the first voyage around the world, undertaken by the Russians, under the command of Captain Krusenstern, the officers of the ship Nadeshda erected this monument to the memory of the English Captain Clerke, on the 15th of September, 1805.' And on the side facing the south ;—' Here rest the ashes of Lisle de la Croyère, the astronomer attached to the expedition commanded by Commodore Behring in the year 1741.' We quote with pleasure this honorable testimony of the sympathy and respect of the Russian officers towards strangers.*

Seven Japanese had been wrecked in the preceding Autumn on one of the Kurile islands, and conducted by a Russian priest to St Peter and St Paul. They were skilful and industrious, and it was the intention of the Russian authorities to send them to Kodiac, where they would have been very useful, but they were at last transferred to Werckroy Kamtschatka. They seemed pleased with their situation, and expressed a desire to embrace the Christian religion. A day was appointed for the ceremony, and their behavior removed all suspicion, that they were anxious to return to their country. But on a sudden they were missed; and it was discovered that they had departed in

* It is a curious circumstance that William de Lisle, as well as Lewis, and Joseph Nicholas de Lisle, were more or less connected with Russia. Of William de Lisle it is reported that Peter the Great made him a visit, at Paris, and was surprised to learn from him more about his empire than he knew himself. Lewis is the astronomer, whose memory, as was just observed, had been honored by three different scientific and maritime expeditions. He was the companion of Gmelin and Müller in their tour through a great part of Siberia, and died while he was engaged in exploring the unknown Northwest coast of America. Joseph Nicholas, who was a younger brother of the preceding, but was superior to him in astronomical knowledge, and left more monuments of his zeal for science, went to Russia in 1726, and departed from it ill pleased with the treatment he had experienced. Yet one of his inventions (if it deserve that name), a thermometer, the freezing point of which is marked 150°, is still in use in Russia, and must bring him often to the recollection at least of the meteorological observers in that country. A memoir written by him on the climate of Siberia, may be found in the Transactions of the French Academy for the year 1749.

their own boat, though it was leaky and open, and without any other provision than a little rice. The attempts to overtake them were vain, but intelligence was afterwards received, that they safely reached their home.

The attention of the public in this country has lately been drawn to a family, who were exiled to Siberia, and whom the emperor Alexander recalled from banishment soon after he mounted the imperial throne. M. de Krusenstern relates another instance less affecting than the story of Prascovia Lopouloff, but hardly less curious, considering it to be among the few records that have been gathered with respect to the private history, the sufferings, and the unexpected deliverance of exiles in Siberia. Cook and La Peyrouse have both excited a general interest towards an exile by the name of Iwasdekin, who, at the time these navigators visited the coast of Kamtschatka, was probably without any hope of ever recovering his liberty. But M. de Krusenstern gives us some details respecting this individual, long after he had obtained his pardon. Iwasdekin had, like Lopouloff, been banished on account of his participation in a conspiracy against the empress Elizabeth; but he was besides suspected of having abused the authority delegated to him in the capacity of superintendent of the district of Jakutsk, and of having committed a murder from the impulse of violent passions, which, as he seems himself to have confessed, he was not always able to control. The empress Catherine refused to grant him his liberty, notwithstanding the interest which Cook's account of his misfortunes must have raised in his favor, in the mind of a princess so desirous of gaining popularity, and so solicitous of showing her regard for men eminent in science and literature. It was not till the late emperor Alexander came to the throne, that he recovered his liberty, and obtained at the same time, the means of returning to St Petersburg. But he delayed his departure, and though often tempted to leave the place which reminded him of his long sufferings, he still remained in Siberia, and was found by our travellers enjoying indolent repose at a very advanced age. He had some momentary wishes to embark in the Nadeshda, but his age, as well as his habits from so long a residence in Siberia, must have prevented his accomplishing that design.

The Nadeshda left Awatcha bay on the 9th of October, for Macao, it being the same day on which Cook's vessels, the Resolution and Discovery, sailed from that port twentysix years before, destined for the same place.

Captain Krusenstern gives an account of Kamtschatka, its inhabitants and productions, and of the changes that had taken place since the time of Cook. In that period, the people had experienced a mournful diminution of their numbers. Upwards of five thousand died in the years 1800 and 1801. That great mortality was the result chiefly of an epidemic disease, which had its source for the most part in excessive labor and want. The aborigines of Kamtschatka impress us with the more interest, as their condition nearly resembles that of the natives of this country, and they are probably doomed to the same destiny. They are a people of great antiquity, probably the descendants of Mongolians, and have inhabited for many ages the country over which they are now scattered. Yet the description which is given of those Asiatic subjects of Russia by the author, raises them in moral dignity to a higher elevation, than in truth can be assigned to our Indians. Honesty and good nature are as prevailing traits of character among the former, as cunning and revenge among the latter. 'It is altogether impossible,' says M. de Krusenstern, 'for a people to be more honest than they are, and it is as rare to find a cheat among the Kamtschatdales, as a man of property. The burdens, which weigh the most heavily on that declining race of men, result from the want of regular communication by good roads, or by water. The Kamtschatdales are the mail carriers, the guides to travellers and messengers, and in some sort, also, the involuntary innkeepers of their country. They are required to furnish dogs for travelling, and generally feed without remuneration those which belong to the travellers. During the two or three summer months, they are obliged to row their boats whenever a soldier or any other itinerant calls on them. Their little household is far from prospering in such absences. It is somewhat consoling to learn, upon M. de Krusenstern's testimony, that the governor, who resided in Kamtschatka until the year 1808, endeavored to improve the condition of the people.

The Kamtschatdale women are much superior in beauty to the fair among our aborigines. Their shape is far from being ungraceful, their skin is delicate, and their feet and hands small. There is a great disproportion between the numbers of the sexes, both among the natives and the Russian inhabitants. 'At St Peter and St Paul there were not five and twenty females, for perhaps one hundred and eighty persons of the other sex.' And it is stated, that 'Ishiga is the only place in Kamtschatka

where the number of the women exceeds that of the men; and the reason assigned for this is, that most of the families are related to one another, and according to the laws of the Greek church, the most distant relations are not allowed to marry.' The governor encouraged the pilgrimages of the soldiers to that city, in the expectation that they would not only contract marriages, but improve their private manners by becoming thus united with the fair daughters of Ishiga.

The Kamtschatdales have few peculiar diseases, although they have few physicians, and not one was found at St Peter and St Paul. Frequent cases of ophthalmy may be ascribed to the continuance of snow for nine or ten months in the year. Malte-Brun mentions, we know not on what authority, the remarkable fact, that innoculation has long been used among them, and that they perform the operation by means of fish bones instead of lancets.

The description of St Peter and St Paul in the Russian account is very dismal, and may be expressed in two words, barrenness and depopulation. But further inland the country puts on a brighter aspect, at least in regard to provisions. On the borders of the Kamtschatka river, where rye, barley, buckwheat, and oats are cultivated with success, almost every species of garden stuff is also found to thrive. 'We received from thence,' says the author, 'not only potatoes and carrots, but cucumbers, lettuce, and very excellent cabbages. It has long since been proposed to introduce the different species of Siberian corn, which shoots up quickly, and soon ripens, and is consequently well calculated for this country, where the summers are short; such, for instance, as the Tartarian corn, the Siberian buckwheat, as also, instead of the European, the Siberian hemp.' Raspberries, strawberries, whortleberries, and several other kinds of similar fruits are in plenty towards the end of the summer, and furnish a palatable conserve for the winter. Reindeer, argalis (or wild sheep), wild ducks, geese, and hares are abundant. The inhabitants are in need of nothing so much as corn, timber, and salt. Gunpowder would be a great convenience to them, but the conveyance by land is difficult and dangerous, and the sale forbidden.

The climate of the peninsula of Kamtschatka is not excessively severe, and were it not for frequent fogs, it would be as healthy, and tolerable, as the greater part of the Russian empire. 'I passed,' says M. de Krusenstern, 'all the summer

months in Kamtschatka, during two years; that is to say, the whole of June, a part of July, and the whole of August and September, and can affirm that in these four months, there were as many pleasant and cheerful days, as in any other place under the same latitude. The month of June was as beautiful as it can possibly be in the most favored climate; and yet they consider this month as too early to till the land, although the snow has at that time quite disappeared from the mountains, and the earth is thoroughly thawed.' The social situation of that province affords proofs of the good effect, which remoteness, solitude, and mutual wants, have on the character of man; and we must dissent from our author in considering this condition as a cause of the great mortality, that reigns both among the natives and the Russian inhabitants. No difference is observed between 'the life of the officer, the merchant, the priest, or the soldier. The one may indeed possess more money than the other, but as money is not held here in any estimation, this naturally produces a great equality in their rank, at least in their mode of living.' Nor does this operate against the discipline of the troops.

Siberia and the peninsula of Kamtschatka in particular, are better known than might be expected from their remoteness. Took, Coxe, King, Hermann, Gmelin, Georgi, and Pallas, have described the resources, the situation, and the natural features of Siberia, in the greatest detail. Malte-Brun has furnished a good epitome of those works, and the care he takes to refer to his authorities, adds to the merit of his abstract. More may be expected from the new edition of Richter's geography, a work, which, for the vast information it contains, has never yet been excelled.

The latest public account of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, is that of Captain John Dundas Cochrane, who represents its situation as still very deplorable. He remained in that country eleven months, and departed from it in July, 1822. His remarks on the climate coincide well enough with those of the Russian navigator. He describes the Kamtschatdales as a hospitable and honest people. The small number that remain of that ancient race, perhaps five hundred in the whole, reside on the northern coast beyond Tygil and Nishey Kamtschatka. The population of Kamtschatka is, according to the same traveller, four thousand five hundred and seventyfour individuals, of both sexes, and all ages, Russians, Kamtschat-

dales, and Koriacs. This eccentric pedestrian proposes several measures, which he thinks would promote the prosperity of Kamtschatka. That country had a special claim to his philanthropic interest, as he was captivated by the charms of one, we must suppose, of its fairest daughters. Yet of the marriage he speaks rather as an amateur of the curious and the rare, than as a doating and fond lover. 'The ceremony,' says he, 'was attended with much more pomp and parade than if it had been celebrated in England. It took place on the 8th of January, and I certainly am the first Englishman that ever married a Kamtschatdale, and my wife undoubtedly the first native of that peninsula that ever visited happy Britain.' With respect to the political administration, he points out two principal defects in the existing system; the one, that the seat of government is at St Peter and St Paul, which, were it but for the want of wood, can never become a considerable place; and the other, the shortness of the period which the persons called to the civil command of the province are disposed, or allowed to remain there. In the Spanish colonies, also, and particularly in those where civilization had made little progress, the frequent change of governors was long ago considered, by sagacious observers, as a great grievance to the inhabitants.

In throwing, as it were, a last longing glance at Siberia, Captain Cochrane says;

'Provisions and clothing are cheap; taxes are not known; the climate is healthy;—and what can man more desire? I looked again to the east, and bade adieu, thankful for the many marks of esteem and kindness which I had received from the hands of its hospitable people. Descending the western branch of the Ural mountains, I soon found myself again in Europe; the land of malt, the fireside home, again had charms for the traveller. The sensations I experienced upon quitting *the most favored quarter of the globe*, were nothing when compared to the present. Then I thought I was going only to the abode of misery, vice, and cruelty, while now I knew I had come from that of humanity, hospitality, and kindness. I looked back to the hills, which are, as it were, the barrier between virtue and vice, but felt in spite of it a desire to return, and end there my days; and so strong is still that desire, that I should not hesitate to bid adieu to politics, war, and other refined pursuits, to enjoy in Siberia, those comforts which may be had without fear of foreign or domestic disturbance.'

After making sufficient allowance for the enthusiastic temper of this traveller, we can easily believe, that Siberia deserves the

attention of the Russian government, and would rapidly prosper under a wise administration. While M. de Sparansky presided over the affairs of that vast country, many improvements were introduced; and it seems, that his influence with the court, since his return to St Petersburg, has incessantly been directed towards the promotion of its prosperity.

We now return to the Russian navigators, and in accompanying them to the coast of China, we must pass over the numerous observations they made in those regions, tending to the improvement of geography and physical science. We can only add that no opportunity was lost to advance these great objects of the expedition. After a voyage of nearly two months the Nadeshda anchored in the road of Macao on the 20th of November.

The appearance of a Russian ship of war at Macao, was a perplexing event to the Chinese governor at Canton. It is evident from Lord Macartney's embassy, that besides the jealousy of the court of Pekin towards other nations, and its aversion to entertain with them regular political relations, many difficulties in the way of establishing such relations arise, even without the immediate knowledge of the emperor, from the inferior authorities resident at Canton. These latter are always extremely alive to the danger of being denounced to their sovereign for their abuses, or as acting towards foreigners in contradiction to the orders of the court. The attentions and honors with which Lord Macartney's embassy was received at Pekin, and along its journey, must chiefly be ascribed to its having landed in a port, where few foreign vessels had ever before been admitted, and to the vessel that carried the embassy having the exclusive and imposing character of a national ship of war. It may in justice be said, to the praise of the individuals who composed that diplomatic expedition, and of those who had regulated all the measures preparatory to it, that a greater success ought to have crowned an undertaking so ably conducted. The presents sent to Pekin had surely a good influence on the minds of the Chinese, however disdainfully they seemed to look on them.

The Nadeshda appeared under quite different auspices. There was no ambassador of high rank on board; no letter for the emperor; no pomp, or long raised expectation. If England inspires the Chinese with apprehensions, by the vicinity of the British possessions in India to the Chinese fron-

tier; if, particularly at the time when Lord Macartney arrived in China, resentment existed for a supposed cooperation of his government with their hostile neighbors, Russia must at all times excite much greater apprehensions in that suspicious and jealous nation. Besides, Russia having the privilege of entertaining commercial relations by land, and all trade by sea with Russia being expressly prohibited by the court of Pekin to its subjects, there was neither ground nor pretext to favor unexpected guests, the object of whose visit was unknown. Yet by the friendly and efficient intervention of the British factors, all difficulties were removed, the cargoes of both the Russian vessels (for the Newa had rejoined the Nadeshda at Macao) were sold, and in return they were permitted to export products of the country, both operations being conducted through English merchants. However, at that time an embassy from the court of St Petersburg was in contemplation, and, upon the whole, it is very probable that the Russian expedition would not have experienced any real ill treatment from so cunning and wary a government, as that of China. It is almost certain that no order had been procured from Pekin for detaining the vessels. M. de Krusenstern is, however, of a different opinion, and he insinuates that had the order been carried seriously into execution, he would have sustained by arms the dignity of his flag.

Without pretending to have been enabled to acquire a great deal of knowledge of the character of the Chinese, by his short stay at Canton, Captain Krusenstern thinks himself authorized by his personal observation to confirm Barrow's opinion of the moral inferiority of that country. He thinks, also, that its happiness is more apparent than real, and he infers, from the frequent insurrections which had broken out in it, even under the more energetic government of the Tartarian sovereigns, that it is destitute even of that repose, which is commonly the only blessing of countries governed by despotic rulers. He believes that a general revolution is, however, the less probable, because the population is so extensive, the country so vast, and nothing exists in the character and condition of the people, which is likely to bring forth men endued with the qualities necessary for directing a great national movement. In the repeated disturbances which have occurred, most of the conspirators have given themselves up to the power against which they had rebelled, and such only as were taken with arms in their hands have been excluded from the pardon usually granted to those who had joined in these undertakings.

We must refer the reader to the work itself, for the detail our author gives of the resources of the rebels in 1805, of the association of malecontents which then existed under the name of *Tien-tie-Koe*, or Heaven and Earth, and the *Pelieu-Kiao*, or enemies of the strange religion, and of the personal character of the reigning emperor. He also speaks of the state of the Christian religion in China, and the persecutions with which it was threatened.

His remarks respecting the commerce of the English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French with China, offer nothing that may be considered interesting for its novelty. The Spaniards carried on a commercial intercourse from the Philippine islands, which was, however, limited to one or two ships sent to Canton, and a few small vessels to Emey and the southeast coast of China. The Danish trade is conducted with great regularity and economy, but to a very small extent. The author's observations on the American trade with Canton are sufficiently accurate, but relate to an early period.

'The spirit of commerce,' says he, 'is perhaps nowhere greater than in America. Being skilful seamen, they man their ships with a smaller crew, in which respect it appears almost impossible to excel them. Their vessels are besides so admirably constructed, that they sail better than many ships of war, and I have known the captains of some of them at Canton, who have made the voyage thence to America and back again in ten months. While we were there, the ship Fanny arrived towards the latter end of December, which in the short space of twelve months, had sailed from Canton to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Lisbon, and thence again to Canton; so that she must have unloaded and taken fresh cargoes on board with an extraordinary rapidity. Besides, the return to Canton, owing to the contrary monsoon, could only be effected by the eastern passage, that is to say, by the northern part of the great ocean, round the Pelew islands. When we left Canton she was again perfectly ready for sea, on her intended return to Philadelphia, the whole term of her stay not having exceeded five weeks. The Americans avail themselves quickly of every advantage that is offered to them in trade; and we witnessed the arrival of one of their ships at Canton with a valuable cargo of sandal wood, which the captain had brought from the Fidgees, a group of islands, known as well for their situation, as for the cruelty of their inhabitants. Not one among them affords a safe anchorage; and in the month of December, 1804, an English ship was stranded on one of them, and the whole crew perished. The American, of which we are speaking, had run consid-

erable risk of falling a prey to the cruelty of the inhabitants. Some persons accompanied them from Tongataboo to the Fidgee islands, who were all murdered the moment they landed, with the exception of one man and woman, whom the Americans brought to China. Sandal wood is so scarce and so highly esteemed in China, that the captain, whose cargo cost him nothing but the trouble of felling it, disposed of it to a very great advantage.

'Of all the different species of teas, the Americans, as well as the English, take only a very small quantity of the best. Of the green teas, the Americans take a particular kind of Hyson, which costs here from thirtysix to forty taels the picul; but the greater part of the teas which the English and the Americans carry from Canton is Congo and Bohea. The last is indeed the very worst that grows. The price of it at Canton is very low; only eleven or twelve taels the picul.' p. 332.

In another place, the author observes with respect to teas;

'There is never any difficulty in procuring a cargo of this latter article at Canton. The magazines of the Chinese merchants being overstocked with it, they not only sell it at a just and reasonable price, but take the goods of the purchaser at a high rate in return. If there be no particular cause of mistrust, the Chinese merchant readily advances a cargo of tea on credit, in order to get rid of it, and this induces the Americans to give the preference to this article, since it affords them the advantage of making a better bargain with the goods they import, and of being sooner despatched; an object of considerable importance at Canton, the stay there being attended with much expense, while the health of the crew is a good deal at stake.' p. 331.

Captain Krusenstern enlarges on the advantages which Russia, and especially the Russian North American company, might derive from a commerce with Canton. He is persuaded that the Chinese government would not make much difficulty in admitting the merchant vessels of his nation on the same footing on which France, Sweden, and Denmark are permitted to carry on their trade. The organization and conduct of the Danish East India company is, according to him, a good model for the management of such a commerce. The importation of ordinary teas would be beneficial to the great mass of the Russian people, inasmuch as it would diminish their propensity for strong liquors.

On the 9th of February, 1806, both vessels under the command of Captain Krusenstern sailed from Whampoa, proceeding through the Chinese sea towards the straits of Gaspar.

The passage of these straits is said to be as safe as that of Banka, and shorter. Without meeting with any disaster, they arrived at St Helena. Here they found it difficult to procure flour, as the expedition sent to the Rio de la Plata under Sir Home Popham, and that to the Cape of Good Hope, had much lessened the usual resources of the island. Doctor Tilesius, the botanist, was not permitted to make an excursion in the interior of the island, in consequence of a recent discovery, that another foreigner, who had apparently come with the same purpose, had been occupied in drawing plans of the fortifications. The war that had broken out between Russia and France, obliged the expedition to avoid the privateers in the British Channel, by entering the North Sea through the passage between the Shetland and the Orkney islands.

After a passage from China of five months and twentyfour days, the Nadeshda reached Copenhagen. The crew and officers were in perfect health. On the 19th of August she arrived at Cronstadt, having been absent three years and twelve days. Not one of the crew had died; and the ship had not lost a mast or yard, anchor or cable. This is indeed a remarkable fact, considering that this was the first Russian voyage round the world, and becomes still more so, if compared with the fate of most of the French maritime expeditions, even when directed by officers whose scientific knowledge and skill cannot be questioned. In the Russian officers, such success proves extensive practice and intelligence, and in the crew, that patience, spirit of subordination, and quick apprehension, for which, indeed, the Russians of all classes are remarkable.

In throwing a general glance on the operations of the Russian expedition, we find that it fulfilled the expectations of its government, as far as it depended on the naval officers. The ill success of the embassy to Japan can only be ascribed to M. de Resanoff, if indeed the difficulty of treating with that country be not a sufficient plea for any failure. Russia has become by that expedition a coadjutor in the advancement of hydrography and geography. The Russian flag was made known to countries and people, that had no idea of Russia and its resources. The merit of an exact survey of the Washington islands is almost equal to the merit of their discovery. Some additional information has been obtained of various portions of the globe, and particularly of China, Great Japan, and Kamtschatka; some errors in hydrography, sanctioned by the

authority of distinguished navigators, as for instance La Pérouse, have been removed; and views of national and general improvement have been brought, in the most impressive and engaging manner, to the consideration of the Russian government.

The third volume of the account of M. de Krusenstern's expedition has not yet been translated either into English or French. It contains several valuable memoirs, written by the three scientific gentlemen, who accompanied him, namely, Doctor Horner the astronomer, Doctor Tilesius the naturalist and draftsman and Doctor Espenberg the physician.

The first memoir, by Doctor Tilesius, treats very amply of a natural object well known by sight to those who navigate between the tropics; we mean that beautiful and enigmatical water insect, commonly named the Portuguese man-of-war. This singular animal had several times been delineated, described, and endowed with names, yet not only its denominations were various, but also the nature and characteristics ascribed to it. According to some it was a Polypus, according to others a Zoophyte, and others ranged it among the Mollusca. Naturalists who followed in the steps of Linné, have called it the *Physalis*. Wonderful as are all the works of Providence, admirably fitted as are the several parts of each created being for their several functions, complex in their composition as they sometimes at first seem, while yet they are always found to be really so simple and suitable in their action, on a nearer investigation, we may, nevertheless, venture to rank this little animated creature among the most curious phenomena of nature. A worm between six and eight inches in length, which is found but in certain latitudes, has seemingly the skill and knowledge of an experienced navigator, and is in itself a little ship. Its evolutions are according to the winds; it raises and lowers its sail, which is a membrane provided with elevating and depressing organs. When filled with air it is so light, that it swims on the surface of alcohol, and is at the same time, provided with a structure, which furnishes it with the necessary ballast.

When high winds would endanger its existence, it descends into the deep, and is never seen on the surface of the water. From the under side of the body proceed fibres, which extend twenty feet in length, and are so elastic and delicate, that they wind in a spiral form like a screw, serving at once as anchors, defensive and offensive weapons, pneumatic tubes, and feelers.

The insect has the colors of the rainbow; its crest, which performs the office of a sail, is intersected with pink and blue veins, trimmed with a rosy border, and swells with the wind, or at the animal's pleasure. The fibres contain a viscous matter, which has the property of stinging like nettles, and produces pustules. It acts so strongly, that vessels in which they have been kept for a time must be repeatedly washed before they can be used. These fibres may be cut off without depriving them or the rest of the insect of the principle of life; and the separation takes place spontaneously, whenever the glutinous matter comes in contact with a hard surface, like the sides of a glass globe. The insect has, however, dangerous enemies in small dolphins, and medusæ, against which neither its nautical skill nor its poison can defend it. To the natural philosopher, this little animal is a curious exemplification of the principles of hydrostatics and of hygrometry, as its bladder is perhaps among the best substances that can be used for the delicate instruments of the latter science. To the physiologist it has the same importance as the rest of that class of beings, of which every part is endowed with an uncommonly strong principle of vitality, and which have therefore not improperly been called *biota* by Doctor Hill. To a contemplative mind, the wonderful organization of the Physalis must be a new proof that hardly any great effort of human ingenuity, perseverance, courage, and skill, is without a duplicate of more astonishing workmanship, simplicity, and sagacity, in beings coming from the hand of the Author of creation. If navigation is justly deemed the most daring enterprise of man, it may be considered as a remedy against pride to know that there exists a worm, which an all powerful Providence has at once made a navigator and a ship, a hydrostatic and pneumatic engine, a being destitute of mind, and yet one that watches the winds, and rides on the waves.*

Another paper by Doctor Tilesius is on the *Jocko*, or Orang Outang of Borneo. The author found a living specimen at Macao, in the possession of the Portuguese governor. It was as large as a child three or four years old. The Jocko is

* In Louis Choris's 'Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde,' (Paris, 1822,) is a delineation of the Physalis, but it gives an imperfect idea of the insect. M. Choris was the painter of Captain Kotzebue's expedition, which had principally for its object to explore the Mulgrave islands, and Behring's and Torres' Straits. Doctor Tilesius's Memoir on the Physalis occupies one hundred and eight quarto pages.

smaller than the Pongo, or Chipanzee, of Africa. Doctor Tilesius, being obviously a warm admirer of Doctor Gall's system, found the organ of observation strongly marked on the forehead of that monkey, and as strongly confirmed by its habits. It had a melancholy air, and was suspicious, but tame, tranquil, and of a gentle disposition. It examined everything curiously, approached the visiters, seized their hands, touched and inspected their dresses, climbed up their persons to coax and caress them, kissed its master and the Caffre who tended it, and showed its displeasure by shaking its head, and by distrustful side looks, but never by fierceness and malignity. Doctor Tilesius, in comparing the Caffre with the monkey, considered the first to be the very lowest of human creatures, and the Orang Outang the animal nearest to man in intellect. The African was a slave of the governor, and had no other business than to be keeper of the 'wild man of the wood.' The author does not countenance the wonderful accounts of the Jocko, in which this creature has been said by some travellers to light a fire and exercise the culinary arts; nor does his description approach the astonishing tale of Grandpré respecting a Pongo, or Cujoe, which was a skilful sailor, and almost displayed mental faculties. We have not room to analyze or examine Doctor Horner's memoirs on the temperature of the sea, at different depths, and in different places, on the specific weight of sea water, and on the oscillations of the barometer, although they are ingenious, and apparently the results of numerous and careful observations. We must also pass over the paper by Doctor Espenberg on the health of the ship's company, and the two memoirs of M. de Krusenstern, the one on currents at sea, and the other on the tides in the harbor of Nangasaky.*

* That the temperature of the sea diminishes at a certain depth, has long since been observed; and the subject has been examined after the ordinary method of experiment and induction by distinguished philosophers, and principally by R. Foster; but the law of decrease has not been yet well ascertained. Doctor Horner presumes from his own experiments that the temperature of the ocean ceases to change at seven hundred and twenty feet below the surface, in latitude 23° N. where it is in June 13° 3′ Reaumur; in the sea of Japan, in latitude 27°, at six hundred feet, where the thermometer is in November 3° Reaumur; in the Atlantic, in latitude 30°, at six hundred and sixty feet, the temperature being in June 13° 5′; and in the sea of Ochotzk, in latitude 43°, at one hundred and fifty feet, where the temperature is in August 1° 5′. This latter fact would prove that the solar rays have not a con-

It is strange that the Atlas, destined to accompany the *German* original account of the voyage, should have the explanations in the *Russian* language. The English and French publishers have forborne to risk the expense of republishing so large a collection of maritime views, portraits, sketches, landscapes, and representations of all sorts of objects, yet they might have given some charts, which would have proved valuable not more to geographers than to navigators. The Atlas is one of the most voluminous that has ever been annexed to the account of a nautical expedition. It contains about one hundred and forty plates, the most valuable of which are charts and maritime views. A few other sketches are curious; some of the designs relative to natural history are not uninteresting; but the draughtsman might have left in his portfolio his other performances, and particularly the repetitions of the same object, as for instance, the *Tomb of Captain Clerke*, the *Monkey of Borneo with the Caffre*, and the several skulls, drawn for the gratification, we suppose, of craniologists. The portraits of savages and half savages might also have been more sparingly introduced. We advise all such persons, as expect to find models of beauty among uncivilized men, to look at the Kamtschatdales, Kurilians, Tartars, and others exhibited in this Atlas, except the natives of Nukahiva, who, in spite of their *tattoo*, bear out the author's assertion of the nobleness of their stature, and the symmetry and elegance of their forms. The Atlas, however, bespeaks royal munificence, and if we find fault with the superabundance of plates, it is because of the obstacles which it throws in the way of the circulation of the work among those, for whose instruction and use it was chiefly designed.*

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stant, equal, and determinining influence upon the temperature of the sea. According to Bouguer, they penetrate six hundred and seventy-eight feet, and the heat extends perhaps a little further, though sea-water is a bad conductor of it.

Doctor Horner combats the theory of the bottom of the sea being a mass of ice, on the ground that water does not freeze as long as it contains any heterogeneous substance; and supposing it to relinquish its salts, the strata, whose specific weight is thus diminished, would, instead of sinking and turning into ice, rise into the higher and warmer regions. Our author is rather inclined to presume that the bottom of the sea consists of beds of salt.

* We may here mention the *Hydrographical Chart of the World*, separately published by M. de Krusenstern. The original title is *Allge-*

Thus far our remarks have been applied to the *Voyage* of Commodore Krusenstern, and the *Memoirs* attached to it, all published in three volumes, and in three different years, as will be seen by consulting the first title at the head of this article. The English translation is in two volumes, but this is incomplete, the Memoirs, as well as the Atlas, being omitted. We now proceed to another work by the same author, on the vocabularies of several Asiatic languages, which has never been translated from the original German.

These vocabularies are founded on data collected by several officers of the Russian navy. Lieutenant Davidoff, who was in the service of the Russian American company, and had made two voyages to the Northwest coast of America, furnished to M. de Krusenstern the vocabulary of the Aimos. This officer was sent with two armed vessels, by M. Resanoff, the appointed envoy to Japan, on an expedition against some Japanese, who had settled on the Kuriles, and in the bay of Anewa and Romansoff. Most of them were destroyed. This success did not, however, avail him much with his mandator, for the latter pretended that he had expressly recommended to him to proceed with mildness and moderation. Davidoff and his companion, Chwostoff, were thrown into prison on their return to Ochotzk, not by any command of the court, but by the will of the chief of that local government. Such an expedition, as M. de Krusenstern well observes, could not bring the Russians into favor with the Japanese government. The prisoners escaped, and took refuge at Jakutsk, having passed the distance of a thousand versts from Ochotzk, through marshes and forests, without means or assistance, and obliged to wander out of the road to avoid being discovered by those, who might have been sent in pursuit of them. They were not molested by the authorities of Jakutsk, and soon after their arrival in that city they were called to St Petersburg, and the governor of Ochotzk was dismissed, and delivered up to a court of justice. They served afterwards with much distinction during the war against Sweden, in the army of Count Buxhoüen. On their return to the Russian metropolis, they were walking together late one

meine Welt-Charte, nach Mercators Projection entworfen von A. I. de Krusenstern, Cap. der Russichen Marine. London. 1815. To this he has since added the results of Captain Parry's researches. It contains the routes of several other expeditions, and is creditable to the author for its accuracy and handsome execution.

evening over the bridge across the Neva, when the drawbridge was up for the passage of vessels. At that time a vessel was lying between two of the bridge boats. Chwostoff, in attempting to leap from one boat to another, fell by accident into the water. His faithful friend sprang after him, and struggled to save him, but both were carried away by the rapidity of the stream and drowned.*

Of the Aimos language but a few words had been collected, until Davidoff formed his vocabulary, which consists of nearly two thousand. The vocabulary of the Tschuktchi was composed by L. Koscheleff, on an expedition to that tribe.† The great philologist, Frederick Adelung, has not only revised these vocabularies, but compared them with the manuscript vocabularies of two other dialects as little known. He remarks in some notes inserted in the work before us, that the Tschuktchi, whose vocabulary has been collected by Koscheleff, are that branch of the tribe of that name, who inhabit the coast of Oriental Asia, and the promontory of Tschutschoi-noss. He adds that he has compared it with the one formed by Doctor Mesk, the physician of Captain Billings's expedition, which is contained in a comparative dictionary of seven dialects, taken from the languages of the Tschuktchi, Kamtschatdales, and Kuriles.

We have next the vocabularies of the Koljinchen and Kinaïs. The former of these is a tribe on the Northwest coast of America, opposite the Silka islands, but whose regular residence is not known with more certainty than that of most of the other tribes settled on that coast. Davidoff had collected these materials, which may yet be of utility for a history of the origin of the population of America. Adelung has compared them with a collection of about twelve hundred expressions obtained by Resanoff, and belonging to the idioms of Unalashka, Kinaï, Tchugag, Ugallachmus, and Koljusch.

For the following remarks on this subject, we are indebted to the well known philologist of our own country, Mr Du Ponceau.

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* There is a more extensive biography of both these officers in the preface, prefixed to Davidoff's Voyage to America, by the admiral and secretary of state, Tscheschkoff. Davidoff was a well informed officer, as well in the practice as in the theory of his profession; and had a taste for science and literature.

† He procured a skull of a Kamtschatdale, which is now in the possession of the eminent anatomist, Loder. The Kamtschatdales have such a reverence for the deceased, that it was very difficult to procure one.

'Since it has been ascertained that one nation, at least, clearly of American origin exists on the continent of Asia, the investigation of the languages of the different tribes which inhabit the opposite coasts of the two continents is become a matter of the highest interest to philosophy, anxious to trace as far back as possible, the course of population on the globe which we inhabit. A people, whose various dialects bear such strong affinity to each other, as to leave no doubt that they are all derived from the same source, and who are also connected by a similarity of color and conformation of their bodies, and by similar habits, manners, and customs, under the names of Greenlanders, Eskimaux, and Tschuktschi, are found to extend themselves from the island of Greenland in the vicinity of Europe, across the northern continent of America to the peninsula, which bears their name on the eastern coast of Asia. All writers agree in considering the sedentary Tschuktschi, who inhabit the peninsula called by the Russians *Tschukstskoi Noss*, and extend themselves southward to the banks of the river Anadir, as a people of American origin, which is evidenced by their complexion, their bodily appearance, their manners, customs, habits, and finally their language, which is a dialect of the Eskimaux, the same people who inhabit the opposite shore in the vicinity of Norton Sound,* not far from the Straits of Behring, which divide the two continents.

'In order to show the great affinity of these languages, as we have not room for long specimens, we shall only instance a few of the numerals in each of them.

	Greenland.	*Eskimaux.*	*Norton Sound.*	*Tschuktschi.*
1,	Attousek,	Attouset,	Adowjak,	Ataschek.
2,	Arlak,	Mardluk,	Aiba,	Malgok.
3,	Pingajuah,	Pingasut,	Pingashook,	Pigajut.
4,	Sissamat,	Sissamat,	Shetamik,	Ischtamat.
5,	Tellimat,	Tellimat,	Dallamik,	Tatlimat.

'These specimens are taken from Cook's third voyage, and from the work under review. We might easily multiply similar instances of affinity between these languages, which leave no doubt of their being dialects of the same mother tongue.

'From a fact of this importance, it was natural to expect similar affinities between other languages of the nations inhab-

* Mithridates, vol. III, part 3d, p. 462. Cochrane's Pedestrian Tour, p. 203.

iting the eastern shores of Asia and the western coast of America, but this expectation has hitherto been disappointed. Admiral Krusenstern, however, who does not profess to be a philologist, collected vocabularies of two Asiatic and two American languages, which he intended as an appendix to the relation of his voyage, but not having received them time enough to subjoin them to his great work, he has published them separately for the benefit of the learned. Some of them had been already published in Russia, others he received in manuscript from sources which he considered sufficiently authentic.

'The vocabularies which he thus published are those of the languages of the Aimos and Tschuktschi, who inhabit the coast of Asia, and of the Koliusches and Kinai, who live on the opposite shores of America. From as close an examination as we have been able to give to these vocabularies, which are very copious, we have not been able, except in the instance of the Tschuktschi, to find any resemblance or affinity between the Asiatic and American idioms; the language of Greenland and the Eskimaux seems as yet to be the only one that has penetrated into Asia, and we have no evidence that any one of the numerous languages spoken on the Asiatic coast has made its way into our continent.

'The language of the Rein-deer Tschuktschi, who live to the southward of the sedentary, whom we will call the *American* Tschuktschi, speak a language entirely different, closely connected with that of their southern neighbors the Koriacs, who, as well as themselves, are of Asiatic origin.

'It must be observed, however, that hitherto we have only been enabled to compare the languages of the people who inhabit the opposite coasts of Asia and America, by means of vocabularies, and we have not been made acquainted by grammars or otherwise with the grammatical forms and construction of the former. It is very much to be wished that the learned of the Russian empire would obtain and communicate to the world some information on this interesting subject, by which we may be enabled to institute a closer comparison between the languages of the two continents.'

We shall add but few words concerning Admiral Krusenstern's last publication, the *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques*. This work was published at the expense of the Russian government, and very wisely in a language more familiar to maritime nations, than the Russian or German. Its object is

to aid navigators in their passage through the great Southern, or Pacific Ocean. The Atlas, which accompanies this first volume, is a collection of charts on a large scale, of the several groups of islands scattered in that wide expanse of waters. Those of Arrowsmith, and of the Hydrographical Board of Madrid, have the defect of being on too small a scale; and those of Cook, Vancouver, and D'Entrecasteaux are incomplete in what regards the northern part of the Pacific; and they are, moreover, in the hands of few navigators, owing to the great cost of the works to which they are annexed. Most of those charts are likewise *general maps*. It has been M. de Krusenstern's earnest endeavor to fulfil conscientiously (for he really considered it a responsible undertaking) the task of furnishing the best and surest *special charts*. He indicates the public and the inedited materials upon which he has relied, discusses the respective merits of these when they are contradictory, and gives the reasons why some are preferred by him to others, coming from authorities equally respectable. Thus his work is the history, the abridged repository of numerous surveys, and a report on the actual state of hydrographical knowledge of the Great Ocean, according to the details scattered in almost all the books published throughout Europe. The method which he adopted has led him to discover the identity of many islands and rocks, which are duplicate and sometimes triplicate on maps, in consequence of a defective classification of the several groups. He therefore not only enables the navigator to avoid real dangers, but also puts an end to imaginary ones, which owed their existence to incorrect information.

The second volume, which is not yet published, will treat of the northern portion of the Great Ocean, and be accompanied by the corresponding charts. The author intended to bring it before the public during the last or the present year, but we have not yet heard of its appearance.

The question what Spain had done for the advancement of knowledge was put by a *savant* of the name of Mason, and Cavanilles had good nature enough to write a large book to answer that pert and flippant querist. Not long since, it was as comically asked, Who reads an American book? It would, therefore, be no wonder, if it were the pleasure of some critic in his splenetic humor to put similar queries in regard to Russia. Yet, as to scientific voyages and travels, countenanced or supported by governments alone, we should be tempted

to rank Russia next to England, and at all events, concede to her equal claims with France. It would be sufficient to point to Coxe's Travels, (facetiously called by the author of the Pursuits of Literature, 'Switzer-Russico-Kamtschatka Coxe,') and to Malte-Brun's 'Chronological Table of Discoveries in Siberia;' to cite Krusenstern's, Kotzebue's, Billinghausen's, Wassilief's, and Wrangel's expeditions; and to rely on the assurance of the first of these distinguished officers, that in 1824, 'there were not less than four expeditions in the Pacific Ocean, all of which were connected with science.'* New discoveries in that sea, and the survey of the neighboring coasts of the Russian empire, are the task of the two vessels, the *Moller* and the *Seniavin*,† which were equipped in the course of the last summer, and of which Captain Stanjy Kowitsch and Captain Litke are the commanders. The vessels of that expedition will operate together until they reach the most southern Russian settlement on the Northwest coast of this continent. One of them will then pursue the survey of that coast, and of the Aleutian islands, while the other will range, as far as practicable, the eastern coast of Russian Asia. In the course of the coming autumn, they will meet again in the harbor of St Peter and St Paul. The following winter will be spent in exploring the Caroline Islands, and as soon as this object shall have been accomplished, and the season will permit, the expedition will complete the survey of the Ochotzk sea. The employment of the vessels during the winter of 1828–9, will keep them near the Solomon Islands and the Moluccas; and after having finished the survey of that archipelago, they are to return to Russia by the Cape of Good Hope. At the present moment they must have finished their operations in the Society Islands, and have touched at the Sandwich Islands, and at Silka; and they are perhaps already engaged on the coasts of Kamtschatka and the Northwest portion of our continent.

We hope to be able shortly to give an account of another contribution of the Russian government to the extension of geographical knowledge, in a recent embassy to Bukharia.

By the maritime expeditions of Russia, to which we have referred in the present article, that great empire appears almost

* Mémoires Hydrogr. Introduction, p. ix.

† The third son of Admiral Krusenstern is among the young officers of this vessel. The Admiral, we are informed, has been appointed by the emperor, second director of the corps of marine cadets.

to verify one of Burton's projects for a 'Utopia of his own;' 'a new Atlantis, a poetical commonwealth of mine own; I will have certain ships sent out for new discoveries every year;' and the Russians may be said to have more than deserved the eulogium of Boterus, quoted by the same quaint, witty, and learned author; '*Tam hyeme quàm æstate intrepidè sulcant Oceanum; et duo illorum duces, non minore audaciâ quàm fortunâ, totius orbem terræ circumnavigârunt.*'

Art. II.—1. *Vindication of H. D. Sedgwick, with some Inquiries respecting the Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.*

2. *A Narrative of the material Facts in Relation to the Building of the two Greek Frigates.* By Alexander Contostavlos, an Agent of the Greek Government. Second edition. *With a Postscript.*

3. *Report of the Evidence and Reasons of their Award between Johannis Orlandos and Andreas Luriottis, Greek Deputies, of the one Part, and Le Roy, Bayard, & Co. and G. G. & S. Howland, of the other Part.* By the Arbitrators.

4. *An Exposition of the Conduct of the two Houses of G. G. & S. Howland, and Le Roy, Bayard, & Co. in Relation to the Frigates Liberator and Hope, in Answer to a Narrative on that Subject, by Mr Alexander Contostavlos.* By William Bayard.

5. *Refutation of the Reasons assigned by the Arbitrators for their Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.* By H. D. Sedgwick.

6. *An Examination of the Controversy between the Greek Deputies and two Mercantile Houses of New York; together with a Review of the Publications on the Subject, by the Arbitrators, Messrs Emmett & Ogden, and Mr William Bayard.* By John Duer and Robert Sedgwick.

The subject of the series of pamphlets just named is too important to be wholly pretermitted in this journal. We took an early opportunity to endeavor to awaken an interest in the

cause of Greece, among our fellow citizens, and have never ceased to watch, with solicitude, the progress of the great struggle, of which that singular and interesting land is the theatre. Before bringing to a close the remarks, which we intend at this time to offer to our readers, we shall state some circumstances which justify and prompt a continued sympathy with the Greeks, in this their anxious struggle for freedom. But we deem it a preliminary duty to make a few observations on the subject of the pamphlets before us.

It is not our purpose to enter into an analysis of the contents of these pamphlets, nor to relate the history of the controversy of which they are the vehicle. An extensive circulation has brought them, no doubt, directly to the knowledge of many of our readers, and an able digest and examination of their contents, has already been submitted to the public, in the pages of a contemporary journal of the highest respectability, the American Quarterly Review. Inasmuch, however, as the transactions connected with the Greek frigates, are of a nature to produce an effect on the American character abroad, and have already attracted the attention and become the subject of the comments of the foreign press, it is proper that the American press, in its various departments, should not pass them without notice. If we, as Americans, condemn the transactions which form the subject of these pamphlets, it is proper we should say so, and put it out of the power of foreign detractors to allege that such things occurred among us unnoted and uncondemned.

And yet it is not without embarrassment and pain, that we give utterance to our feelings and impressions on this subject. In the construction of the Greek frigates, two mercantile houses of the first respectability, in New York, were employed. To either of them, we should, if called upon, have implicitly confided the management of much more extensive transactions; and to any impeachment of the good faith and liberality of either of them, we should have turned an incredulous ear. The transactions, moreover, were various and complicated; and the agency of the two houses not in all respects the same. To one of them may be justly ascribed the lead and governing spirit of these transactions; as from that house also has emanated a peremptory defence of them, even in those particulars, at which the public sentiment of the country has most revolted. It is scarcely possible, in speaking of the matter, to avoid con-

founding the two houses, although we apprehend the public feeling has justly made a decided discrimination between them, as to the share of censure, which belongs to each. At the same time, events, to which we are not justified in making more particular allusion, have occurred, since the termination of this affair, of a nature to disarm of much of its severity the temper, in which we should otherwise pass sentence on its character.

We have never, for a moment, listened to an imputation of fraud. A looseness and irregularity in some important transactions, as the insurance item from Georgetown, we have indeed noticed. It also seems difficult to resist the conclusion, that various persons employed by the houses to do work or furnish supplies, were allowed by the houses an enormous pay and compensation, the commission on which, charged by the houses in their own favor, is certainly not reconcilable with the rules of a delicate morality. Farther than this, however, we are not willing to go. We apprehend that nothing fraudulent, in the common acceptation of that term, was practised or intended; and that the whole transaction was designed to be brought within the bounds of ordinary commercial honesty, where every party is expected to take care of itself.

The great charge against the houses is, that after having in substance solicited the employment (considering the Messrs Bayards as representing the two houses), after having held out to the Greek deputies the promise of economy, after having furnished them with estimates (which, if not designed to regulate the expectations formed of the necessary expense, were worse than useless,—were a positive imposition), after having abandoned a plan of building by contract, and adopted, *as cheaper* that of day's work (a mode of building, which we believe to be without a precedent in our ship yards), the houses should, nevertheless have run up the expense of each of these white oak frigates, fifty per cent above that of a live oak ship of the line of the first order; should have charged an excessive commission on these their monstrous disbursements; should have pursued a harsh and unfriendly course to compel the payment of demands, afterwards pronounced, by the arbitrators, unfounded; should have thrown obstacles in the way of the Greek agent, sent out to extricate the affair from the difficulties into which it was plunged; and wound up with the most atrocious libels on all those who had acted against them, as the opposite parties in the transaction, and passionate appeals to the public for sympathy, as wronged and suffering men.

The only reply attempted to any part of this charge, is, that no fraud has been committed,—no monies have been charged as paid which were not paid; and that the work has been well and faithfully done. We will admit all this to be the case, notwithstanding the very large sum of money which was needed to send the Hellas to sea, after she came from the hands of the houses, and notwithstanding the certificate of Captain Gregory, as to the state in which he found that vessel. The charge is, that, after soliciting this employment from motives of sympathy in the cause of the Greeks, and parading an expression of feeling toward this people, the transaction should have been made the occasion of the very highest rate of commercial profit, and that charges to the amount of over a hundred thousand dollars should have been made, of such a character as to be disallowed by arbitrators, who certainly will not be accused of abandoning the interest of the houses. By one of the houses, that agency was invited; it was accepted with warm protestations of zeal for the Greek cause. And yet we find charges of ten per cent commissions on disbursements made of cash already in bank to meet them; we read of enormous damages on protested bills, not authorized to be drawn, not sold in this country, and not required to meet any expenditure which had taken place; and worse than all, we meet with a *talk* of a commission on the sale to the government of the United States of one of these frigates; a sale, which the party, who talked of charging the commission, had done nothing to effect, and much to obstruct. If, in all this, it be said there is no fraud, we answer, be it so; but we must add, at the same time, there is no liberality, no love for struggling liberty, none of the fine sentiment which had been professed.

We should, however, have been less concerned, if our censures could have been confined to the houses. But we are obliged to add, that we deem the conduct of the counsel for the houses, in some respects, and that of the arbitrators, throughout, equally open to exception. As the great error of the houses was, after making professions of sentiment, to come down and turn the whole affair into an ordinary business of money making, so we conceive it the error of the highly respectable counsel for the houses, that they could not emancipate themselves, on this occasion, from the influence of mere professional maxims of conduct, as commonly understood and practised. Messrs Ogden and Emmett received each a fee of

fifteen hundred dollars, as counsel for the two houses before the arbitrators, as we are informed by the arbitrators themselves. We believe that professional duty, as commonly understood, obliges counsel to engage in any cause, in which their assistance is asked. Counsel, it is said, must not undertake to prejudge a cause. Once engaged, we believe it is the duty of counsel to say, not what they think, feel, or know, as individual men; but anything, and everything, which can be urged, with plausibility, on the side for which they are retained. All this may be very well. In most cases litigated, the great cause of humanity, liberality, and of conscience, in which all lawyers, and all good men, ought to consider themselves as retained, may remain unaffected, in the conflict of opposite counsel plausibly arguing the pro and the con of the issue. But we conceive that this cannot be said of the course pursued by at least one of the eminent counsel employed by the houses. If that gentleman is not misreported (and he cannot blame us, if we take for admitted the correctness of an uncontradicted report made by responsible gentlemen), he urged on the arbitrators to award in favor of the houses, on the ground, that Greece was not interested in the award; that it was the affair of peculating agents; that Greece was already sacrificed; and that the clamor raised by her pretended friends, was that of foul birds, screaming for their portion of the carcass. Was this liberal? Was it merciful? Was it true?

Mr Emmett, may tell us, indeed, it was a forensic flourish; that he meant merely to produce an effect on the minds of the arbitrators, which it was the duty of the counsel for the Greek deputies to counteract; that he left it to the latter gentlemen to state the fact, that Greece *was* most deeply interested in the award; that an award in favor of the houses would deprive that country of almost its last hope; and that the parties which now appeared in behalf of Greece were not (as unjustly represented by the gentleman with a fee of fifteen hundred dollars in his pocket) mercenary harpies, clamoring for a portion of the plunder of their country, but patriotic and honorable citizens, contending in a foreign land, against fearful odds and most high handed injustice. We say, all this does not satisfy us; and we do not admit that it was right or becoming for the counsel of the houses, to indulge in insinuations against the honesty of the opposite party. They had reason to be content with acting on the defensive there. Still less, in our humble judgment, did it

become the senior counsel for the houses, in a portion of the joint address of himself and his colleague, which he published on his individual responsibility, to wage war on the unprotected stranger entrusted with the affairs of Greece in this country, with allusions to worn out proverbs and idle traditionary calumnies. It seems that when ancient Greece had been overrun and subjugated by the Romans, and its inhabitants reduced, from the condition of an independent to that of a tributary people, groaning under tyranny at home and slavery in the land of their new masters, the Romans, with equal liberality and knowledge of human nature, thought fit to propagate the maxim, that there was 'no faith in a Greek.' With the Romans, this ingenious device of damning the conquered Greeks, in an adage, had not even the merit of novelty, for they had already found out, under the same circumstances, that Punic faith was also suspicious. They were in both cases the plagiarists of honest Æsop, whose fable placed the lion wounded and abject, at the hunter's feet. In the pages of Juvenal these sarcasms are in place. He did not treat Greeks worse than he did Romans, or the human race in general. But what shall we say of sober jurists, after a lapse of two thousand years, long enough, one would think, for the prejudices of nations to die away, reviving these stale Roman proverbs, as grave topics of argument in a practical question, at the present day; casting suspicions on Mr Contostavlos's veracity, because he is a Greek, and because the Romans could not trust the Greek slaves, whom they had dragged from their homes in Attica, and chained to their door posts and work benches? What shall we say of this when done, not merely in the course of argument at bar, in which, as already observed, counsel are not understood to speak in their individual capacity; but in an address to the public, through the columns of a newspaper, with the sanction of a name; against a foreigner, partially acquainted with our language, and friendless, except so far as his cause has gained him friends; when done, in fine, by an individual, himself a foreigner, himself an exile from a wronged, oppressed, insulted, country; himself obnoxious to the stale national sneers and the proverbial sarcasms, of all who can find it in their hearts to indulge in this species of warfare?

With regard to the arbitration, we have no wish to revive the recollection of that burst of feeling, which pervaded the continent, on the subject, especially when it was heard, that

although the award was against the houses to an enormous extent, the arbitrators had assigned themselves out of the Greek fund alone, and for a few days' service, a handsome year's salary. On the supposition, that the arbitrators were all men of very high respectability in the community, we can point to men as respectable, all over the United States, whose annual salary, in offices of trust, honor, and responsibility, does not exceed what these gentlemen awarded to each of themselves, for about twenty days' service on this arbitration. We well remember when the tidings of this award reached our humble metropolis of the north, with what feelings it was heard. Not a man believed it; the report was universally treated as a libel; the friends of Greece were cautioned against taking up slanders, which would react on themselves. Such, however, was the charge; fifteen hundred dollars to each of the arbitrators, *as such*, for so they express themselves. Risk they ran none; they could not, from the nature of things; and were fortified against any, by a written release from the opposite party.

But we conceive that this is far from being the most unpleasant feature of the arbitration. In the course of the proceedings before the arbitrators, one of those gentlemen fell into an altercation with one of the counsel of the deputies, and the offensive remarks made by the former were retorted by the latter. This proved the signal for the son of the arbitrator (who with other spectators was present) to attempt to strike Mr Sedgwick, which he was prevented from doing, solely by the interference of the gentlemen near. After ineffectually repeating his attempt, he was checked by his parent, the senior arbitrator, with the intimation that 'he had done enough.' Enough for what? Enough, in the opinion of the young gentleman, to make it necessary for Mr Sedgwick to send him a challenge; which Mr Sedgwick having the firmness not to do, drew down upon himself a fresh visitation of insult in the newspapers, in which it was apparently hinted that any other mode of proceeding, than that by wilful murder, would be deemed out of taste in New York, on such an occasion. Whether the young man was thought by his father, to have done enough in this way also, does not appear. These are occurrences to which we allude with pain. But they are of more dangerous tendency, than any other connected with the whole transaction. Notoriety and the public press will afford a remedy for the original

evil of the case; but if respectable citizens, husbands, fathers, and Christians, ably and honorably discharging a professional duty to a helpless stranger, are to be first assaulted, and then involved in the necessity of murdering or being murdered, the press itself will be intimidated; men of peace struck dumb, and injustice and oppression left without a check. Of the persons whose conduct we now censure, we privately know nothing and say nothing. Of their deportment before the public we take leave to speak in the language due to truth and justice. We deem it not the less due to truth and justice, to bear witness to the zeal, fidelity, and success, with which a most arduous duty was discharged by the Messrs Sedgwicks and their associates, Messrs Duer and Robinson. They have deserved well of the cause of humanity, to an extent, which it is rarely in the power of the most benevolent and active to go, in their efforts to do good.

But we forbear to dwell on these painful transactions. It has been our duty to unite our voice to that of the American press in general, in pronouncing a sentence of unqualified reprobation of them. We repeat, however, what we have already hinted, that we are disposed to make great and favorable discriminations between the conduct of the two houses; on one of which, perhaps, no other blame rests, than that of partial acquiescence; a blame mitigated by a commendable deference to public opinion, as subsequently expressed.

A far more important, though closely connected topic, is, the probable fortune of the country and the cause, for the defence of which this ill starred enterprise was undertaken. With what prospects are the Greeks pursuing their present struggle? and what is the duty of the civilized world toward them?

If we argued on the prospects of the Greeks merely *a priori*, we should pronounce it impossible, that so small and feeble a portion of the Turkish empire could succeed, in a conflict with the government. But this reasoning is now out of season, in reference to the present contest. It might have been expected that the Greeks would have been crushed in the first, second, or third campaign. A longer period than this, it could scarcely require, to bring the whole power of the government into its most concentrated and efficient action against them. Three campaigns, however, passed, and the insurrection was no nearer being crushed than at its commencement. It was the case,

however, that in these campaigns the Porte had not brought its whole power to bear on the Greeks. The peculiar nature of the Turkish government,—substantially that of viceroys almost independent of the nominal head, makes it difficult to put at once into motion the entire amount of the reputed force of the empire. It was not till the fourth campaign, that the Porte was able to bring into the field the most powerful of its subject princes, the bey of Egypt. This skilful ruler, it would seem, took time to deliberate, before he permitted his son to embark with the strength of his principality, in the doubtful enterprise of invading Greece. But when, at length, the first Egyptian expedition was fairly landed in the Morea, it must be conceded that the Porte had made as great an effort, as it could possibly make, to crush the revolt. The Egyptian troops were composed of veterans, trained in the recent wars against the Wechabites and the chiefs of the Upper Nile. They were led, in part at least, by European officers; and every thing that could be effected by a preponderating military strength, ought to have been, and in fact was effected by Ibrahim Pacha, in his first campaign. But at the close of this and two succeeding campaigns, and after five successive reinforcements from Egypt, the war is no nearer a probable termination, than on the first day that hostilities commenced. The Egyptians are able to march at pleasure, through the open country; but, except in the single case of Missolonghi, have effected nothing without the bounds of the Morea, and within it, they have not found themselves in strength to attempt the reduction of Napoli.

Meantime, what has been the effect of this protracted conflict upon the Egyptian forces? Not a man surely has returned to Egypt, and after five reinforcements, it does not appear, that Ibrahim is in greater force than when he landed. The support of his army must be a dead weight, principally, on his father's treasury. The system of the Porte does not know of such a thing, as the payment of troops from the Sultan's coffers. The Pacha, who leads them to the field, must provide for them as he can. The soil of Greece herself can, in the present state of the country, yield scarcely anything, toward the support of the invading army. Egypt is not in a condition to export provisions to any extent; and no resource remains to the Egyptian army, but direct purchase from the neutral powers, principally the Austrians. What means can the bey of Egypt have of supporting, for any considerable number of years, this

war of dollars, for such it has now become, as far as the Turks are concerned? Their invading armies have made no effectual impression; their fleets are unable to hold the brave little squadrons of the Greeks in check; the partizans and guerillas of the patriots hang upon the flanks and rear of the Egyptian army, wherever it moves; the old men, the women, and the children have been transported to the islands or to the fastnesses of the mountains, where, with the sustenance derived from their sheep and goats, they have as yet bid defiance, not merely to the barbarian enemy, but to the still more pressing approach of famine; and no way, in fact, remains, by which the country can be subdued, by the unaided powers of the Turkish government, but starvation; and this weapon, thank Heaven, they will not be permitted to employ.

It was a propitious circumstance, connected with the revolution in Greece, that the year before it commenced, an attack was made by the Porte, on its most powerful vassal, the Pacha of Yanina. Had events precipitated the commencement of the revolution in Greece, so that it should have burst forth, before the rupture of Ali Pacha with the Porte, there is scarce a doubt, that this powerful prince would have been wielded as an instrument, for the effectual suppression of the insurrection. His interest and policy would have enlisted him in the cause. That of the Sultan would not less strongly have dictated the employment, in this difficult and exhausting service, of a chieftain, too powerful for quiet submission; and though the event might have been, in the first instance, the severance of Greece from the jurisdiction of the Porte, and the erection of a new monarchy, under Ali Pacha, yet the revolt could not probably but have been promptly crushed and terribly punished. The Morea, in 1775, was all but desolated, by letting loose upon it twentyfive thousand Albanians, after its desertion by the Russians; and a like catastrophe would have been of most probable occurrence, had the turn of affairs permitted the Porte to employ Ali against the rebellious Greeks. The patriots, however, who led on the hazardous movement of the revolution, watched their time with greater sagacity, than they have generally had credit for. They had for more than five years meditated the project of emancipation. A secret fraternity had spread its branches through Greece. Its remotest provinces were in concert; what was maturing in Moldavia and Wallachia, was known in Constantinople, in the Morea, and in Albania; and with all the

multitudes that must have participated in these dangerous counsels, the explosion, though in reality at last accidental and unconcerted, did not take place till a propitious crisis had arrived, and Ali Pacha, instead of being at the disposal of the Porte, to take the field against the insurgents, occasioned himself the most embarrassing diversion of the Ottoman forces. To this cause, no doubt are to be traced the languor and inefficiency of the military operations of the three first campaigns.

Bereaved of the aid of their great vassal of the west, at a moment when it was most needed, and convinced by trial, of the impossibility of crushing the insurrection by the employment of ordinary pachas, the Porte, as a last resort, called in the bey of Egypt; doubtless on the calculation, that if it did not regain a revolted province, it would embarrass and exhaust a dangerous subject. It appears to us, that the inefficacy of the Egyptian invasion has by this time been shown; that Ibrahim cannot put an end to the war, merely by continuing the military occupation of a small part of the soil; and that the expense of this occupation must shortly exhaust his finances, and compel him to return.

We do not, therefore, for ourselves, see what can be done by the Turkish government, which has not already been done to no purpose, to effect the subjugation of the Greeks. There are no other powerful pachas, whose military skill and force can be brought into action. An experiment, indeed, has been made, and is now in progress, conceived in a bolder spirit, than usually animates the counsels of the Porte, which, could it be crowned with success, might threaten worse consequences to the Greeks, than anything they have as yet had to fear. We refer, of course, to the disbanding of the Janissaries, and the organization of a regular army on the European system. Could this be effected; could all the population of the Turkish empire, of armsbearing age, be enlisted in an army, organized, disciplined, and led like the armies of France and of England, it would indeed make the Porte formidable, not merely to the Greeks, but to the leading powers in Europe, who are now able to look, with stoical calmness, at the feeble and ineffectual blows aimed by Turkey at a people who stand on the frontier of Christendom. We have, however, no faith whatever, in the success of this experiment, and this for reasons, with all which we will not trouble our readers. It will be sufficient to remind them, that precisely the same experiment, attempted by

the most accomplished and able of all the Sultans, who, for a century and a half, have succeeded to the throne, cost him his life, not more than twenty years ago. We see no reason, why a change of policy which brought Selim to the bowstring, should succeed in the hands of the present Sultan, a man of unpopular manners and moderate capacity. In the next place, the institution of the Janissaries is not a mere arbitrary thing, which can be taken up and laid down at pleasure; but it is a part of the social existence of the people; an organization which has existed for two centuries, ever since, in fact, the firm establishment of the Turkish power in Europe. It approaches, in its nature, the organization of our militia; and the attempt to disband the Janissaries and introduce a regular force, is very nearly the same as an attempt would be in Europe, to establish a regular army by conscription, in a country where both army and conscription were wholly unknown before. Could a regular army be organized in Turkey, there is great doubt if it could be maintained in the field. Hitherto the civil and the military service under the Turkish government has been ordered, substantially, on the feudal principle, which, in the main, is the principle of the oriental world, as far back as our accounts run. The empire is divided into provinces, which are committed, almost in full sovereignty, to the government of the pachas. These pachas pay an annual sum to the Sultan; and indemnify themselves from the inhabitants of the provinces, in which they defray the expenses of their own government. When called to take the field with their contingents, the pachas must defray the expenses of their troops, which are made as light as possible by a system of free quarters alike on friend and foe. Now in a government where the military has long been on this footing, a government, moreover, confessedly in its decrepitude, to attempt to disband the great feudal militia of the country, and enlist a standing army, seems to us a very doubtful experiment.

Nor does it appear that any success, at all deserving the name, has attended this experiment, during the three years that it is understood to have been going on. The most the Porte has been able to do, is to quell the revolt of the Janissaries at Constantinople, nor has this been done without immense bloodshed. It does not appear, that a single regiment of the new army has reached Greece; and as far as our information, at this distance, extends, the only effect of the experiment, hitherto, has been to paralyze the old military organiza-

tion, and excite a general discontent at its suppression, without substituting any other in its place.

If, indeed, (which we grant to be not impossible, though in a high degree unlikely to happen) the Porte succeed, by dint of spasmodic and fanatical effort, on the one hand, guided by observation of the systems of western Europe, on the other, in organizing an efficient army on the European system; should she be able so to improve her financial system, as to pay and support this army, and with it conquer Greece, and return as she would from that conquest, a regenerated military power of the first rank, essentially hostile, and as formidable as hostile, to the political system of Europe, it would present a curious commentary on the course which has been pursued by the leading European powers, by Russia, England, and France, in reference to the present struggle. All general principles of politics dictated to these powers, to take advantage of the present convenient opportunity, to drive from Europe a government, necessarily at war with the civilization of Christendom, and never established within its limits, by any better title, than military occupation. To justify themselves for disregarding these dictates of sound general policy, the leading powers have urged the inconvenience and danger at the present moment, of allowing the peace of Europe to be disturbed, of building up a new power of very uncertain relations toward the rest, or of aggrandizing, in doubtful proportions, by a partition of European Turkey, the older powers, which might take part in a general war against the Turks. Now to avoid these dangers and inconveniences, what are the leading powers of Europe doing? They are sitting quietly by, while the Porte is making the experiment (and, as the government party in almost every portion of Europe anticipates, the successful experiment) of organizing in Turkey an efficient military establishment on the European footing, and thus converting that power, at present effete and passive, into an active military power of the first order, intrenched in Europe in a position chosen by the eye of Constantine, and wisely chosen, as commanding Europe and Asia. In exchange for the risk of building up a feeble republic in Greece, the leading powers think it wise to recall into being, that power which once threw its legions within the walls of Otranto and knocked at the gates of Vienna. The cabinets which dread the disproportionate aggrandizement of Russia, contemplate without alarm the regeneration of a power, whose princi-

ples must ever be at war with those of Europe, whose position is far more dangerous, whose means of annoyance more to be dreaded. One needs but to consider the injuries, which the petty regencies of the Barbary coast have inflicted on the states of Christendom, to be able to estimate the effect on the peace and intercourse of Europe, of the restoration of Turkey to a state of vigorous political and military activity. To effect and to countenance this restoration has been the policy of the cabinets of Europe, since the commencement of the Grecian revolution. And this is called preserving the tranquillity of Europe! But for ourselves, we apprehend no such danger. We have no faith in the successful accomplishment of the great transformation, which is attempted in the Turkish system, and we are unable to perceive, after the most diligent scrutiny, under the best lights at our command, where the Porte is to find, or how it is to make, the means of bringing to bear upon the Greeks, a greater military pressure, than it has hitherto effected; and without a much greater pressure, we see no possibility of crushing the revolt.

It is necessary then to contemplate the position of the Greeks, as they are likely to be affected by the continuance of the present state of things; on the supposition, that the Porte, although unable to make an effort sufficient to bring the war to a close, may yet, for a number of years, persevere in the present or a similar system of hostilities. Have the Greeks anything to hope from the interference of the powers of Europe?

If the designs of the cabinets could be judged of, by the declarations of those designs, which have been allowed to escape; or if the conduct of the cabinets, in respect to Greece, for any considerable time to come, were sure to be guided by its present designs, we should unhesitatingly pronounce, that, in the way of direct, friendly interference, the Greeks have nothing to hope from the powers of western Europe. Russia is by religion the natural ally of Greece. No jealousy, but a strong friendly feeling subsists between the Greeks and the Russians. Extensive commercial and family connexions exist between them. Greeks who succeeded in amassing wealth retired habitually to Moscow. Individuals, who became obnoxious to the Turkish government, fled to Russia. Many of the young men, particularly those of the ancient families, entered the Russian army; not a few rose to honorable posts in the Russian civil service. In a word, no national association in Europe is older

or more intimate than that of the Greeks and Russians. It dates from the very dawn of civilization in Russia in the middle ages, and is cemented by all the ties, which can bind nations together, except that of language. Such was the feeling of Russia toward Greece, as between the people on both sides. The late emperor Alexander had every reason to share this feeling, both as a Russian and a ruler of Russians. The hereditary policy of his family looked to extension of the Russian influence, if not of the Russian empire, on the side of Greece; and all the lessons of his renowned grandmother dictated a watchful policy in that direction. Unfortunately for the Greeks, at least in the first instance, Alexander's feelings and policy, as a Russian prince, were controlled by his position in the general system of Europe. The occurrences in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain presented a dangerous coincidence with the revolution in Greece. Alexander was not able, or was not permitted, to draw a line of distinction between the two cases, and the Porte was permitted to enjoy the advantage of the decree, which went out against all movements of the people against their rulers. But for this untoward coincidence, there is scarce room for a doubt, that the differences between Russia and Turkey, founded on long established hatred between the countries, aggravated by the breach of the last treaty between them, in reference to the protection to be enjoyed by Moldavia and Wallachia, and exasperated by the personal insults offered to the Russian minister at Constantinople, and by the massacre of the patriarch, would have ended in war. In fact, the Russian armies were on the Pruth, and the slightest additional provocation, not to say the merest accident, would have carried them over it. But the turn of events in the south of Europe disheartened Alexander; difficulties since arising with the Persians have occasioned a diversion of the Russian power, on the eastern flank of the empire; and an accommodation has been made with the Porte. This accommodation, although securing substantially the privileges of the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia, has been made at the sacrifice of the privileges of the Greek families, which Russia for more than a century has guarantied, and which, it is reasonably to be expected, will, at some future period, and in a change of circumstances, again be matter of contention between Russia and the Porte.

But the policy of England is perhaps still more important, in

its bearing on the struggle in Greece, not merely on account of the actual ability of England to promote or prevent a successful issue of the struggle, but on account of her supposed interest as the rival and antagonist of Russia. This rivalship, as we have on former occasions been led to state, has, in more than one instance, been an effectual shield to the feebleness of the Ottoman empire. To all appearance, it will for some time so continue; and perhaps it is the tendency of the present state of things, rather to confirm than to weaken the policy of the English cabinet, in maintaining the Sultan against the Czar. England is now vulnerable in two characters; characters, in principle, diametrically opposite to each other; but in which she stands, in consequence of a coincidence of circumstances, of which it is in vain to seek a parallel in the history of the world. She is mistress of a mighty empire in the east; in population second only to that of China; in the despotic frame of its government on the same footing as China, Turkey, and Russia. Of the four great despotisms of the modern dispensation, England, in her Indian empire, is one. She fills a link in the chain of absolute rule, which binds the earth in subjection, from the east of Asia to the west of Europe.

Now it so happens, that Turkey, another of these great despotisms, intervenes between the British empire, which is extensively exposed, and the Russian, which is essentially militant, and which is notoriously growing up into some great developement of power, of which no one undertakes to foretell the character or direction, but of which all feel a foreboding dread. Turkey herself is passive; her power depends on quiescence; her antiquated machinery of government can sustain no competition with the political doublespeeders of this revolutionary age. She has a few ships built by French engineers in her ship yards, but no seamen, except her revolted Greeks. An effective, disposable military power she has not, and for the reasons we have already ventured to state, cannot have. She is therefore to England a perfectly safe neighbor, in reference to the British possessions in the east. But, on the other hand, she presents, on the side of Russia, a barrier not easy to pass. In any state of things, in which British India should be threatened from Russia, England would find and would employ the means of entangling Russia with the Porte; to say nothing of the natural effect of the geographical position of the two powers. These relations are perfectly understood by all the parties con-

cerned, and by none better than by Turkey and England. The Porte well knows, that it is the interest of Great Britain to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire, against the advances of Russia; and Great Britain feels that any essential change in the present position toward each other of Turkey and Russia, might be a very hazardous experiment, in reference to her eastern dominions. She has not forgotten that thirty years have not elapsed, since the Turkish empire, on occasion of the French invasion of Egypt, afforded England the most seasonable aid in warding off a blow, which was ultimately aimed at India, and which was, in the chapter of political accidents, much less likely to be struck, than any to be feared from Russia. If Turkey, in time of need, has so lately proved an useful ally to England against France, it is not to be supposed, that the importance of her position, as a barrier on the side of Russia, will ever be lost sight of.

Such is the state of things, which must govern the policy of England in this contest, considered as one of the great despotisms now subsisting. In the other capacity in which she presents herself to the world, we again behold her in opposition to Russia, but it is in her quality as champion of liberal principles and representative governments in Europe, against the system of the continental alliance, with Russia at its head. In this view, many things are adverse to an interference of either of these powers, of a nature friendly to Greece. England could not acquiesce in any measures, which would aggrandize Russia, or powerfully extend her influence, on the side of Turkey. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe would inevitably add to Russia Moldavia and Wallachia (consequently the mouth of the Danube), and probably Bulgaria and ancient Thrace, and with them Constantinople, and the entire communication of the Black sea with the Mediterranean. Is this an event, the remotest approach to which would be endured by England, at the time when the fear of Russian ascendancy is becoming a panic fear in the south and west of Europe? Certainly not. On the other hand, as we have already said, Russia herself cannot, from political reasons, now favor the movement in Greece, being deeply pledged to the antirevolutionary policy, in all its forms.

No important influence, on the affairs of Greece, distinct from the influence of Russia and of England, can be exercised by any of the other great powers of Europe. It is true, Aus-

tria has an important and extensive frontier on Turkey, which she is obliged to watch by a very large and expensive border garrison, which has an organization and establishment of its own, distinct from that of the rest of the Austrian army. One or two Turkish provinces would round out the Austrian dominions very handsomely, on the Danube and on the Adriatic. We are not sure, in fact, that Austria does not, as successor to the doge of Venice, claim to be the legitimate sovereign of the kingdoms of the Morea, of Candia, and Cyprus. The three flagstaffs on which the banners of these kingdoms waved, still stand in the place of St Mark's. But Austria, like Turkey, is a quiescent power. She moves only when impelled; and owes her own safety to the undisturbed maintenance of what has been and what is. France, by national character and manners, by intimate association with the Greeks, since the commencement of the French revolution, and by the military passion of the present generation, possesses the means of interfering to great effect in the contest. France is, however, entirely controlled by her own political situation, and can exercise no independent influence, either in reference to the revolution in Greece, or any other question of international politics. Had Napoleon continued to live and reign, some radical changes would unquestionably have taken place, in the south-eastern corner of Europe. He informs us, that he often conferred with Russia on the subject of the partition of European Turkey, but that they never could agree about Constantinople. Napoleon, however, had his way of settling these points with other powers, in cases of disagreement.

If the foregoing speculations are correct, it follows, that no powerful interference is to be expected, on the part of any one of the leading powers, in favor of the Greeks. Is it equally unlikely, that these powers may, by an union of counsels, effect a termination of the contest on favorable terms? Rumors to this effect, have circulated too long and too extensively, to be set down as wholly groundless. The groundwork for such a concert between at least three great powers, Russia, Austria, and England, already exists. They are all frontier powers as respects Greece, all concerned in giving a direction favorable to their own interests, to the events of which Greece is the theatre. Should the Turkish government be removed from Europe, it would still remain in sufficient force in Asia, to satisfy all the demands of the British policy, in reference to her Indian

empire. The partition, which we have above suggested in reference to Austria and Russia is obvious, and might be compensated to the queen of islands, by as many of the gems of the Levant, as she might choose to set in the coronet of her ocean empire; while the central portion of Greece, the real seat of the revolution, presents every advantage for the establishment of an independent government, under the guaranty of the great powers. Such an arrangement between the leading powers of Europe, would certainly be in no degree novel, in an age, which has witnessed the transactions of the Congress of Vienna, to say nothing of the events connected with the French revolution, and with the erection of the Spanish American provinces into independent states. Nature is evidently struggling for relief, from the oppression of the Turkish despotism in Europe. The presence, in a Christian region, of a Mahometan power; the rule of a barbarous government, over a race of men belonging to the family of European civilization, is an anomaly, at once too afflicting and too monstrous to become permanent.

It is indeed to be deplored, that reasons of state have, on this occasion, sealed up the tongue and palsied the hand of him, who of all living men could the easiest apply the remedy to this grievous disease. There is an individual, who sits on no throne, in whose veins no aristocratic blood runs, who derives no influence from amassed or inherited wealth, but who, by the simple supremacy of mind, exercises, at this moment, a political sway, as mighty as that of Napoleon at the zenith of his power. Indebted for his own brilliant position to the liberality of the age, which is shaking off the fetters of ancient prejudices, this literal ruler by the grace of God, can feel no real deference for most of the maxims, by which the neutrality of England, in the wars of Grecian liberty, is justified. How devoutly is it to be wished, that the pure and undying glory of restoring another civilized region to the family of Christendom, could present itself in vision to the mind of this fortunate statesman; that, turning from his fond but magnificent boast, that he had called into existence a new world in the Indies, he would appropriate to himself the immortal fame, which could not be gainsaid, of having recalled to life the fairest region of Europe. He has but to speak the word, within the narrow walls of St Stephen's, and the Sultan trembles on his throne. He has but to speak the word, and all the poor scruples and

hypocritical sophistries of the continental cabinets vanish into air. Let him then abandon the paltry chase of a few ragamuffin Portuguese malecontents, and follow a game, which is worthy of himself and the people whose organ he is. Let him pronounce the sentence of expulsion from Europe of the cruel and barbarous despotism, which has so long oppressed it. The whole civilized world will applaud and sanction the decree; he will alleviate an amount of human suffering, he will work out a sum of human good, which the revolutions of ages scarcely put it within the reach of men or governments, to avert or effect. He will encircle his plebeian temples with a wreath of fame, compared with which the diadem of the monarch whom he serves is worthless dross.

But we suppose it must not be; the Greeks must be left to work out their own emancipation, by their own resources, aided by a single, and that we trust an all sufficient ally, to which, before closing these remarks, we shall more particularly allude. Unless some concerted action in her favor, on the part of the leading powers takes place, present appearances authorize the expectation, that the war, as at present carried on, will continue for years. Neither party is in force to bring it to a decisive close. It has abundantly appeared, from six years' experience, that the Turkish government cannot command the means of crushing the insurrection. It is not less plain, that the Greeks do not possess the means of expelling the hostile forces now in the country, and preventing further invasion. Nothing therefore remains, supposing foreign powers to continue to stand aloof, but that the contest should continue, till the one side or the other is fairly exhausted and disabled. Is this likely to be the Turks or the Greeks? Obviously the former, from the nature of the case, and manifold causes growing out of the relative position of the two parties. The Turks are invaders. The stationary Turkish population, resident in those parts of Greece, which are the scene of the revolution, did not exceed at the opening of the war, one twentieth of the whole population. On the breaking out of hostilities, these Turks fled for safety to the garrisons, or joined the armies, and their hold upon the country was entirely cut off. Difference of language, religion, and political position, prevented the formation of a party in favor of the government, which usually exists in civil wars. It is impossible, then, that the Turkish force should be kept up, either as to numbers or supplies, but

by continual effort from without. The country furnishes nothing to it. Men and provisions must be constantly poured in, at vast expense, if further operations are to be carried on; or even if things are to be kept as they now stand. The Turkish government has no credit. We suppose that even the Jews of the stock exchange, who lend to all, would not lend to the Turk. Where the resources have been found, to carry on the war thus far, is a financial problem, which we confess ourselves unable to solve; and which the accounts that continually reach us from Constantinople, of Armenian bankers bowstringed, the coin debased, and the ornaments of the mosques transferred to the mint, do but partly explain.

The Greeks, on the other hand, act upon the defensive. They have no regular armies to raise, transport, and subsist in foreign lands. It is true, they need money to keep their militia in the field, and the war languishes and is protracted from this very cause. But the population of the country is just able to subsist, in the present state of things. The Egyptian army does not follow them into their mountain retreats, where their flocks, and such rude agriculture as they can pursue, afford them a pinched subsistence; while their countrymen in the seaports and nearer the coast have been prevented from starving, by the benevolence of the friends of humanity in foreign climes. We do not say that all this is prosperous, is comfortable, is desirable. God forbid; but we say it can be borne; and will be borne, rather than come again under the accursed yoke of the Turks, or encounter the fate, which has been repeatedly denounced, and which, if not denounced, would most surely befall them,—indiscriminate extermination, by military execution or sale into slavery. At any rate, it seems plain to us, that the Greeks can longer subsist on the defensive, in their present situation, than the Turks can find the means of meeting the enormous pecuniary burden of their establishments.

A considerable part of the Greek population is scattered among the islands and islets of the Archipelago, and subsists by the plunder of the enemy; and we are sorry to add, by indiscriminate piracy on the navigation of the Levant. This evil indeed will go on increasing, as the war is protracted. Starved out at home, they will take to the sea; and will prey upon the nations whose policy preys on them. Every way to be regretted, this consequence of the state of things existing in Greece, is particularly unfortunate, from its effect, in creating

a prejudice against the Greeks. The American merchant, who is invited to contribute for the relief of the Greeks, excuses himself, on the ground, that his last letters from Smyrna inform him, that he has had a valuable ship plundered, and the crew beaten, by Greek pirates. It ought, however, in charity to be remembered, first, that this state of things unavoidably takes place, where a war is carried on by a feeble government. The Grecian government has not the physical means to coerce the unprincipled part of its subjects, into an observance of the law of nations. In the next place it should be allowed, that some of the christian powers have afforded the Greeks the most irritating provocation, in lending their flag to the Turks. What Greek, that saw the Austrian transports standing into Missolonghi, could be expected to be very scrupulous, as to the law of nations, at least as far as Austrians are concerned? Nor should it finally be forgotten, in reference to the present piracies in the Grecian seas, that they are the acts, not of Greeks merely, but of a *colluvies* of all tongues and nations, the outcasts of every country. To adventurers of this description, the Grecian islands have, in every age, from the time of Julius Cæsar, furnished a covert; and we have no doubt that every *mistic's* crew of pirates, whose nefarious deeds are set down to the account of Greece, contains a full representation from every christian people bordering on the Mediterranean. If it does not, the population of the Archipelago is improving, which we certainly did not suppose to be the case.

If we can but bring ourselves to a well grounded belief, that the Greeks will be able to ride out, for a considerable time to come, as they have for six years already past, the terrible storm which is beating upon them, we can trace some beneficial consequences from this prolongation of their fiery trial. Starting up from abject political subjection, not to say personal slavery; rallying together without any previous association in the community; composed of individuals from the most remote extremes of society (for what can be more remote than the manners and character of the mountaineers of Suli, the merchants of Hydra, and the gentry of the Fanal); and all bringing with them the social vices, which a tyrannical government engenders in every class of society, the phalanx of the Grecian patriots has certainly not yet exhibited all the necessary qualifications for self government. They have most wanted

that, which, indeed, wherever it is enjoyed, is rightfully acknowledged to be, not so much a signal advantage of the ordinary kind, as an undoubted gift of heaven. Strike out the name and agency of Washington from the American revolution, and you have the elements of a very different result of all its labors and sacrifices. The Greek revolution has exhibited no defect so prominently, as the want of a brave, skilful, patriotic leader, equal to the momentous crisis of his country's fortunes.

As the influence of such a leader is in nothing more conspicuous than in repressing and compromising the feuds, and conciliating the tempers of the men of weight and activity below him, it may safely be ascribed to the want of such a leader, that faction has been permitted to proceed to such alarming lengths, in the conduct of the revolution. Could all parties, from the first, have been cordially united, in an intelligent cooperation against the common enemy, it is probable, though by no means certain, that the war might already have been brought to a close. Time, however, has been wasted, opportunities lost, and money thrown away, from the clashing of rival chieftains, and the war of interests, partly personal, partly geographical, partly of political principle. While these factions last, however much to be deplored, they prove that the cause is not *in extremis*. If they show the indiscretion of the Greeks, they show the inability of the Turks to apply the sovereign remedy for domestic feuds, an overwhelming foreign force. It does not appear, moreover, that there is any ground for permanent and fatal dissension among the different classes of the population. There is no contest for a new distribution of old political privileges; no quarrel between creole and native patriotism. There is not even such dissimilarity as exists, on many important points, between various members of our own federal union. In short, we perceive no obstacle, to prevent the hearty union of all Greece under the guidance of any leader, suited for the vocation, who shall arise among them.

Till such an individual shall appear, paradoxical as the remark may seem, the cause of the revolution, in spite of all the horrors and sufferings of war, stands safer now, than it would in the event of a premature pacification. Every one, who reflects on our own history, will feel, that, blessed though we were with statesmen and leaders of unbounded influence, the cause of American liberty was in greater peril from 1783 to 1789, than during the continuance of the war. In the exigencies of

the war, a leader is more likely to be formed. If the Greeks should succeed in making peace with the Turks, on the basis of independence, before the appearance of any individual of paramount influence, and before their political organization is matured, they would stand in a more critical position than at present. Whether we look, therefore, to the probability that the character so much wanted will arise among them, under the strong urgency of the times, or that the common peril will gradually draw their counsels into harmony, and effect a mature organization, the continuance of the contest, notwithstanding the misery incident to it, must be regarded as a part of the necessary education of the people, in the school of liberty.

At all events, there they are, a gallant race, struggling single handed for independence; an extraordinary spectacle to the world! With scarcely a government of their own, and without the assistance of any established power, they have waged, for six years, a fearfully contested war against one of the great empires of the earth. When Mr Canning lately held out the menace of war, against those continental nations, who should violently interfere with the English system, he sought to render the menace more alarming, by calling it 'a war of opinions,' in which the discontented of every other country would rally against their own government, under the banner of Great Britain. On this menace, which, considering the quarter from whence it proceeds, comes with somewhat of a revolutionary and disorganizing tone, we have now no comment to make. The war now raging in Greece, is, in a much higher and better sense, a war of opinion, which has actually begun; and in which the unarrayed, the unofficial, and we had almost said the individual efforts and charities of the friends of liberty, throughout Christendom, are combating, and thus far successfully, the barbarous hosts of the Turk. Deserted as they have been by the governments to whom they naturally looked for aid; by Russia, who tamely sees the head of the Russian church hung up at the door of his own cathedral; by England, the champion of liberal principles in Europe, and the protectress of the Ionian isles; by the holy alliance, that takes no umbrage at the debarkation of army after army of swarthy infidels, on the shores of a christian country, the Greeks have still been cheered and sustained by the sympathy of the civilized world. Gallant volunteers have crowded to their assistance, and some of the best blood of Europe has been shed in their defence. Liberal

contributions of money have been sent to them across the globe; and, while we write the sentences, supplies are despatched to them from various parts of our own country, sufficient to avert the horrors of famine for another season. The direct effect of these contributions, great as it is (and it is this, which has enabled the Greeks to hold out thus far), is not its best operation. We live in an age of moral influences. Greece, in these various acts, feels herself incorporated into the family of civilized nations; raised out of the prison house of a cruel and besotted despotism, into the community of enlightened states. Let an individual fall in with and be assailed by a superior force, in the lonely desert, on the solitary ocean, or beneath the cover of darkness, and his heart sinks within him, as he receives blow after blow, and feels his strength wasting, in the unwitnessed and uncheered struggle. But let the sound of human voices swell upon his ear, or a friendly sail draw nigh, and life and hope revive within his bosom. Nor is human nature different in its operation, in the large masses of men. Can any one doubt, that if the Greeks, instead of being placed where they are, on a renowned arena, in sight of the civilized world,—visited, aided, applauded, as they have been, from one extreme of Christendom to the other,—had been surrounded by barbarism, secluded in the interior of the Turkish empire, without a medium of communication with the world, they would have been swept away in a single campaign? They would have been crushed; they would have been trampled into the dust; and the Tartars, that returned from the massacre, would have brought the first tidings of their struggle.

This is our encouragement to persevere in calling the attention of the public to this subject. It is a warfare, in which we all are or ought to be enlisted. It *is* a war of opinion, of feeling, and of humanity. It is a great war of public sentiment; not conflicting (as it is commonly called to do) merely with public sentiment operating in an opposite direction, but with a powerful, barbarous, and despotic government. The strength and efficacy of the public sentiment of the civilized world are now therefore to be put to the test on a large scale, and upon a most momentous issue. It is now to be seen, whether mankind, that is, its civilized portion,—whether enlightened Europe and enlightened America will stand by, and behold a civilized, christian people massacred *en masse;* whether a people that cultivate the arts which we cultivate,—that enter into friendly

intercourse with us,—that send their children to our schools,—that translate and read our historians, philosophers, and moralists,—that live by the same rule of faith, and die in the hope of the same Savior, shall be allowed to be hewn down to the earth in our sight, by a savage horde of Ethiopians and Turks. For ourselves, we do not believe it. An inward assurance tells us, that it cannot be. Such an atrocity never has happened in human affairs, and will not now be permitted. As the horrid catastrophe draws near, if draw near it must, the christian governments will awaken from their apathy. If governments remain enchained by reasons of state, the common feeling of humanity among men will burst out, in some effectual interference. And if this fail, why should not Providence graciously interpose, to prevent the extinction of the only people, in whose churches the New Testament is used in the original tongue? Is it not a pertinent subject of inquiry with those, who administer the religious charities of this and other christian countries, whether the entire cause of the diffusion of the gospel is not more closely connected with the event of the struggle in Greece, than with anything else, in any part of the world? Is not the question, whether Greece and her islands shall be Christian or Mahometan, a more important question, than any other, in the decision of which we have the remotest agency? Might not a well devised and active concert among christian charitable societies in Europe and America, for the sake of rescuing this christian people, present the most auspicious prospect of success, and form an organization adequate to the importance and sacredness of the object? And can any man, who has humanity, liberty, or christianity at heart, feel justified in forbearing to give his voice, his aid, his sympathy to this cause, in any way, in which it is practicable to advance it.

Small as are the numbers of the Greeks, and limited as is their country, it may be safely said, that there has not, since the last Turkish invasion of Europe, been waged a war, of which the results, in the worst event, could have been so calamitous, as it must be allowed by every reflecting mind, that the subjugation and consequent extirpation of the Greeks would be. The wars, that are waged between the states of Christendom, generally grow out of the disputed titles of princes, or state quarrels between the governments. Serious changes no doubt take place, as these wars may be decided one way or the other. Nations, formerly well governed, may come under

an arbitrary sway; or a despotic be exchanged for a milder government. But, inasmuch as victor and vanquished belong to the same civilized family; and the social condition, the standard of morality, and the received code of public law are substantially the same, in all the nations of Europe; no irreparable disaster to the cause of humanity itself can ensue from any war, in which they may be engaged with each other. Had Napoleon, for instance, succeeded in invading and conquering England (and this is probably the strongest case that could be put), after the first calamities of invasion and conquest were past, which must in all cases be much the same, no worse evils would probably have resulted to the cause of humanity, than the restoration of the Catholic religion, as the religion of the state, the introduction of the civil in place of the common law, and the general exclusion of the English nobility and gentry from offices of power and profit; an exclusion, which the English government itself, since the year 1688, has enforced toward the Catholic families, among which are some of the oldest and richest in the kingdom. Whereas, should the Turks prevail in the present contest, an amalgamation of victor and vanquished would be as impracticable now, as when Greece was first conquered by the Ottoman power. The possession of the country has been promised to the bey of Egypt, as the reward of his services in effecting its conquest. The men at arms have already been doomed to military execution of the most cruel kind, and the women and children would be sold into Asiatic and African bondage.

We are not left to collect this merely from the known maxims of Turkish warfare, nor the menaces which have repeatedly been made by the Porte, but we see it exemplified in the island of Scio. On the soil of Greece, thus swept of its present population, will be settled the Egyptian and Turkish troops, by whom it shall have been subdued. Thus will have been cut off, obliterated from the map of Europe, and annihilated by the operation of whatever is most barbarous and terrific in the military practice of the Turkish government, an entire people; one of those distinct social families, into which Providence collects the sons of men. In them will perish the descendants of ancestors, toward whom we all profess a reverence; who carry in the language they speak, the proof of their national identity. In them will be exterminated a people, apt and predisposed for all the improvements of civilized life; a people, connected with

the rest of Europe, by every moral and intellectual association; and capable of being reared up into a prosperous and cultivated state. Finally, in them will perish one whole Christian people; and that the first, that embraced christianity; churches, actually founded by the apostles in person, churches, for whose direct instruction a considerable part of the New Testament was composed, after abiding all the storms of eighteen centuries, and surviving so many vicissitudes, are now at length to be razed; and in the place of all this, an uncivilized Mahometan horde is to be established upon the ruins. We say it is a most momentous alternative. *Interest humani generis.* The character of the age is concerned. The impending evil is tremendous. To preserve the faith of certain old treaties, concluded we forget when, the parliament of England decides by acclamation to send an army into Portugal and Spain, because Spain has patronized the disaffection of the Portuguese ultra royalists. To prevent a change in the governments of Piedmont, Naples, and Spain, Austria and France invade those countries with large armies. Can these great powers look tamely on, and see the ruin of their Christian brethren consummated in Greece? Is there a faded parchment, in the diplomatic archives of London or Lisbon, that binds the English government more imperiously, than the great original obligation to rescue an entire Christian people from the scimetar? Can statesmen, who profess to be, who are, influenced by the rules of a chaste and lofty public morality, justify their sanguinary wars with Ashantees and Burmans, and find reasons of duty for shaking the petty thrones of the interior of Africa; and allow an African satrap to strew the plains of Attica with bloody ashes?

If they can, and if they will, then let the friends of liberty, humanity, and religion take up this cause, as one that concerns them all, and each, in his capacity as a Christian and a man. Let them make strong the public sentiment on this subject, and it will prevail. Let them remember, what ere now has been done, by the perseverance and resolution of small societies, and even individual men. Let them remember how small a company of adventurers, unpatronized, scarcely tolerated by their government, succeeded in laying the foundations of this our happy country, beyond a mighty ocean. Let them recollect, that it was one fixed impression, cherished and pursued in the heart of an humble and friendless mariner, through long

years of fruitless solicitation and fainting hope, to which it is owing, that these vast American continents are made a part of the heritage of civilized man. Let them recollect that, in the same generation, one poor monk dismembered the great ecclesiastical empire of Europe. Let them bear in mind, that it was a hermit, who roused the nations of Europe in mass, to engage in an expedition against the common enemy of Christendom; an expedition, wild, indeed, and unjustifiable, according to our better lights, but lawful and meritorious in those who embarked in it. Let them, in a word, never forget, that when, on those lovely islands and once happy shores, over which a dark cloud of destruction now hangs, the foundations of the christian church were first laid, it was by the hands of private, obscure, and persecuted individuals. It was the people, the humblest of the people, that took up the gospel, in defiance of all the patronage, the power, and the laws of the government. Why should not christianity be sustained, in the same country and by the same means, by which it was originally established? If, as we believe, it is the strong and decided sentiment of the civilized world, that the cause of the Greeks is a good cause, and that they ought not to be allowed to perish, it cannot be, that this sentiment will remain inoperative. The very existence of this sentiment is a tower of strength. It will make itself felt, by a thousand manifestations. It will be heard in our senates, and our pulpits; it will be echoed from our firesides. Does any one doubt that the cause of America was mightily strengthened and animated by the voices of the friends of liberty in the British parliament? Were not the speeches of Chatham and Burke worth a triumphant battle to our fathers? And can any one doubt that the Grecian patriots will hold out, so long as the Christian world will cheer them with its sanction?

Let then the public mind be disabused of the prejudices, which mislead it on this question. Let it not be operated upon by tales of piracies at sea, and factions on land; evils, which belong not to Greeks, but to human nature. Let the means of propagating authentic intelligence of the progress of the revolution be multiplied. Let its well wishers and its well hopers declare themselves in the cause. Let the tide of pious and Christian charity be turned into this broad and thirsty channel. Let every ardent and high spirited young man, who has an independent subsistence of two or three hundred dollars a year, embark personally in the cause, and aspire to that crown of glory, never

yet worn except by him, who so lately triumphed in the hearts of the entire millions of Americans. Let this be done, and Greece is safe.

ART. III.—*Proceedings of sundry Citizens of Baltimore, convened for the Purpose of Devising the most efficient Means of Improving the Intercourse between that City and the Western States.* 8vo. pp. 38. Baltimore. William Wooddy. 1827.

THE fertile districts lying west of the Allegany ridge, and watered by the Ohio and the Mississippi, are among the most remarkable in the world, not so much merely from their great physical advantages, as from the rapidity with which these have been turned to account. In little more than half a century, the frontier of the Anglo-American population has been extended from Cumberland, in Maryland, on the Potomac, to a considerable distance beyond the Mississippi. The state of Ohio, whose nearest point to Cumberland is about one hundred and twenty miles, now numbers more than double the population of Maryland, whose western extremity bordered, in 1760, on a solitary wilderness. One can hardly conjecture how far this torrent of civilization will rush in the next half century. The same fertility of soil, mildness of climate, and facility of interior communication; the same equal laws, and security of property, will probably people the remote west with as great, perhaps greater rapidity. Whatever satisfaction the transatlantic critics may find in the retrospections inspired by their venerable abbeys, there is, to our indigenous taste, something still more inspiring in the anticipations suggested by the fertile solitudes of our own country. What renders the emotion more grateful still, is the *cause* of this rapid expansion of wealth and civilization. There are countries, perhaps, which excel a part of the regions we speak of, in fertility, and in the value of their products; but none whose progress is to be compared to theirs; a superiority which finds its source in the moral and political condition of their people.

It is difficult to imagine how much greater this progress would have been, had our western states lain more convenient

to the sea. From the physical features of the country, they have from the first, contended with the disadvantage of dealing with remote marts, accessible only at the expense of much time and money. The great chain of the Allegany, which has been called the backbone of the United States, dividing the tributary streams of the Ohio and Mississippi from those of the Atlantic rivers, neither affords a natural descending navigation from the western states to the Atlantic, nor has yet been pierced by a canal uniting their respective waters. The people of the west have depended, for the sale of their surplus produce, on the distant and otherwise disadvantageous market of New Orleans, or have reached the great towns on the seaboard by slow and difficult mountain roads, not always improved by art. Until the noble invention of Fulton doubled, as it were, the value of our mighty western rivers, the difficulty and delay of their navigation brought the larger part of the commerce of the west over these mountain barriers; and it was this trade, combined with the then great demand for our produce, and with our advantages as neutrals, which gave to some of our Atlantic towns their remarkable growth.

Among these, Baltimore, until the late immense increase of New York, was the most signal example of the sudden concentration of population and wealth in the towns of a new and fast peopling country. A hamlet in 1752, it had in 1820, acquired a population of nearly sixtythree thousand souls, and possessed most of the conveniences and embellishments which belong to cities of the second class. At that period, too, we have reason to believe, its numbers fell short of those of preceding years. The general embarrassments of trade, together with some peculiar causes, had already sensibly lessened its prosperity, and caused a considerable emigration. Its trade has since been revived in most branches, and its capital largely and profitably invested in others; and its population, though no recent census has been taken, may be safely assumed at seventytwo thousand.

Though this check to its prosperity is imputable, in great part, to the causes, which have depressed the whole commercial public, it is referrible, in some degree, to two, whose general effect has been highly advantageous. The introduction of steamboats on the Ohio and the Mississippi, has diminished the transport of country produce across the mountains; and, on the other hand, the western canal of New York has opened

another, and to many districts, a much more convenient conveyance of both the exports and imports of the west. The combined causes of the distance of a market, and of the cheapness of subsistence, have extended a good deal the use of domestic manufactures in the western states, to the partial exclusion of British fabrics; and various causes which we need not mention, have concentrated the trade in these fabrics almost wholly in New York, where it is done largely on foreign account, and through foreign agencies. What is not wholly without effect, the facility of travelling is so much greater than formerly, that the western dealer finds little difference, in expense or fatigue, between going to Baltimore and a little further to New York, and naturally prefers to purchase in the most extensive mart. From these causes, the importation of British goods is much diminished in the former city. On the whole, though the position of Baltimore on a noble bay, sufficient of itself to supply trade to an important town; though the large water power in her vicinity, already extensively applied to mills and factories; her large commerce with the Susquehanna country, four fifths of whose produce seek a market in her harbor; the great capital accumulated by former enterprise, as well as a respectable foreign trade remaining; though all these have combined to bring together, and will continue to support a large and increasing population, it is certain that, since 1818–19, she has taken much less vigorous strides than signalized her earlier career.

We have been led to these remarks by the publication named at the head of this article, from which, and from the steps since taken in conformity with the opinions expressed in it, we learn that an important enterprise is on foot in that city, very likely, in the judgment of the projectors, to succeed, and certain in ours, if successful, to restore to it all the advantages, which it formerly derived from its proximity to the west, and even more.

The importance of a canal communication with the states beyond the Alleganies, early attracted the attention of Washington, who fixed his view on the Potomac, as offering the shortest and most practicable route. Under his auspices was formed the 'Potomac Company,' and a canal commenced, which was never completed. The project was resumed in 1822, by the states of Virginia and Maryland, in connexion with the general government, and the public is informed of the surveys

made in reference to it. They resulted in a belief of the practicableness of the scheme, but at an expense of twenty-three millions, and a lockage of three thousand feet, with some doubt, perhaps, of an adequate supply of water. For a national work, this cost was not startling when compared with the vast results to be secured; but the delay from the unparalleled amount of lockage, was a more serious objection. The public attention, however, particularly in Maryland, was fixed by these inquiries on this important object. Baltimore was naturally concerned to draw back the gainful trade, which had been diverted from her, and the late publications in England on the subject of railways, led some of her intelligent citizens to the idea, that a connexion of this sort might be advantageously substituted for a canal. At a meeting in that city, on the twelfth of February last, the report before noticed was presented, embracing the reasonings of various writers on railroads, with some estimates of the cost of extending one from Baltimore to the Ohio, and of the amount of trade which might be presumed to take that course. A charter was afterwards obtained from the states of Maryland and Virginia (Pennsylvania postponing her assent) for a company called the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, with a capital of three millions, and the power of extending it to five, in shares of a hundred dollars each; a million to be subscribed by the state, half a million by the corporation of Baltimore, and a million and a half by individuals. On the opening of the books in March, more than the total amount was subscribed in a few days, by individuals alone.

Little known as railroads are in America, and their more extended use not yet fully proved in England, the scheme is certainly a bold one, of constructing a road of this sort, not less than two hundred and fifty miles in length, and surmounting an elevation of three thousand feet. We shall notice briefly the views which have been suggested by its projectors, and which have attracted so large a capital into the scheme.

The substitution of railroads for canals, which appears to be generally contemplated in England, is rendered by some circumstances of climate, still more advantageous in this country than in that. Our rigorous winters would obstruct canals with ice, during several weeks, and sometimes months; our soil is still shaded by forests, and therefore the *minimum* volume of the streams is yet unascertained; and our tropical summer

presents a serious objection to canals, on the score of health. It may therefore be fortunate that Baltimore has reserved her means for the completion of a mode of conveyance which, besides being better adapted to the country, probably far excels the other in speed, in economy of construction, and in cheapness of carriage. It has been computed by a writer on this subject, that by the substitution of mechanic for horse power on the turnpike roads of England, there would be a saving in every twelve years of not less than £138,040,000. Whether horse or mechanic power were adopted on the proposed railway, the saving would be immense on the carriage of the trade; a saving which would be shared between the grower and the railway company, in the shape of profit to the one, and of tolls to the other. Baltimore lies two hundred miles nearer than New York to the navigable waters of the west, and about one hundred nearer than Philadelphia; and this advantage in the distance, even were other circumstances the same, must always secure to her the trade of the regions which are watered by them.

The Report presents us with a variety of estimates on the actual and comparative cost of canals and railways; on the comparative expense of transportation; and, what is not least important, the economy of time. The length of a canal from Pittsburg to Washington, and thence to Baltimore, was estimated by the United States' engineers, at three hundred and ninety miles; a railroad may be extended from the latter place to the Ohio, with a length, as it is believed, of only two hundred and fifty miles, because it is neither confined, like a canal, to the valleys of rivers, nor needs it deviate with a view to a supply of water. The saving, therefore, in distance alone is one hundred and forty miles. The computed cost of the Ohio and Chesapeake canal, is twentythree millions three hundred and seventyfive thousand four hundred and twentyseven dollars, while that of the railroad, at twenty thousand dollars a mile, which is believed to be a high estimate, is but five millions of dollars. This computation is founded on various estimates of the cost of railways in England, varying from one half to one fourth of that of canals, and averaging, on a comparison of many sorts of railroads, to an extent of five hundred miles, about five thousand pounds sterling a mile, including all expenses besides the mere formation of the road. These expenses, particularly for lands, fences, and stone, would necessarily

be less in this country than there; and the proposed partial substitution of wood for stone would still further reduce the cost. The price of labor, however, is greater here than there.

Whatever may be the actual cost of a mile of railway, and the ultimate expense of the whole route from Baltimore to the Ohio, it seems highly reasonable, at least, that both its first cost and the expense of repair, must be vastly less than those of a canal. The experiments made in England seem to prove this in point of fact, and, reasoning *a priori*, one sees no reason to question it. To excavate for the purpose of a railway, can hardly be so costly as for a canal; the deviation must be less; the structure less solid and massive; and the difficulties of bridging greatly diminished. The face of the country does not alter the relative value of these two modes of conveyance; and as experience has manifested the superiority of the railway over the canal on levels, with the locomotive engine, so, where recourse must be had to lockage in the one, the difficulty is overcome, at a less expense, by the stationary engine on the other.

While the cost of construction and repair is less, the facility of transport on a railway is greater, as regards both expense and time. 'The use of locomotive engines,' says Strickland, 'in place of horses, has greatly changed the relative value of railways and canals.' The enormous expenses of shipping, and the detention incident to canals during floods, frosts, and drought, and while undergoing repairs, by retarding conveyance, greatly enhance its cost; and where great lockage is necessary, this delay is very much increased, and is irremediable. From the wear, likewise, of the embankments, and the resistance of the fluid, the speed cannot be conveniently increased on canals beyond a certain limit, under the most favorable circumstances. In certainty and celerity, therefore, two points so important in trade, the advantage is greatly on the side of railways. It is computed in the Report, that the time saved by the railroad on each trip from the Ohio to Baltimore would be one hundred and fiftytwo hours, and that even at the rate of four miles an hour (which, it is believed, may be doubled) the whole distance may be performed in sixtytwo hours and a half. The cost of transportation is proportionably lessened. By the canal, the cost of a ton from Pittsburg to Baltimore, at one cent and a half a mile, would be five dollars and eightyfive cents; and at the same rate, it would be but three dollars and

seventyfive cents by the railroad. But as the carriage on the latter might be done for one cent a mile per ton, the whole saving in the carriage of a single ton, would be three dollars and thirtyfive cents.

The territory interested in this enterprise, including the three states of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, thirteen counties of Virginia, nine of Pennsylvania, and four of Maryland, contains, at this moment a population of nearly two millions of people, not taking into account the states and districts which would derive an indirect advantage from it. The annual exports from this territory, have been estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand tons, of which, assuming that but one third, or one hundred and sixteen thousand tons, will take the course of the canal, and that the return trade will employ fifty thousand tons, the amount of tolls on the whole, at the rate of charge on the New York canals, would be seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, from which, deducting the interest of the capital invested, there would remain four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for repairs, contingent expenses, and surplus dividends.

We have thus briefly stated some of the calculations which have led to the conception of this scheme. Whether its achievement be within the means of the projectors, or practicable at all, at any moderate cost, we have too little knowledge either of the subject of railroads in general, or of the country through which the projected one is to pass, to hazard more than an opinion, and that, we confess, is favorable. The scheme is so important, however, in a national view, and would so effectually answer all the purposes of the canal in the same direction, for which surveys have been made by the general government, that its aid to this more feasible project, would not be unwise, and is not improbable. In the meantime, we learn that additional surveys will be made of the country to be traversed, and competent persons despatched to England, to procure the best information on the subject. Should the results be satisfactory, the work will be commenced without delay.

When we regard the situation of Baltimore, as respects the populous and productive empire growing up in her rear, and compared with that of the other great marts on the seaboard, there seems little doubt of her securing, in the event of her completing the proposed road, far the larger portion of the western trade. Her greater proximity (itself sufficient to turn

the scale in her favor, other circumstances being the same,) is accompanied by some other obvious advantages. To the perishable articles of western export, such as breadstuffs and other provisions, the climate of New Orleans, her first competitor, is extremely injurious, and to the damage of this merchandise must be added the no inconsiderable danger of life to the trader, in that unwholesome mart. Neither has the conveyance by the rivers, being liable to interruption by both drought and ice, the same certainty or duration as by a railroad, which may be used at all seasons, and the time of transit be computed to an hour. The imports to the west are still carried in waggons across the mountains, instead of ascending those rivers from New Orleans, and the construction of a railway would determine this branch of trade exclusively to that route. From the peculiar nature of the country bordering on the Mississippi and its tributaries, the dangers of the descending navigation of that river are unlikely to be ever effectually removed, to say nothing of the distance of New Orleans from the ocean, and from Europe.

Nor is it more probable that the western canal of New York will divert any considerable portion of this trade, especially that of the districts lying remote from lake Erie. Besides the disadvantage of the port of New York in point of distance, and the greater cost of shipping and the delay before alluded to (both of which will be much enhanced by the necessity of three or four different transshipments), that avenue must be closed by the climate during three or four of those months of the year which are most convenient to the farmer for bringing his produce to market. Even at this moment, the produce from the Susquehanna country bordering close on the canal, is brought by that river to Baltimore in the spring, and several thousand tons of merchandise are landed on her wharves before the canal is released from its icy bonds. This is an important evidence of the preferableness of a ready and early conveyance to market. Neither is it believed, that the Allegany ridge can be pierced with the same advantage, by a canal or a railway, at any point, either north or south of that projected by Baltimore. In both directions, the abruptness of the rocky ridge, or its remoteness from tide, or both, are greater than they are near the valley of the Potomac; while to the south, moreover, there is no port of consequence, convenient at once to the sea and to the interior. As the effect, in short, of the proposed road

will be to replace Baltimore on a level at least, with her rivals as to facility of conveyance, so her advantage in distance must restore to her that preeminence as a *depôt* of produce from the interior, which was one of the chief sources of her original prosperity. When it is remembered that the streams of commerce, like others, are determined in their course by the slightest circumstance, it seems highly probable that the tide of the western trade, especially from the middle regions, will, by one of such moment, be turned chiefly in the direction of Baltimore.

Any certain computation of the increase of trade, to which the pending project would give rise, is of course, not to be expected. The estimates of the Report do not appear to be exaggerated, and, indeed, conjecture can hardly approximate very closely the results of opening such an avenue to regions so extensive, populous, and fertile. In the article of grain, alone, the cost of production, including in it the carriage to market, would be so greatly diminished, as probably to establish Baltimore, for an indefinite period, an unrivalled mart for grain. There would be a proportional increase, from the like cause, of the other usual products of agricultural and manufacturing industry, as hemp, tobacco, flax, flaxseed, animal provision, lard, tallow, whiskey, iron, glass, &c; and cotton, instead of descending to New Orleans, would seek its way in large quantities, by this direct channel, to a seaport more convenient to the European markets.

But it is, perhaps, on the trade in the heavy and bulky products of the soil itself, that the influence of a cheap and practicable road to market, would be the most striking. The districts contiguous to the line of the railway, abound in coal of the best quality, in lime, slate, marble, freestone, marl, gypsum, and timber; but their great weight, and the want of economical communications, have rendered them hitherto of little or no value to the proprietors of the soil. The commerce in these would therefore be rather created than augmented, and that to an extent which may be conjectured from the single fact, that at present the lime used in Washington, is brought from Rhode Island, when there lies an inexhaustible supply of it at her very doors. The value of the fuel abounding in this district would be so much the greater to Maryland, as that state possesses immense stores of iron ore of the most valuable kind, which will long outlast the supply of fuel from the present sources; to say

nothing of the impulse which, in the increasing use of steam power, would be given to innumerable other manufactures, in a port convenient for shipping them elsewhere. But to descend to the particulars of this extensive subject, would much exceed our limits. There is, however, one branch of trade, which, at a small cost, will add materially to the luxury of the table in the interior; we mean in fresh fish and oysters; to commodities of this sort, as well as fresh fruits and vegetables from the interior, the saving of time in conveyance is everything. By the present slow transport, sea fish and oysters are wholly denied to districts remote from the coast; and as the Chesapeake and its waters abound in these, a new branch of industry, and a great augmentation of their tonnage, would accrue to the nautical population inhabiting the shores of the bay.

A mode of communication of which the celerity may be increased so far beyond that of any other, is especially advantageous in this country, whose population is comparatively sparse, and so many of whose most fertile districts lie extremely remote from the sea. If this circumstance be so important to the trade of England, no part of whose interior lies farther than perhaps a hundred miles from a seaport, of what moment must it be to the vast districts beyond the Ohio, some of which are distant two thousand miles from New Orleans, none of them nearer to an Atlantic port than two hundred and fifty; and the greater part distant more than five hundred? On the height of land between the Ohio and the Atlantic, there lies an extensive district, especially valuable for pasturage, which, being remote from both, is now desert and valueless, when compared with the districts on either side. On these tracts, fertile in vegetable and probably much more so in mineral treasures, the completion of a way to market would operate with immense benefit, and open new fountains of trade at a point comparatively near to the Atlantic ports.

In the western states the combined effect of the abundance of food and of the remoteness of a market, would naturally be the rapid introduction of manufactures; while, on the other hand, any diminution of the expense of getting their agricultural products to a market, and, from the like cause, of obtaining their supply of foreign fabrics in return, would, it is to be presumed, as naturally retard the extension of domestic manufacture. As this circumstance would prolong in this country the

present extensive importation of British fabrics and other foreign dry goods, so that importation would naturally be made to the port most convenient for distributing them into the interior. In the event, therefore, of the completion of the railway, Baltimore would probably share largely with New York in that important branch of trade, at present nearly engrossed by the latter, if she did not finally attract the larger portion of it. At any rate, her importance as a mere *depôt* of goods to be conveyed to the west, would be very greatly augmented. And as speed and certainty are not less important to the dealer himself, than in the conveyance of his commodities, this route, and mode of conveyance, would have the preference in every case, except of mere pleasure. The conveyance of travellers on a route the shortest and most used, would, in the great and increasing intercourse between the east and the west, be of itself a lucrative source of income to the proprietors of the railway, and of profit to the towns on its course, and at its respective terminations.

In counting the cost of such an enterprise as that which the people of Baltimore have embarked in, it is but fair in the computation, to oppose the magnitude of the results to that of the attempt, as the adventurousness of the latter is proportionally justified by the benefits of the former. In this view, the zeal exhibited by Baltimore on this subject, is no more than we should expect from a rational enterprise. On the one hand her importance will be infinitely magnified by success; on the other, it is certain that, without some more practicable and convenient communication with the west, than she now has, the trade of that quarter, which has heretofore conferred on her such extraordinary advantages, will be in a great measure grasped by more enterprising or more fortunate competitors. The necessary investment of capital, will not, perhaps, be greater than what has already been profitably bestowed on the numerous turnpike roads, which she has constructed, into the interior. We find among the directors of the company incorporated for carrying this scheme into effect, the names of some of her most conspicuous inhabitants; men who have large interests at issue, and whose wealth is the accumulation of many years of industry and commercial sagacity. We have reason to believe that the greater part of the stock subscribed, is held by persons who have no purpose of speculation, but who are determined to give the practicableness of the scheme a

cautious and thorough investigation, and then to prosecute it to a completion, if within the compass of their means. As a great national work, we shall feel much interest in seeing it brought to a successful termination, and shall probably have occasion to notice hereafter the inquiries which, in the course of the summer, are to be pursued, both at home and abroad, in reference to it.

After witnessing the many triumphs of science in the present age, we confess we are more inclined to confide in speculations reasonable in themselves, and to hope that railroads may add as largely to the facilities of commerce, as canals have done before them. It is certain, at least, that if this large enterprise of Baltimore be brought to a happy issue, its benefits will be of the first importance, not to that mart alone, but to the general commerce of the country; and in this latter point of view it highly merits attention from the government of the union.

ART. IV.—*A Selection from the English Prose Works of* JOHN MILTON. In two vols. 12mo. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 1826.

THE prose writings of Milton, though they have been praised and recommended by a few who have felt their astonishing power and beauty, are yet but little known among us. We hope, however, that this will not long be the case; and that the excellent edition by Mr Jenks, of which the title stands at the head of this article, will enable many to read the prose of a man with whose poetry they have long been familiar—prose, we will venture to say, hardly inferior to his poetry. As Americans, as lovers of freedom, improvement, and truth, we wish to see these two volumes widely circulated among our countrymen, and deeply read. They are fit manuals for a free people. They are full of those eloquent, soul stirring, holy lessons of liberty, which do something more than simply persuade and convince the mind; which give it purpose, and principle, and firm resolve; which brace up the heart, while they strengthen the understanding; which render timidity or apostacy impossible; which, at the same time that they impart the feeling of discipleship, infuse the spirit of martyrdom;

because the truths which they inculcate are of such a nature, that those who receive them must contend, and if needs be, must die for them. Therefore it is that we earnestly desire to see the prose works of John Milton generally disseminated; and that we hail with pleasure and gratitude every attempt to make them known. When they are known, it cannot be but that they will produce their impression, and be estimated by many, as they are now estimated by a few, according to their real value.

For ourselves, we can truly say that we never knew Milton, till we were acquainted with his prose writings. We never knew the man till then; never felt how entirely and supremely he was a poet, or, to use his own words, 'a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things.' We never knew till then, what a noble, highminded being, what a contemner of littleness and baseness, what a fearless asserter of right and denouncer of wrong, how pure, how virtuous, how incorruptible, how unconquerable he was. How truly the modern poet speaks of him, when he says; 'His soul was as a star, and dwelt apart.' When we now compare him with his brother stars, we perceive that he has indeed his own separate heaven, where he shines alone, and not to be approached. If we grant that in the single respect of genius he was second to Shakspeare, and to him alone would we grant him to be second, yet what was Shakspeare's life? what were his occupations, studies, principles? We know nothing of them; they made no impression on the world; they have passed away, and left us no trace; they have procured no respect for the man. We think of Shakspeare's poetry, and not of Shakspeare. His name comes to us as a voice, an abstraction, a beautiful sound. But the name of Milton is inseparably united with the man himself; with the image of his life; with his studious, blameless, brilliant youth; with his diligent, useful, resolute manhood; with his unbroken and undaunted, though blind and neglected old age; with learning, various, profound, unrivalled; with opinions really liberal, and republican; with convictions which no fear nor flattery could shake; with principles which grew up from the very roots of truth. We will not proceed with other comparisons, which readily suggest themselves to us. They may be pursued by those who are sensible that genius of mind alone ranks far below what may be called genius of life; genius of mind united in admira-

ble consistency with genius of action, genius of purpose, and genius of heart.

There is another thing with which the prose writings of Milton brought us acquainted. We never knew, till we read them, the whole power of our mother tongue. Let him who would understand how rich, how copious, how forcible the English language is, study the prose of Milton, and make himself familiar with his style; but let him not attempt to imitate, let him not hope to equal the master, unless he feel within himself the master's gifts and the master's soul.

But if such is the prose of the great poet, how happens it that it is not more generally known? How happens it that this magazine of just and noble thoughts, high imaginations, and burning words, has been in a manner shut up and unvisited? How happens it, that while the Paradise Lost has been printed in every form and size, in editions without number, for the rich and for the poor, illustrated by the artist, and furnished with notes and commentaries by distinguished scholars, as if it were an ancient classic, that the Areopagitica, The Reason of Church Government, The Animadversions, have been rarely published, and sparingly read?

The two principal reasons of the want of popularity of Milton's prose works, have been usually stated, and truly, to be the peculiarities of their style, and the nature and management of their topics. Of their style we shall say a few words by and by. Of their topics, and the management of them, in which the great cause of their unpopularity is decidedly to be found, we shall speak at once, and more at length.

The prose writings, then, of Milton, are all, both Latin and English, with only one or two exceptions, strictly, and many would say, bitterly controversial. They are theological and political controversies. They wear, therefore, a formidable and forbidding aspect to the generality of readers; for controversy is not a favorite kind of reading; it requires more thought and a more severe and constant exercise of judgment, candor, patience, and equanimity, than most people are willing or able to bestow and apply; it is rarely conducted by the disputants without more or less asperity; it has acquired a bad name; it is called, by distinction, a thorny path; and many think they cannot walk in it without danger to their faces and their clothes, and therefore they decline it with terror and aversion. Now we profess ourselves to be great friends of controversy. We

regard it with respect and favor, if not absolutely with love. If it is not a pleasant and flowery way, it is the direct road to light and knowledge; and if so, why do we talk about thorns, as if we expected to reach any of the supreme and permanent blessings of life, treading all the distance on turf and roses? We are glad that the glorious bard made it his adopted path, and that he pursued it with so untired, so forward, and so firm a step. We would not have had him write on any other subjects but those, which not only singularly involved the destinies of England at the period of his writing, but are inseparably connected with the present, future, lasting welfare of the world. He was peculiarly fitted to elicit and establish truth by controversy; which we are persuaded is its proper, and almost its peculiar office. For the confirmation of this sentiment, we will take the liberty of offering our reasons.

False teachers will arise in all ages, and deceive many; some of them intending to deceive, and others having no such intention. Dreams will be announced as realities, and believed as such; and realities will be scouted as dreams. There is such a perpetual warfare between truth and error in the world, that the old Manichean notion of two great opposing principles of good and evil, who, with their kingdoms of light and darkness, are engaged in constant and tremendous battle, would be little more than an accurate account of the real state of things, if it were stripped of its personifications and oriental imagery. There is a battle between good and evil; there is a struggle between the powers of light and darkness. Knowledge and virtue are in perpetual conflict with ignorance and vice; and whatever advantages the former may from time to time gain over the latter, the latter are mighty antagonists, who will no doubt maintain the contest obstinately and long.

If the champions of error would in all cases avow themselves to be so; if they would write their name and their purpose on their banners, and send an open defiance, like him of Gath, against the armies of the living God, the contest might be brought to a more certain and speedy issue; but there are few of them who do not profess, either sincerely or insincerely, to be on the side of truth and virtue; and thus they become doubly mischievous by being disguised, and occasion the double necessity of unmasking and overcoming them. Many teachers of what is false and of a pernicious tendency, are as honest as it is possible for self deceiving humanity to be. They are the first, and

most thorough believers of their own dreams; and are fully persuaded that they are dreaming for the cause of truth and the general welfare. The same honest language is held by those who are not actuated by the same pure motives; by those who uphold falsehood for the sake of their own private interests, or through the incitement of their bad passions, but do not confess the influence which guides and sways them, because they know that interest and passion, however powerful in themselves, are worse than powerless when presented as arguments to others; for he who wishes to be heard with the least patience by his neighbor, must appear to be anxious for his neighbor's good, not merely careful of his own. Tyrants talk of the safety of the state, and the happiness of their people, without saying much about the sweets of absolute power, and the indulgence of all their appetites and luxurious wishes. Indeed, it is not unfrequently the case that interest is louder in its professions of disinterestedness than is disinterestedness itself; for virtue is modest, and hypocrisy is bold; and a part that is acted is likely to be overacted.

To detect error is to overthrow it. But the most desperate antagonists of truth will not allow that they are in the wrong, or, in other words, that they are attacking what really is truth. The world is filled with falsehood, which never calls itself by that name. The diversities of human intellect and feeling, and the influences of education, habit, and passion, give rise to innumerable errors, which agree together in two points, in being of a bad tendency, and in assuming the name of truth. On the one hand is falsehood, which thinks itself to be truth; and on the other hand is falsehood, which is resolved, if possible, to be thought so too, whatever it may think itself. Hence come theories, systems, and plans, varying from each other, and from truth in different degrees; and, just in proportion as they vary from truth, conducing to unhappiness, if not immediately, yet in their remote effects. Wrong opinions and views tend to wrong conduct, and wrong conduct seeks to defend or excuse itself by maintaining plausible and nicely worded opinions. These are the consequences, natural and inevitable, of human freedom and human imperfection, the bitter fruits of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, plucked from the beginning, and harshly infused into the mingled cup of life. Men are in a state of discipline; and these are the weaknesses, disorders, and rebellions of their pupilage. They are in training

for that heavenly harmony which is the end of the Divine government; and these are the sad discords of their inexperience and perverseness, which break in upon the universal melody, and disturb the pure song of the stars.

Surrounded on all sides by bad principles, false opinions, and doubtful disputations, what then is the duty of the sincere, serious, impartial lover of truth? What is his duty, in view of the evils which result from erroneous doctrines, and in regard to those who inculcate them? It plainly consists in moral courage and intrepidity; in affording a fair and fearless audience to all propositions, and advancing a faithful avowal and defence of his own convictions of truth. To enjoin silence by authority, or attempt to enforce it by penalties, on those who would proclaim their free thoughts, whether for good or evil, is not only a fruitless, but an unwise and an unrighteous expedient. The endeavor to suppress presumed error by physical power, is itself an error of uncommon magnitude; as great as any which it would suppress; and one which the world is beginning to get rid of, by that best of all methods of suppression, consent and dearly bought experience. Opinions are like certain plants, which thrive, and spread, and weave their roots more firmly together, by being trodden upon and used roughly. The basket which the Corinthian woman set upon the young acanthus, was speedily overtopped and hidden by the rank and resolute leaves which sprung up from beneath it. There is a pride in man which always rises against pressure; and a sympathy in man which takes the part of an oppressed brother. Besides, to punish error is only to proclaim it, and to proclaim without refuting it. Punishment cannot reach the silent and secret thoughts of men; but that which is punished may; and that which is received in secret, will secretly make its progress, undermining and destroying, like a poison without its antidote; for mere force, or mere denunciation, is no antidote for the mind.

The only way to deal with error is, to meet it, face to face; to examine it critically, feature by feature; to question it boldly, and to answer it fairly. To fly from it, is to tempt it to advance. To fear it, is to acknowledge its power, and to increase it; to wrong, moreover, the power of truth; to misapprehend the very nature of truth; to doubt the reality of its existence, the divinity of its origin, and the strength and durability of its foundations; to give up the world to the dominion

of darkness, and the reign of the evil principle ; to deny, practically, that there is anything progressive in intellect, or useful in investigation, or conclusive in reason, or attainable in knowledge. What is it that we fear ? Do we fear that God has so constituted the human mind, in relation to whatever is made to concern it, or come before it, that it has no final ability to discern between what is good and what is bad ; what is stable and what is fleeting ; what is and what is not ? Do we fear that our Creator has ordained such an affinity between error and the rational part of those whom we are constrained to call his rational creatures, that the two agree more constantly, and always will agree more constantly and lovingly together, than will the latter and truth ? Do we fear that error will naturally bear examination more steadfastly and successfully than truth ? or that the human mind necessarily supports what is false, with more ease and vigor than what is real ? or that those minds which espouse the cause of evil, are constantly stronger than those which take the good side ? or that vice is portioned with such convincing arguments, that virtue cannot answer them ? Do we fear these things ? Do we apprehend that this is the course and order of the moral world ? Then ought our life to be one perpetual fear ; we should fear the government of the universe, and the dispensations of eternity.

But if we do not fear that man is made more capable and susceptible of error than of truth, and that error is endowed from above with a permanent superiority here below, then error is not to be feared, but to be faced and opposed. If there is any falsehood which should terrify us, it is that which lives in our own houses, and speaks from our own hearts ; and even that, perhaps, is to be handled severely rather than timidly ; but that which comes from without, as it must come, and there is no help for it, so let it come. Let the prophet that hath a dream, tell his dream ; let us hear it, and know what it is, so that it may be found to be a dream, and no reality. So long as men will proclaim their fancies, and other men will hear them, let them unburthen themselves ; and let them not disperse their spurious ware abroad, till it has undergone its inspection, and received its brand. Error is a disease incident to humanity ; and we cannot fly from it ; and as there are no means of general prevention, let it develope itself, that we may see it and trace it, and steadily administer its cure. Fear and ignorance go together ; and those who timidly shrink from error, are in the way of

losing the opportunity of much truth; for truth is often descried by comparison, and the manifestation of that, which among many things presented, is the most worthy. By sifting the dust we discover the diamonds; which, though hidden in the earth, and crusted over with earth, are diamonds still.

Let every ambitious imagination, therefore, take its own course, and come out and show itself. And let not its consequence be needlessly increased by a vain and unreasonable terror, which refuses to confront and rebuke it. It would be a pity, indeed, if all the zeal, and all the courage, and all the alertness, were to be exhibited on the wrong side, and cowardice and torpor alone were to be seen on the right.

At the same time that it is our duty, and also our policy, to be fearless in regarding error, it is our duty to be intrepid in declaring the truth. If truth is of any value, we should maintain it as if we valued it. If it is of any certain benefit to mankind, we should proclaim it, as the well wishers of our race. If it is the cause of Heaven, we should plead for it earnestly, as the partakers of a spiritual existence, and the heirs of immortality. If we believe that infinite wisdom and rectitude govern the world, we should join ourselves to its interests, and contend for its rights, as for the course which will finally and completely triumph. He who is convinced that he has the living word within his bosom, has no right to keep it shut up there, pining and drooping for air and light and action. It must go forth and do its work, which is to oppose every false invention of man, and bring it to trial and to condemnation. He who thinks that error and vice are destructive of the best interests of society, and of his own too, as connected with and forming a part of them, what has he to do, but to be the faithful advocate of religion and virtue, if he thinks that religion and virtue are contrary to error and vice, and to be preferred before them? If a man has no settled principles of right, why does he talk about error, or even pretend to fear it? Neither error nor truth is anything to him. But if he is possessed of settled principles, why does he suffer fear, or fashion, or any motive in the world, to shake his confidence, or prevent him from declaring his convictions?

Even in questions which are called doubtful, because they divide honest and well meaning opinions, the lover of truth is to pursue the same course, whenever he has taken his side candidly and with understanding; and he always will take his

side, as soon as he is satisfied that the subject is of sufficient importance to claim his decision. These questions generally grow less and less doubtful every day, the more they are examined and discussed, and the more liberally they are handled. Experience is a principal test of truth; and as truth is founded on reality, or rather is reality itself, it will sooner or later be made manifest by that test. Sooner or later; for in speaking of so long lived a thing as opinion, which dies not with one generation of men, but enjoys a spiritual and transmitted existence, we must not confine ourselves to short periods of time, but extend our view far behind and far before,—back even to the day when man was created, and forward to any limit within the bounds of probability. We are too apt to become impatient, when we cannot see favorite opinions confirmed in our own lifetime. Our own lifetime is but a moment; is but a single beat of the pendulum which measures out the solemn and majestic progress of the ages. We must not attach so much importance to the period of our life. The epochs of mind and morals must be regarded in conjunction with the life of our world; nor must even that life be considered as a long one, as it respects that part of it which is past. The days of its years have as yet, probably been few, in comparison with those which are still to be numbered. In the mean time, our lives, though short, compose the age of the world, and our labors and inquiries, by their accumulation, must bring about the world's improvement, and add, however gradually, to its experience. The duty involves a struggle, but it is not therefore to be avoided.

Thus thought Milton; and as he thought, so he acted. Not the shadow of a doubt seems ever to have passed over his mind, of the worth and the might of truth; and he scorned with a lofty indignation all aids to her cause, but those which were offered by God's good spirit, and man's free mind. 'For who knows not,' says he, 'that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings, to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power; give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps; for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound.'

With these convictions, Milton never hesitated in his course. Living in a time of great mental as well as physical conflict

and distraction, and conscious of the talents which, like powerful engines of warfare, had been given into his trust, he plunged into the mid battle of political and theological controversy, as if it were at once his place and his privilege to contend for the rights of mankind. Though he loved peace, he loved truth more; he loved the souls of men; 'which is the dearest love, and stirs up to the noblest jealousy.' He preferred his duty before his rest. He knew the toil and danger which awaited him; but he knew also that he had taken his part in 'the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.' His great soul was in itself gentle and open as day, and in gentler times would not have appeared in so warlike a guise. He would willingly have framed his measures to the concords of peace; 'but,' to use again his own matchless speech, 'when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal.' The voice of duty, and the testimony of conscience, were to him the command of God; he did take the trumpet, and blow a blast 'of which all Europe rang from side to side;' a blast which even yet is not silent, but has come echoing down from year to year to us of the present, and will still go sounding on, clear toned and thrilling, through the unknown depths of future time, and from region to region of the globe, till nations will hear and be roused up, that now are dead, and the heart of the whole world shall beat, like the heart of a single champion, at the summons of truth and liberty.

The two principal objects of Milton's attack, were the dignities, dogmas, and ceremonies of English prelacy and kingly forms of government. In his victorious career he met and overthrew all arguments from prescription, antiquity, and a false prudence and caution. He was awed by nothing human; he despised all temporizing and halfway expedients in matters of great moment, all timid recipes of confections and potherbs for violent and critical disorders; and he was not afraid of going too far in the direction of truth, or of announcing her dictates too boldly. We cannot, however, in any way give so clear an exposition of his polemical spirit and style, as by quoting some passages from his works. Our first extract shall be from that splendid tract, the 'Areopagitica; a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.' The paragraph, as will readily be seen, is an answer to the plea that an unrestricted

press becomes the source of schisms, and crowds of new and dangerous opinions.

'And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing. But yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and to go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening his church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies, and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the chapel at Westminster, when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though Harry the Seventh himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our selfwill, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly, with liberal and frequent audience, if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precip-

itant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the gospel, we are found the persecutors!' Vol. II. pp. 69, 70.

We are mistaken if our readers do not find some passages here, which could have flowed from but few pens beside that of the author of Paradise Lost. Let us take another beautiful and indignant burst of eloquence from 'The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.' He denies the power of the prelates to prevent schism; and while we are reading this passage, as well as others in which prelacy is mentioned and inveighed against, we must bear in mind what the establishment had been in the writer's time, and how little reason he had to view it with respect or indulgence.

'It was not the prevention of schism, but it was schism itself, and the hateful thirst of lording in the church, that first bestowed a being upon prelaty; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth, if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for; like those faithless spies, whose carcasses shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do they keep away schism? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep away schism indeed; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring; I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapors; Yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frost; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring

hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates; for that other, if it keep down anything which is good within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest.' Vol. I. pp. 123, 124.

Again, to the same purpose is the following paragraph from the next chapter.

'As for those many sects and divisions rumored abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terrors into the hearts of weaker Christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worse inconveniences. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that subtle prelate, Gardner, sought to divert the reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by St Paul, that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are soundhearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our faith, whether it be stanch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more steadfast resolution to establish the truth, though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side.' Vol. I. p. 131.

But almost every page is alive with the same energy, and redolent of the same poetical fragrance. The style is warm, surely. Who would wish it cold? The expressions are glowing. How could they have been dull and dim, from such a man, in such a time, and against such opponents? But if apology were needed, who would ask a better than the following one, or who would refuse to accept it?

'And here withal I invoke the immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly, though worthily and truly, laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or Christian emperors, or have otherwise inveighed against error and superstition with vehement expressions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vainglory, but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find

small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, or prove herself a retainer to Constantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.' Vol. i. p. 9.

We are aware, however, that a heavier charge can be brought and sustained against Milton, than the controversial nature of his writings, or the force and warmth of their language. That language is not only forcible and warm; it is occasionally intemperate and abusive, highly so. We may say, that it is not wonderful, that excited and exasperated as the political and religious independents of England had been, their writers should have revenged themselves by harsh and scurrilous retorts; but we cannot help a feeling of disappointment, that the spirit of Milton did not sustain itself above such a low species of contention.

Of the literary faults of his style, the principal seem to be, the Latin forms in which his sentences were often cast, and the almost interminable length to which many of them were drawn out. These, together with the tinge of antiquity which time has imparted to it, render his prose somewhat of a study to those who are not accustomed to the old writers. But the difficulty is no greater than a little practice will overcome; till at last the taste will be pleased with peculiarities which at first greatly offended, or at least perplexed it. We will here introduce a quotation from his 'Reason of Church Government,' in which his chief faults are exemplified. It consists of but one sentence, though we confess one of the longest, if not the longest in these volumes; and it is pretty well seasoned with abuse, though not with the worst which his writings furnish. If it did not also present much of his true and characteristic vigor and richness, we should not have exhibited its appalling dimensions to our readers. This, too, is an invective against the Church of England and its ministers.

'The service of God, who is truth, her liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare that the service of prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood; which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, studious men, as I hear, should engage themselves to write, and speak publicly in her defence; but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures, coming to the universities to store them-

selves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastical bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men, prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning, but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly overstudied in useless controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta, having a gospel and church government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest virtues and the greatest deeds of christian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; which even the sage heathen writers, and those old Fabricii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments; they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honors, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of Christianity; yea, they and their seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like boars, and cram them as they list with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will go under foot; which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptism, that should the scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would shut his schooldoors against such greasy sophisters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves, with such a brazen forehead, the outrageous desire of filthy lucre, which the prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians, under the names of horrible schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren

that labor in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess, openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey; more like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Vol. I. pp. 177—179.

We should not be surprised, if this proved to be one of the longest periods on record. Such a tax upon patience is hardly to be borne, and not to be paid without a serious protest.

But to return for a moment to the more important topic of Milton's opinions. They were evidently in advance of the age,—too much so to be generally received. They are even now in advance of the world, and for a long time to come, perhaps, will continue to be so. On the subjects of toleration, religious liberty, civil and political rights, education, and the duties and prospects of men, he will forever be on an equal line with the most improved age; for he marched forward at once to the utmost boundary of truth. His treatise on the 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' notwithstanding the side which it takes, is in its whole tendency favorable to purity and virtue. The domestic unhappiness with which he himself was afflicted, led him to consider this subject, and no doubt had its influence on his views of it. He convinced himself, and endeavored to convince others, that divorce should be granted on the grounds of opposition of sentiments, habits, temper, and feelings between the parties. But with whatever learning and fervor and skill he maintained this opinion, the convictions of the wisest, most virtuous, and most liberal of mankind have been decidedly against it, and have pronounced it false. We look on this instance as a remarkable proof of the grand principle which pervades all his works, that truth will at last prevail. It has prevailed over eloquence like his.

We quit the subject of this article with reluctance. But we have only time again to recommend Mr Jenks's Selection to the public. It contains several of Milton's treatises entire, and all that is valuable, either for style or sentiment, in the rest. It is confined to his English prose only; as the object of the editor was 'to make the English reader better acquainted with Milton's own prose, not the prose of any translator.' The

Selection is prefaced by a historical account, exceedingly well drawn up, of his works, both English and Latin; and further to bespeak general favor for these two volumes, we would remark that they afford to the reader, for the moderate price of three dollars, what he could not otherwise obtain for ten times the sum.

ART. V.—1. *Manifiesto que el Poder Ejecutivo de Colombia presenta a la Republica, y al Mundo sobre los Acontecimientos de Venezuela, desde el 30 de Abril del presente Año de* 1826—16. Bogotá. 1826.

2. *Documento Curioso sobre los Acontecimientos de Venezuela, etc. Carta Confidencial del Vice-presidente de la Republica al Jeneral José Antonio Paez.* Bogotá. 1826.

3. *Respuesta del Jeneral Paez a la Carta Confidencial, que le dirigio el Vice-presidente de la Republica, etc.* Bogotá. 1826.

4. *Ejecucion del Decreto del Poder Ejecutivo, para Alistamiento en las Milicias, que motivó la Acusacion del Jeneral en Jefe José Antonio Paez, ante el Senado.* Valencia. 1826.

MEN are prone to magnify objects removed far back in the mists of antiquity, and to ascribe undue consequence to those incidents, which have acquired historical celebrity. It was the just observation of a classic author, *Quòd naturaliter audita visis laudamus libentiùs, et præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur.* Were it not so, we should certainly attach higher importance to many events actually taking place; events, which must render our day as much the object of deep interest to posterity as ages gone by are to ourselves. There is no period in the history of man without its memorable vicissitudes, full of instruction,—its marked individual, a Cæsar, Washington, Bonaparte, or Bolivar, towering like a beacon above the ever rolling tide of time, and seeming ordained to fulfil an extraordinary destiny. Why regard the monuments of the past so intently as to forget that we ourselves already stand recorded in the book of fate, and to overlook the striking features of our own brief hour? The progress of

revolution is not arrested, merely because Napoleon reposes in his island grave, no more to disturb the nations with fear of change. England has but just dismembered another empire to swell her vast dominion in the east. Russia is gaining new provinces on the shores of the Caspian,

'The Athenian has waked from his ages of sloth;'

and Greece once again is contending with the barbarian for liberty. But much as the old world affords for contemplation, it is little when compared with the spectacle, which the emancipated nations of America exhibit.

Here an immense region is agitated by the mighty interests, which, thrown into conflict by recent and sudden liberation from colonial bondage, have not yet had time to subside into the regular channels of established action. To inspire us with lively interest in the condition of Spanish America, it would be sufficient that independence is the rallying cry of its inhabitants, and the United States the leading star by which their bravest and wisest and purest patriots are found to be guided.

The calculating politician must look to them as a people with whom our public concerns, already closely connected, will continue to be more and more intimately allied. The profound observer of events will discover new cause of admiration in the nature of the countries, and the character of the races, which are there subjected to the sweeping career of revolution. War in South America is not a succession of sieges; nor is it decided by ranged battle, fought in the circumstances, and according to the systematic rules of ordinary combat. The very names of Mexico, Peru, awaken a crowd of high associations, speaking to us of splendid empires, raised into greatness but to fall before the daring achievements of a handful of heroes, and after centuries of servitude, now once more enjoying a nobler independence than when swayed by the sceptre of Manco Capac, or Montezuma. The scenery of our own country is rich, compared with that of Europe, in majestic forests, mighty rivers, and the wide surface of inland seas. But how much sublimer still are the grand creations, which the hand of nature has lavished on the tropical regions of this continent, where the great battles of Colombian independence have been fought! There, in the midst of the stupendous ridges and awful *quebradas* of the Andes, or beside the waters of the magnificent Orinoco, the struggling parties contended, in regions shaken

by subterranean fires, for the dominion of cities, like Bogotá and Quito, enthroned thousands of feet above the level of the ocean among the lofty heights of Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, or Pichincha.

Of the bold spirits formed amid scenes like these, one of the most remarkable is José Antonio Paez. The dragon's teeth of civil war, planted there by the hand of discord, sprang up into a host of armed warriors. Many a bright genius was struck out in the collisions of a revolution, which might otherwise have slumbered forever in obscurity, or have been known only for qualities of a doubtful and questioned character. Such is Paez, a soldier by nature, if we may use the expression; a man who rose of a sudden to power and glory, distinguished for his martial gallantry, intrepidity, and successful enterprise in the field; which, on many signal occasions, exerted the most decisive control upon the fortunes of war.

Among the natural riches of Colombia are the vast plains of the old province of Varinas, watered by the great river Apure, and numerous smaller streams. These fertile savannahs are covered with luxuriant herbage, which affords pasturage to innumerable herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and droves of horses and mules, in which consist the wealth and commerce of the country. The inhabitants are many of them mulattoes, and all a bold and hardy race, active, vigorous, familiar with danger, accustomed to the saddle from infancy; in fact, the Tartars of America. Born a *llanero*, being naturally of a daring, impetuous temper, and endued with uncommon native sagacity, Paez had early acquired great ascendancy over the wild herdsmen of his province, by exhibiting those traits of hardihood and dexterity, which, in a rude state of society, confer superiority on their possessor. When the revolution broke out, using his influence to collect around him a body of dauntless cavalry, he commenced a partisan warfare, in which his prowess rendered him the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of his intrepid followers. Such a man could not fail of speedily attracting the attention of Bolivar, who gave him a command in the regular army, and duties to perform, suited to the genius of himself and his half disciplined troops, whose furious onset, when led by their favorite chief, was generally irresistible.

Previous to the famous battle of Carabobo, which established the military reputation of General Paez, he repeatedly distinguished himself on occasions of smaller importance. Thus, in

the spring of 1817, we find him beating, near San Fernando de Apure, a large royalist force under Morillo, on their way from Santa Fé to reinforce the Spanish troops in Caracas. Not long afterwards, he took possession of Calabozo, and by that means the patriots obtained entire control of the plains of Guayana, Varinas, Cumaná, Barcelona, and Caracas. But to recount all the military successes of Paez, would be to describe a large portion of the pitched battles of the most desperate period of the revolutionary conflict. Throughout Morillo's sanguinary campaigns, the indefatigable Paez continually attacked his van, or hung upon his rear, always present where execution was to be done. In this *guerra de muerte*, Paez did not uniformly escape without severe loss; but if it happened, as in the obstinate engagement in the plains of Cojedos, that his cavalry were cut up or disabled, he had but to retire for a while to the banks of the Apure, and he soon returned with fresh bands of *llaneros*, as daring and irresistible as their predecessors.

In the campaign of 1821, after various minor engagements, the Spanish generals La Torre and Morales concentrated their forces in Carabobo, which Bolivar determined to attack. Having effected a junction with Paez in the plains of Tinaquillo, their whole united army of about five thousand men, numerically equal to the enemy, but in actual force inferior, was divided into three corps. In their advance on Carabobo, the patriots found themselves under the necessity of penetrating a narrow precipitous defile, the heights commanding which were covered with the royalist artillery. Paez had charge of the leading division, consisting, among other troops, of fifteen hundred horse, and of the battalions aptly termed *Los Bravos del Apure*. Without waiting for the remaining divisions to come up, Paez immediately pushed forward to the assault, leading his troops in person; and in spite of the superior advantages of the Spaniards, his overwhelming impetuosity drove them from their intrenchments with great slaughter, and decided the battle in the short space of half an hour. Sedeño, who commanded the second division, enraged, says Bolivar in his despatch, that his corps could not from the obstacles of the ground, join in the battle, 'charged singly a mass of infantry, and fell in its centre, in the heroic manner that ought to close the career of the bravest of Colombia's brave.' So meritorious was the conduct of Paez in this glorious victory, which may be considered as

decisive of the independence of Colombia, that Bolivar, in the name of the Congress offered on the field of battle to appoint him general in chief of the army.

While bestowing his due share of praise upon the warlike talents of Paez, we intend no disparagement of his brave compatriots in arms, of Bolivar, the leading genius of the whole revolution; of Santander, Bermudez, Mariño, Padilla, Montilla, Urdaneta, Nariño, Arismendi, and others, who were distinguished in the battles of New Granada and Venezuela; or of Sucré and Santa Cruz, whose fame was acquired at a later period, in the liberation of Quito and Peru. His merit was of the peculiar kind, which we have explained; and in that department of military excellence he was probably unsurpassed. On the organization of the republican government, which speedily followed the victory of Carabobo, Paez, in approbation of his public career, was elected a member of the senate for the department of Venezuela, and appointed commandant general of the same department. It was while he held these offices, that he became implicated in the late insurrectionary movements.

It may be safely inferred, from our statement of the origin and early life of Paez, that he was little indebted to the refinements of education for his political elevation. He is now about forty years of age; and it is said that, in the comparatively tranquil years since the expulsion of the royalists from Venezuela, he has made rapid progress in those elements of knowledge in which he was most deficient. Many anecdotes are related of his extraordinary personal strength and dexterity, with others of a less creditable nature, concerning the recreations of his idler hours. A signal instance of individual prowess occurred during the war, in a reconnoitering excursion on the banks of the Orinoco. Bolivar descrying four of the enemy's gunboats about half a mile distant in the stream, expressed a wish that they were in his possession. Hereupon Paez assembled a few of his most tried adherents, and arranging with them his plan of attack, he plunged into the river at their head, each man holding his sword between his teeth, and swimming thus towards the royalists, he succeeded in boarding and capturing their boats. By living on terms of familiarity with the officers and soldiers of the army, sharing in their dangers, privations, and amusements, and constantly exhibiting so high an example of courage, relieved at

the same time by frankness and generosity of temper, he was enabled to exercise unlimited influence over his half civilized followers. From all these circumstances, it is evident that, with many elements of greatness in the character of Paez, some qualities were intermingled capable of proving either beneficial, or the reverse, to the best interests of his country, according to the impulse and direction which they might receive.

Such, as we find him represented by writers entitled to credit, is the prominent personage, whom the recent events in Venezuela have brought so distinctly before the eyes of the world. The publications, named at the head of this article, afford much information, equally authentic and curious, on this interesting subject, and serve to correct the vague and contradictory statements, which the newspapers have from time to time contained. They emanate from the highest source; for the *Manifesto* is the official act of the Vice President, General Santander; and the piece upon the *Enlistment of the Militia* is written in the first person, and signed by General Paez himself; while the two remaining pamphlets comprise their confidential correspondence, wherein each vindicates his own motives and conduct, and impugns those of his adversary. Combining all the sources of intelligence within our reach, we shall endeavor to present a just view of the facts, and of the feelings of the respective parties, connected with an affair, which has deeply agitated Colombia, and abroad has been regarded with anxiety alike by the friends and foes of the new republic.

At the commencement of the year 1826, Colombia was apparently prosperous in her political condition. Her immense territory was freed, in its whole extent, from the Spanish yoke, and not a foreign enemy remained on her soil. She had entered into the closest relations with Great Britain and the United States, as well as with her sister republics in the South. The executive department was ably administered by the Vice President, Francisco de Paula Santander; he and the President, Bolivar, being both reelected to their offices at that time, notwithstanding their express renunciation of the honor. Among the other members of the cabinet, are gentlemen, whose talents and patriotism have been thoroughly proved by long and faithful services. Mr Gual, Secretary of Foreign Affairs till he went to the Congress of Panamá, and Mr Re-

strepo, Secretary of the Home Department, ought particularly to be mentioned in this connexion, because, from the foundation of the government, they have discharged the duties of these important stations with ability, and apparently with a single eye to the public good. Bolivar himself still remained in Peru with the liberating army, having recently, by means of the surrender of Callao after an obstinate defence, succeeded in completely expelling the Spaniards from that fine country, whose independence Sucré had already established by the decisive victory gained over the Viceroy La Serna, on the plains of Ayacucho. Notwithstanding the seeming tranquillity, however, active causes of discord were at work, to which an unexpected circumstance imparted either accidental efficiency and malignity, or perhaps only a plausible pretext for explosion.

Colombia, it is known, consists of provinces, which, under the colonial administration, were distributed into three extensive governments, designated as the viceroyalty of New Granada, the captaingeneralship of Caracas, and the presidency of Quito. For many years after their separation from Spain, the various large provinces of New Granada and Venezuela entertained the design of constituting independent states. Abortive and ill judged attempts to erect separate governments, made sometimes by single provinces, or parts of provinces, and sometimes by an aggregation of provinces, marked the early stages of the revolution. The states of Venezuela even proceeded so far, as to frame an elaborate constitution of government in 1811, at a Congress, assembled in Caracas, consisting of representatives for Margarita, Merida, Cumaná, Varinas, Barcelona, Truxillo, and Caracas.* But this act, as the event proved, was altogether premature. In the course of the desperate struggle which ensued, the necessity of a more extended union and of closer consolidation was forced upon the notice of the patriots by the rigorous exigencies of war. Hence, at the Congress of *Venezuela alone*, assembled at Angostura in 1819, Bolivar proposed the 'fundamental law' of December 17th, being a species of provisional or indefinite league of union between the inhabitants of the two governments. This law was cheerfully acceded to by New Granada, and at the general Congress of Cúcuta, assembled in consequence of

* This constitution, with the other acts of the same Congress, may be found in Thompson's Alcedo, Art. *Venezuela.*

it, the law was solemnly adopted and ratified, as preliminary to the formation of the present constitution. At this Congress the deputies, after discussion of the subject, adopted the central form of government, in preference to the federal, with almost entire unanimity. But it is worthy of note, that the deputies from Venezuela maintained the expediency of a central union of the republic, in opposition to some from New Granada, who expressed a decided partiality for a simple confederacy.* That neither party might be deprived of an opportunity to signify their mature opinions on this point, an article was inserted in the constitution in these words; 'After an experiment of ten or more years shall have discovered all the inconveniences or advantages of the present constitution, the Congress shall convoke a grand convention of Colombia, authorized to examine it, or to reform it in its totality.'

Harmoniously as the foundations of the republic were laid, the government ere long became convinced, that neither Venezuela nor Quito was perfectly satisfied with the operation of the constitution. No doubt they sustained some inconvenience, by reason of the remoteness of the seat of government from the extreme points of the nation, a remoteness increased in its effect by the imperfection of the means of internal communication. But the real source of dissatisfaction, as we apprehend, lay in the feelings of the citizens of Caracas and Quito, each of which places had formerly enjoyed the privileges and rank of a metropolis, but was now reduced to the comparative insignificance of a mere provincial capital. Perceiving this state of things, General Santander, who, as Vice President, while Bolivar was pursuing his career of victory and military glory on the shores of the Pacific, had the arduous task to perform of accomplishing the political organization of the republic, did not rest satisfied with merely measuring out exact justice to the inhabitants of Venezuela. Wherever a fair occasion offered itself, the executive sedulously favored them, so far as could be done consistently with established laws, and with the rights of the rest of the nation. Upon Paez, the favorite general of Venezuela, the government at Bogotá bestowed numerous marks of particular confidence and predilection; so that his recent conduct exposes him to the charge of ingratitude towards the executive, besides that of violating the

* Manifiesto, p. 6. Carta Confidencial, p. 5.

constitution. In discharging the public debts created by the war, the claims of the creditors of the nation in Venezuela obtained the earliest attention. Venezuela is one of the three departments which alone received their contingent of a million of dollars, appropriated by the legislature to be expended, according to the discretion of the executive, in the encouragement of agriculture. Venezuela, having under arms a considerable force by sea and land, has consumed more of the English loan than any other department. Although Venezuela posssesses the means of producing a fixed and abundant revenue, yet nothing has been drawn from its treasury for the use of the other provinces. Venezuela, on the contrary, has received more assistance than any of its sister departments, from the pecuniary resources of Cundinamarca. All this should be as it is, perhaps, because Venezuela, being, by its geographical position, the vanguard of the republic in respect of her European assailants, must necessarily be required to maintain a more commanding military attitude than Cundinamarca. But it shows conclusively how anxious the government has been to discharge its duty, and its whole duty, towards the Venezuelans, not unmindful that in this quarter, if anywhere, a susceptibility of discontent might reasonably be apprehended.

The government also labored particularly to retain the good will of the military forces of the republic stationed in Venezuela, by devoting unwearied care to their smallest interests, readily favoring the applications of their officers, and omitting to note their lighter delinquencies with too severe an eye. Furthermore, in anticipation of the surrender of Puerto Cabello, the executive authorized general Paez, the commander in chief, to dispense such military honors among his fellow soldiers, on the happening of that event, as he should deem a meet reward for their courage and conduct in the final operations of the war on the Atlantic frontier. And to recompense the services of Paez himself, and the other Venezuelan generals, liberal grants were made of the national domains, with every possible accommodation in their selection and exchange.

Independently of the particular administration of the constitutional government it would be absurd to deny or dispute, not only the benefit which New Granada derived from the union, but the still more extensive advantages which it conferred on Venezuela and Quito. The latter is indebted for its independence to the battle of Pichincha, gained by the liberating army

despatched from Colombia to the succor of its desponding patriots. As to Venezuela, she, being the actual seat of the war during its concluding years, sensibly felt, in the constant supplies which she drew from the richer and more populous provinces of the interior, all the blessings of confederation. Were she disposed for a moment to forget this, she would be ungrateful to the memory of thousands of brave men from the provinces of Bogotá, Tunja, Socoro, and Pamplona, who perished in the bloody conflicts of the Apure, and false to the fame of the soldiers of Antioquia, Mariquita, and Neiva, who combated in the victorious battalions of Carabobo. In short, but for the union of the two provinces under the common name and with the joint resources of Colombia, far from attaining their present rank in the great family of powerful nations, they would, in all probability, have continued to undergo that alternate succession of splendid victories and deplorable defeats, which characterized the earlier stages of the revolution, with their implacable enemy still pursuing his ravages in the heart of Venezuela.

Notwithstanding all these circumstances, which show the peculiar obligation of Venezuela to preserve her fidelity to the constitution and to the constitutional government inviolate, a disaffected party existed there, whose operations inspired the executive with well founded alarm, and with presentiments of discord, but too fully realized in the sequel. They converted the press, which ought to have been employed in disseminating sound national principles of fraternity, order, and stability, into a blind instrument of attack on the fundamental institutions of the land. They criticised the laws with factious acrimony, they assailed the representatives of the nation with all the bitterness of hatred, and grossly exaggerated the necessary effects of their newness in the duties of legislation; they calumniated the executive, both personally and in the abstract, with a keenness of invective, which none but the hostile invaders of the country, or Spanish emissaries could deserve. Affecting to disavow the improved political geography of Colombia, they cast undeserved and impolitic reproaches upon their compatriots in what was formerly New Granada, on account of its being the provisional seat of the government.*

In the view of these indications of uneasiness, the executive,

* Manifiesto, p. 11.

feeling justly anxious for the tranquillity of the republic, called the attention of the Congress to the growing evil, and despatched communications to the generals commanding in Venezuela, Sulia, and Maturin, urging them to be vigilant in guarding the public welfare, and pointing out to them the sources of mischief. Their replies contained assurances of the most satisfactory nature. Paez, in particular, engaged 'to take care that the garrison of Caracas should be composed of privates and officers entirely trustworthy, and decidedly interested for the constitutional order, and for that unity, in which consists essentially the power and felicity of a government established at the cost of so many sacrifices.' Subsequently, the administration neglected no expedient, which could be devised, for impressing on both citizen and soldier the incalculable benefits of liberty, concord, and a central government. And to silence every imputation against his individual patriotism, the Vice President, when his first term of service expired, declared his anxious wish to be permitted to withdraw into the retirement of private life. But no precautions, however judiciously conceived, could prevail to avert the impending storm, which broke out on occasion of the following incidents.

In compliance with the requisition of a resolve passed by the first Congress in 1821,* the executive issued a decree, dated August 31st, 1824, providing for a general enlistment in the militia of all citizens between the ages of sixteen and of fifty years, with certain exceptions. Officers were designated, by whose agency, subject to the direction of the generals commanding in each department, the enlistment should be effected. It is not our business to inquire into the general wisdom of this decree, or of its particular details, of which, without a minute knowledge of the local peculiarities of the country where it was to take effect, we should be very incompetent judges. Suffice it to say that we perceive nothing in it, likely to prove a greater hardship to the people, than the provisions of our own militia system; and this, much as our peaceful citizens complain of it, we apprehend none of them consider so intolerable a grievance, that they would plunge into the horrors of civil war to escape from it. Indeed, a conclusive answer to any allegation against the practicability or constitutionality of the decree, is found in the fact, that eleven of the departments

* Cuerpo de Leyes de Colombia, p. 80.

received it and carried it into execution without betraying the slightest symptom of repugnance. In Venezuela alone it encountered opposition of the most determined character, being severely ridiculed and denounced by some of the journals printed at Caracas, which, in language hardly distinguishable from absolute sedition, exhorted the people to disobey it, as a matter of duty. Alarmed by these tokens of violent feeling, General Paez organized only a few companies, and immediately apprized his government of the causes, which had prevented a complete execution of the decree. There not appearing to the Vice President to be any adequate reason for retracing his steps, he merely despatched an order to Paez, recommending great circumspection in the discharge of his duty, and the careful avoidance of the least occasion for disturbance or confusion, which might exact the interposition of military force. And here the matter rested for a full year, the government at Bogotá receiving no intelligence whatever on the subject, until January, 1826, when Escalona, the intendant of Venezuela, and the municipality of Caracas, simultaneously complained of the proceedings of general Paez.

They represented, the former in a communication to the executive, the latter in a memorial to the house of representatives, that Paez ordered the inhabitants of Caracas to appear at the convent of San Francisco, on the morning of January sixth, for the purpose of general enlistment in the regular militia. The appointed time being elapsed, and the citizens not having generally assembled, Paez commanded, as he himself admits, that a party of soldiers belonging to the battalions of Apure and Anzuategui should patrol the streets, and compel the citizens to repair to the parade for enrolment, and meanwhile despatched an aid to the intendant, Escalona, to apprize him of the circumstance. Apprehensive of the consequences of so rash an act, Escalona hastened to entreat Paez to recall his patrols, which was immediately done by sound of bugle, and took upon himself the responsibility of finishing the enlistment. Accordingly the inhabitants, being again summoned to appear on the ninth, did not wait for the compulsory process of the military, but peaceably submitted to be enrolled in conformity with the law. It does not appear that, in the proceedings of the sixth, violence was offered to a single individual, or that private houses were entered by the soldiery, or that any citizen sustained the slightest injury. Paez expressly avers the con-

trary, and, as we think, satisfactorily refutes the extravagant exaggerations of his accusers, particularly of the municipality of Caracas, who impute to him feelings and intentions equally incredible in themselves, and unsupported by evidence. In short, the citizens were, without question, not a little terrified by a measure, which savored pretty strongly of martial law; and while the influence of their terror was fresh in their minds, they and the intendant made representations of the affair highly colored by their abhorrence of what they conceived to be a violent exercise of arbitrary power.

When the petition of the municipality of Caracas reached Bogotá, it excited among the representatives in congress a transport of zeal for the liberties of the people. They determined at once, unadvisedly we think, to accuse General Paez for official misconduct, at the bar of the senate as a high court of impeachment. We say *unadvisedly*, because it does not appear that they heard any evidence previous to exhibiting the articles of impeachment.* The memorials of Escalona and of the city of Caracas were the statements of an accusing party. They did not constitute evidence, upon which the grand inquest of the nation should have instituted a solemn impeachment, on so grave a charge, and against an officer so high in station and character.

Besides, in justice to Paez, we ought to declare that, *thus far*, if his conduct will not admit of perfect justification, there is room for much extenuation. We perceive nothing, in the publications on the subject, which may impel us to believe that he was actuated, in the affair of the enlistment, by any criminal motives, or any inducements whatever, other than a

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* See Ejecucion del Decreto para Alistamiento, p. 15.

For the better understanding of the subject, we subjoin a brief abstract of the constitutional provisions respecting it.

Art. 89 and 90. The House may impeach before the Senate the President and other persons in the employment of the state for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Art. 97, 98, and 99 make the Senate a court for the trial of impeachments, either by itself or by commission.

Art. 100. 'Whenever an accusation proposed before the Senate is admitted by it, the accused becomes *de facto* suspended from his office, which shall be filled *ad interim* by the proper authority.'

Art. 101. Two thirds are necessary to convict.

Art. 102 limits the punishment to removal from office, and incapacity for holding other offices of honor, profit, or confidence.

desire to effect the execution of a decree which he was charged to enforce. Various reasons are assigned for his omitting to complete the enlistment for a year, and then suddenly resuming it; none of them, however, seem perfectly satisfactory. But whether that omission was culpable, or justifiable by the discretion vested in him, is immaterial to the present question, because it did not form the point of his accusation. That rested on his employment of the military to compel the attendance of the citizens. Now we can easily account for the feelings, which hurried Paez into this fatal indiscretion. Twice before the morning of the sixth, did he ineffectually summon the citizens to appear. Obeying the exhortations of factious partisans, instead of the voice of the law, the inhabitants of Caracas wilfully neglected the enrolment now, as they had done the year before. Incensed at this open contempt of his mandate, and of his general authority as military chief, Paez ordered out patrols to exact that respect for the government, which ought to have been spontaneously rendered. However contrary to the principles of civil liberty the order issued by Paez may have been in the abstract, practically it was unattended with any of those aggravating circumstances, which his accusers alleged. Intimations, we know, are not wanting, that Paez lent himself to the anticonstitutional faction in Venezuela, from the beginning; nay, that he acted in flagitious concert with one greater than himself, for the purpose of unitedly subverting the liberties of their common country; and that the whole affair of the enlistment, from its beginning down to its final catastrophe, was but an elaborate plan to rouse the spirit of insurrection. These imputations were an after thought; they stand without proof; and they are hardly credible. Time may unfold hidden things, but it is our duty at present to judge from what is before the world. Had the impeachment proceeded to a regular issue, we think the Senate could not, upon such knowledge of the facts as we can procure, have found Paez deserving of exemplary punishment, especially considering the exalted merit of his past services and sacrifices in the cause of patriotism.

But, unfortunately for the reputation of General Paez, unfortunately for the welfare and honor of Colombia, he was afterwards betrayed, through the ardor of his temperament, acted upon by false advisers, into violations of the constitution of his country, totally unjustifiable, and scarcely susceptible of

palliation. When the order announcing his impeachment, reached Paez, with notice of his consequent suspension from his command, and the temporary transfer of it to General Escalona, he received it with transports of anger. Nevertheless, in letters addressed to persons of distinction at Bogotá, he declared his determination to acquiesce in the course of the laws, and apparently betook himself sincerely to making preparations for his departure to the capital, and his defence before the court of impeachment. Here was, indeed, a noble occasion for crowning the reputation he had achieved in war. To yield implicit obedience to the legislature, to rely with noble confidence on the innocence and rectitude of his conduct, to fly and lay down his laurels at the feet of the constituted authorities of his country, this would have exhibited to the world the clearest proof of his disinterested patriotism, his love of order, his attachment to the constitutional system, which he had sworn to support; demonstrating, beyond the possibility of question, the stability of the republican institutions of Colombia. But he shrunk from the ordeal, suffering his own fair fame to be tarnished with the charge of insurrection, and the brights prospects of his country to be overclouded.

General Paez affirms that the intelligence of his suspension occasioned the most lively apprehensions at Valencia, inasmuch as the Venezuelans relied solely on his personal influence to maintain the tranquillity of the department. The day after his summons arrived, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Valencia was held, at the instigation of Colonel Francisco Carabaño, of the staff, professedly for the purpose of obtaining a loan to supply the garrison with rations. It was universally understood, however, that the main object of the meeting was to demand the restitution of Paez to the command, notwithstanding his impeachment and the consequent order of suspension. The subject being under discussion, the municipality sent for Doctor Miguel Peña, in order to be guided by his advice in this delicate emergency; but nothing being determined definitively, it was resolved to reassemble on the two succeeding days. The next day the governor, Fernando de Peñalver, came in from his *hacienda*, and unofficially signified his disapprobation of the proceedings. Nevertheless on Saturday the twentyninth, the people assembled again in still greater numbers; and the governor, accompanied by the municipality and by Doctor Peña in the capacity of assessor, presented himself before the people,

and exhorted them to abandon their intention of reinstating Paez, which he justly characterized as wholly factious and unconstitutional. Probably the public agitators now began to fear that they should fail of accomplishing their ends; for on Sunday three dead bodies, having the appearance of violent death recently inflicted, were dragged into the public square; and this horrid spectacle so terrified the anxious and alarmed inhabitants, that they fell into the snare prepared for them, and loudly demanded a meeting of the municipality. The bleeding corpses before their eyes, pleaded more convincingly than any living eloquence could have done, the expediency of unresisting submission to the power of the sword. Regardless of the remonstrances of the governor, the people filled the air with cries of *Viva Paez*, and rushing to the general's house, they conducted him to the assembly, where he was by acclamation reinvested with the authority of military chief, which he accepted.

Had the matter stopped here, still it would have been evident that these proceedings were the work of seditious persons, who wrought upon the fears of the people to force them into disorderly acts, against their inclination and their better judgment. Beside the military followers of Paez, who appear to have been led by Colonel Carabaño, much is attributed to the machinations of Doctor Peña. This person, whose talents and capacity for intrigue are spoken of as great, has acted a very prominent part in the whole revolution, having been at one period president of the first Congress. At this time he was in disgrace for an alleged fraud on the treasury to a large amount, and undisguisedly professed the most implacable hostility against the government at Bogotá. Public opinion accuses him of being the confidential adviser of Paez in this and the subsequent movements, and of fomenting the resentment of the soldiers at their general's impeachment, in order to cancel his responsibility to the laws by the summary means of a political convulsion.

Whatever secret influence Paez acted under, he stood now in open resistance to the constituted authorities of the nation. He had accepted a command illegally tendered to him, and thereby publicly participated in rebellion. It is in vain for Paez to urge the importunity of the Valencians, alarmed for the safety of their property, their families, and their lives; for this alarm was kindled by his own creatures, and by the veteran

soldiers of Apure, with whom his will was law. His duty, as an upright citizen, required him, instead of tamely yielding to a popular tumult, to exert his boasted influence in repressing it, and to sustain the authority of the constitutional government, or if driven by the force of circumstances to retain his command for the immediate preservation of public tranquillity, he should instantly have made known the circumstances to the government, that they might provide for the contingency. Nothing could have been easier. Santander declares, that, anticipating the possibility of such a state of things, he intended on the slightest intimation from Paez that any uneasiness was likely to occur in the department from his suspension, to assume the authority of continuing him in the actual command of the army, only nominally conferring it on General Bermudez, or General Mariño. But no,—with singular inconsistency, Paez felt bound to observe religiously the extravagant resolutions of a municipality, while he proceeded in direct contempt of the lawful decrees of the senate, communicated through the executive power of the republic. It is equally vain for Paez to pretend that his resumption of authority was necessary for the salvation of Venezuela; for he himself makes assurance that the first movement was exclusively confined to Valencia, while in Caracas they were ignorant of its object. Nay, the house of representatives had accused him only at the instance of the municipality of Caracas. Indeed, it is futile beyond endurance to insist upon the *necessity* of his remaining in command to *preserve* the public peace, when this very fact was the most flagrant of all violations of it, as being a bold defiance of the national government; an act of absolute rebellion; a declaration of civil war, suited to produce all the horrors of bloodshed and anarchy.

Not designing to give a circumstantial narrative of the subsequent incidents, we have ventured to explain thus minutely the earliest acts of the attempted revolution, of which all that followed was but the consequence and the developement. A brief sketch of what ensued will suffice for our present purpose. To reinstate General Paez in authority, contrary to an express provision of the constitution, and to persist in maintaining him in it, without some ulterior object, either real or pretended, would have been too palpable an evasion of justice to bear examination. He and Doctor Peña well knew that, if they rested the cause here, they would everywhere be reproached

with originating and fomenting an insurrection for the sole purpose of screening themselves from trial or punishment for alleged crimes. A plausible pretext was at hand. They had but to cry out against the abuses of the central government, and identify themselves with the anticonstitutional party in Venezuela. Accordingly the political agitators of Valencia declared their aim to be the promotion of reforms in the constitution, which might give to Venezuela greater importance in the union. To attain this object, they proposed to call a convention with all due despatch, without waiting the period of ten years prescribed in the constitution. They professedly invested Paez with the provisional supreme authority, solely for the execution of this design, General Santiago Mariño, an officer distinguished in the revolution, and a senator from the department of Orinoco, being made his second in command.

When these events were known at Caracas, the municipality precipitately confirmed the act of Valencia; either because they gladly seized upon the opportunity to change the constitution, or more probably, because they feared that Mariño, who was marching to the city, might be commissioned to punish them severely for their accusation of Paez. Other municipalities in Venezuela soon followed the example, not in obedience to their own reason, but from a dread of the insurgent soldiery. An assembly of delegates from various municipalities of Venezuela and Apure afterwards met in Valencia, ratified the acts of the separate *cabildos*, declared Paez innocent of the crime for which he was impeached, and proposed a grand convention of Colombia for the reform of the constitution. Paez, meanwhile, made arrangements for withstanding any attack from the government, uniformly declaring, however, that he should act wholly on the defensive, and appealing to Bolivar as the great mediator and umpire, to accommodate all the public differences. Occasionally, during the summer, he manifested some doubts of the issue of this appeal; but in most of his public acts, he assumed a bold tone, and hesitated not to accuse the Congress of having wantonly precipitated a revolution by admitting of his impeachment. He removed the regular officers commanding at Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, appointing partisans of his own in their stead, and raised new troops, thus in fact holding military occupation of Venezuela.

When information of these extraordinary events reached

General Bermudez, who commanded in the department of Orinoco, he issued a proclamation, denouncing the movements of Paez, and signifying his determination to support the laws in his department. The disturbance was, for a time, confined to Venezuela and Apure; and the central government felt warranted to hold strong language respecting the insurgent chief and his party. General Santander began by addressing a confidential letter to Paez, eloquently urging upon him the enormity of his conduct, with the hope that a revolution might be averted by gentler means than the military force of the republic. This proving ineffectual, he issued the *Manifiesto*, presented to the Colombian republic and to the world, containing a masterly vindication of the course of the executive, and placing the factious party in Venezuela completely in the wrong. But deterred, either by the deficiency of disposable means or some other cause which does not appear, from commencing offensive operations for the reduction of Paez, the executive seemed disposed, like the Venezuelans, to wait and refer the subject to the arbitrement of Bolivar, whose return from Peru was now earnestly demanded and anxiously expected.

Nothing occurred in Venezuela to vary essentially the state of things until August. The insurgent party continued to express great confidence in the righteousness of their cause, but without being perfectly united among themselves, at least in regard to their ultimate object. With some, the subdivision of Colombia into three independent governments, answerable to the ancient political geography, was a favorite scheme; while the more sensible and moderate among them preferred a federal union corresponding to that of the United States. On the eighth of August the populace of Puerto Cabello compelled the municipality to proclaim the immediate adoption of the federative system, without waiting for the call of a convention, or for the arrival of Bolivar. Such a measure would have been nothing short of absolute separation from, and dissolution of, the existing Colombian union; and was therefore justly stigmatized as such by the municipality of Caracas, who resolved to adhere to their first ground, expressing their anxiety for federation, if it could be peaceably obtained and extended to the whole republic of Colombia, but not otherwise. They had pledged provisional obedience to Paez, but deprecated a dissolution of the republic.

Ere long, these meetings were followed by others in Cumaná,

Barcelona, Maracaybo, Carthagena, and the island of Margarita, declaring in favor of Paez and of federation. About the same time, however, the battalion of Apure, commanded by Colonel Marceno, deserted Paez, and marched from Caracas to join General Bermudez, who prepared to invest Cumaná, and assert his authority there by force of arms. But to compensate for this reverse, the departments of Asuay, Equador, Istmo, and Magdalena, proceeded to join the reformers. But these places were far from according in their views. Some of them, as Guayaquil, not only demanded a convention, but even went so far as to confer on Bolivar the powers of dictator, soliciting him to take sole charge of Colombia. In consequence of these revolutionary movements at the two extremities of the republic, on the shores of the Pacific and of the Atlantic, a meeting was held at Caracas in November, founded on the idea that the nation was resolved into its constituent elements, and recommending a convention to organize a new system of government for ancient Venezuela. They persisted, however in declaring their willingness to abide by the decision of Bolivar.

In the course of November and December various other vicissitudes in the state of things occurred, some of which portended a more bloody consummation of the affair than the factious party themselves desired. A slight conflict took place at Truxillo, between the garrison and a party of the soldiers of Paez, which was the first hostile encounter. Marceno still held out against Paez in the neighborhood of Caracas, each seeming averse to commence hostilities. In another quarter, General Bermudez attacked Cumaná with a small body of troops, and was repulsed by the revolutionists there under the command of Colonel Ruiz. Puerto Cabello, on the other hand, revolted against Cala, the governor appointed by Paez, and prevailed on General Pedro Briceño Mendez, who accidentally arrived there the next day, to remain and keep possession of the place until the coming of Bolivar. Such was the distracted condition of the country at this period, that all, with equal anxiety, implored the presence of the Liberator to prevent the further effusion of blood, and heal the wounds of Colombia.

This exalted individual, whose name and influence were everywhere invoked as alone capable of preserving his country from the worst extremities of civil war, left Lima at the begin-

ning of September, immediately restoring constitutional order as he passed through the towns of Guayaquil, Equador, and Asuay. He reached Bogotá on the fourteenth of November, and entered upon the exercise of the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, in order to concentrate all the energies of the republic.* To reestablish the financial credit of the state by directly reducing the expenditures, and by introducing sundry changes in the civil and military administration of the government with that end in view, was the first act of his discretionary authority. Remaining but a few days at Bogotá, he hastened to the immediate scene of convulsion, followed by a numerous suite, but with nothing deserving the name of a military force. He issued decrees in all the principal towns, enjoining a cessation of hostilities and obedience to the constituted authorities, and was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome.

In fact, it was evident that the people universally sighed for the restoration of tranquillity, and, if they had ever sincerely favored the attempted revolution, rejoiced to see its advancement arrested. Whatever inconveniences they had suffered under the constitutional government, they were nothing compared with the evils of anarchy and military usurpation; and a lively sense of this truth animated every bosom. Hence, on Bolivar's arrival at Maracaybo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, and Caracas, successively, every vestige of insurrection disappeared before him. He reached Valencia at the end of the year, and early in January fixed his head quarters at Caracas. Assuming the immediate government of the departments of Maturin, Venezuela, Orinoco, and Sulia, he proclaimed an amnesty for all things done or said with reference to reform, guarantying to protect the persons, property, and offices of individuals, notwithstanding their having been engaged in that

* The provision of the constitution relating to this point is, Tit. v. sect. 2, art. 128, in the following words; 'En los *casos de conmocion interior á mano armada que amenace la seguridad de la Republica*, y en los de una invasion esterior y repentina, puede con previo acuerdo y consentimiento del Congreso, dictar todas *aquellas medidas estraordinarias que sean indispensables y que no esten comprendidas en la esfera natural de sus atribuciones.* Si el Congreso no estuviese reunido, tendrá la misma facultad por si solo; pero le convocará sin la menor demora, para proceder conforme á sus acuerdos. Esta estraordinaria autorizacion será limitada únicamente á los lugares y tiempo indispensablemente necesarios.'

cause, and pledging himself to convoke a great national convention, in order to determine the fate of the republic. And to put a finishing hand to the work of pacification, he recognised Paez as superior chief of Venezuela, and Mariño as commandant general of Maturin. With these events, all the signs of approaching civil war, and of violent political convulsion, terminated. To say that with them, likewise, the march of revolution ceased, would be premature; because many of the circumstances, perhaps the secret springs of the movement, are unknown to us; and its future consequences on the fortunes of Colombia it is yet impossible to predict.

Of the present intentions of Bolivar, of his principles and character as further unfolded by recent political events in Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, our limits do not permit us to speak in this place; nor if they did, should we desire to enter incidentally upon an argument of so much compass and importance. It cannot be denied, however, that recent indications have augured unfavorably of the motives and designs of Bolivar, and it is well known, that many patriots in Colombia and Peru regard his movements with serious apprehensions. It is true, that the constitution which he made for Bolivia, and which it is fully understood he desires to introduce into Peru and Colombia, however judiciously it may be devised in some points, is in its main features antirepublican, if not absurd and impolitic. But all this may be said, without necessarily impugning Bolivar's motives as a patriot. He may be true to his country, and yet be the author of a very defective constitution. Such we would fain hope the result will prove. At its present stage the subject ought not to be approached but with circumspection, and ample consideration of all the circumstances, which bear upon it.

Many persons among us appear to forget, or never to have regarded, the peculiar character, condition, and language of the people of South America. Accustomed to the regulated movement of our own political establishments, they fail to remember that our revolution was prepared by more than a century of self government, under the most propitious circumstances, whilst the revolution of the South was precipitated by causes out of the control of the colonists, namely, the prostration of Spain at the foot of Napoleon. Our English extraction, our climate, our habits, the similarity of complexion in our free population, the diffusion of knowledge among us,

and our perfect familiarity with the routine of government, are striking circumstances, wherein our good fortune is deeply contrasted with the want of it in Spanish America. When great men have arisen among us, men of commanding intellect, formed to act the part of leaders in the land, they have found the pursuit of virtue and patriotism here, not only coincident with their interest, but consonant to the whole spirit of our institutions. Everything has impelled them to purity of conduct. Hence, to have betrayed his country in the hour of her trial, has consigned the name of Benedict Arnold almost to a solitary immortality of infamy. Nay, at a later day, for an individual loftier in station and not less gifted by nature than Arnold, to have *meditated* a treason, has made his place on the roll of his country's highest magistrates to be, like Marino Faliero's among the portraits of the Venetian doges, a blank for ever.

Not so in Spanish America, where treason has done its worst work, and where the virtuous and highminded patriot has obstacles without number to struggle against in the path of honorable ambition. A motley population, uneducated, uninitiated into the mysteries of government, suddenly emerging from the tutelage and tyranny of colonial administration, was plunged at once into the frantic contests of revolutionary warfare. That scenes of anarchy and confusion ensued, which persons of desperate fortunes and depraved principles looked to as an opportunity for individual aggrandizement, is no more than we should naturally anticipate. But Providence raises up extraordinary men for extraordinary occasions. Bolivar came forward to control the troubled elements in the South, as Washington had ruled them in the North. And if it be premature now, when Bolivar is in the midst of his career, to unite their fame in the same tribute of grateful veneration, it is equally premature to condemn his cause untried, and hastily to abandon a reputation justly favored by every friend of freedom. Domestic factions, we fear, make their voice to be heard on this point beyond the limits of South America.

Strange as it is, too, we frequently observe faults in taste, nay, dishonest motives, imputed to Bolivar, solely in consequence of the peculiar nature of his vernacular tongue. The chief characteristic of the Spanish language is a spirit of dignity and grandeur, which they, who understand the history of the nation, know how to ascribe to its proper causes. It delights in hy-

perbole. It deals in picturesque, imaginative expressions. Its inherent vice, therefore, is a tendency to exaggeration. The kindred languages of the Peninsula, unlike those of the rest of Western Europe, are impressed with an air of Arabian pomp, and an Asiatic magnificence of idiom pervades their whole structure. Hence, when we peruse the proclamations and addresses of their public men in poor translations, bald without truth and literal without exactness, we do extreme injustice to their authors by recurring for an object of comparison, to the majestic simplicity of our best models of style in similar compositions. And, owing to the neglect of this caution, much unmerited obloquy has been cast upon the reputation of Bolivar. We, moreover, who enjoy the comparatively phlegmatic temperament congenial to the colder zones, should consider the excited feelings of the ardent inhabitants of the South, where

'Souls made of fire and children of the sun'

will naturally communicate the stamp of their glowing sentiments to the impassioned language they speak.

ART. VI.—1. *The Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. Edinburgh. 1825.

2. *An Essay on the Circumstances which determine the Rate of Wages and the Condition of the Laboring Class.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. Edinburgh. 1826.

MR M'CULLOCH seems to be at present one of the most active laborers in the vineyard of political economy; and if the value of work be estimated by the quantity of it turned out in a given time, he must certainly be considered as belonging to the productive class. Beside the two treatises named above, he has published, within a few years, a formal essay on the rise and progress of his favorite science, and is now, we believe, preparing for the press a Dictionary of Political Economy and a new edition of the 'Wealth of Nations,' with extensive commentaries by himself; having in the mean time contributed largely to the weekly and quarterly journals, and delivered a course of public lectures at London. Mr M'Culloch therefore

not only advises people to work, but sets them the example; and affords a remarkable instance of that 'noble *φιλοπονία*' which he yet, somewhat inconsistently, and, as we think, erroneously, denies to be natural to man. It is also but just to him to add, as we shall have occasion to question some of his opinions, that his labors have been crowned in the mother country with a good degree of success. His name is often mentioned with approbation in the most respectable literary journals, and his opinion has been appealed to by the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, as a high authority on economical subjects. His writings are also not unknown on this side of the Atlantic. Some of them have been republished at New York, and we believe made the text book of a course of lectures delivered by one of the professors at the college in that city. Such being the estimation in which our author is held by the public, we have thought it our duty, as we have the misfortune to differ from him in some particulars, to submit the views we entertain upon these points to the consideration of our readers, who will decide in their wisdom upon the weight of our objections and the merits of the case.

In doing this, however, we wish to be understood as entertaining a high respect for the talents and labors of Mr M'Culloch, although we are not satisfied with all the theories that appear in his works. He is evidently a person of intelligence, industry, and the best intentions; and it is a proof of no inconsiderable talent to be able to attract the attention of the British public as much as he has done by dissertations on a subject, in itself rather abstract than popular. But while we render full justice to his real merits, we are bound to add, that we do not recognise in his writings any distinct traces of original thought. As far as we are acquainted with the state of the science, and with his labors for the advancement of it, we can only regard him as an expounder of doctrines previously proposed by others. The basis of his work is the 'Wealth of Nations,' which he often quotes verbatim for several pages in succession, and of which he borrows at other times the language and illustrations as well as the principles. He also adopts with little or no modification the theories of Malthus on population and rent, of Say on production, and of Ricardo on profits; giving, as in the case of Smith, full credit to their respective authors, and employing at times to a considerable extent, their

own words. We do not undertake to say, that he has added absolutely nothing of his own in the way of illustration or explanation of the opinions of his masters; but the new suggestions, which he offers, are not, as far as we have noticed them, of a kind to affect leading principles, or to alter, in any important point, the state of the science. His work must therefore be viewed, merely as an abridgment or summary of the doctrines now taught in what has sometimes been called the *New School of Political Economy.* He originally prepared it for publication in the Supplement of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' where the substance of it appeared under the title of *Political Economy.* It has since been reprinted separately and in its present enlarged form. The tract on *Wages* is little more than an extract from the principal work of such passages as relate to that subject. The Dictionary, and the new edition of Adam Smith, have not yet reached us. The discourse on the Rise and Progress of the science is a fuller developement of the introductory chapter of the work before us, which may therefore be viewed as a complete exposition of the author's opinions.

The only merit, which can well belong to a compiler, is that of stating clearly and correctly the facts and principles which he undertakes to republish; and to this Mr M'Culloch is, we think, in general fairly entitled. He receives the theories of the respective writers from whom he copies in the manner in which they were understood by them; and recapitulates them in a correct and perspicuous style. If there be any fault in his manner, it is an occasional slight air of dogmatism, which is perhaps most remarkable in the passages that treat of doubtful points, where it is of course least becoming. But this error, if real, is not unnatural. When a writer has full confidence in the strength of his argument, he permits it to speak for itself; and it is in general when he feels himself pressed, that he is tempted to eke out his logic by round assertions. There is in various parts of the work what appears to us great looseness of reasoning; but for this Mr M'Culloch is not in general responsible, as he borrows for the most part the arguments and illustrations, as well as the doctrines of his masters. In the few instances in which he draws conclusions himself from the premises stated by them, his method is not, however, in our opinion much more satisfactory. Before we proceed to examine the leading principles of the system, we shall select one or two

passages of this latter class as specimens of the power of thinking that belongs to the author.

It is a fundamental tenet in the doctrines of this new school, that the wages paid to a laborer are naturally the smallest sum which will enable him to support himself, and a family large enough to keep the supply of labor already in the market at the same point. If, as these gentlemen learnedly argue, he were to bring up more children than are necessary for this purpose, the number of laborers would increase, the market would be overstocked with labor, and the price of the article, that is, *wages*, would fall. If, on the contrary, he were to bring up fewer children, the number of laborers would diminish, the market for labor would be understocked, and wages would rise. Hence by a perpetual oscillation between these two extremes, wages are maintained on an average at the point where they are just sufficient to support the laborer and his wife, and to bring into market another laborer and another laborer's wife, to take in due time the places of the former. Such is the theory on this subject. We shall endeavor to show hereafter, that, although sanctioned by the high authority of Adam Smith, it is radically erroneous. But assuming it for the present as true, let us see how far it tallies with other parts of our author's system.

The above explanation of the rate of wages being admitted, the question of course arises, in what manner the laborer and his family are to be supported. They can receive as wages just as much as is necessary for their maintenance, and no more. But it will evidently make a great difference in their expenses, whether they live on turkey stuffed with truffles and Champaign wine, or on rice and molasses; whether like the English peasantry they feed on beef, bread, and beer, or like the Irish on potatoes and buttermilk. In the first case their provisions might cost them ten dollars a day, and in the last perhaps not as many cents. Which, therefore, of these, or any other possible modes of subsistence, is to regulate the rate of the laborer's wages? The answer of Mr M'Culloch is, that the mode in which the laboring classes live, is determined by the custom of the country. If it be the custom, as in England, for them to live on bread, beef, and beer, each individual will naturally conform to it, and his employers will be obliged to give him wages enough to enable him to do so. If, on the contrary, the custom of the country authorize, as in Ireland,

buttermilk and potatoes, each individual will be obliged to follow it, and will not be able to obtain from his employer wages enough to procure anything better.

Admitting this part of the theory to be also correct, it is evidently of great importance, as is justly argued by our author, to encourage the laborer to live as well as possible; to eat bread and beef rather than potatoes, and to drink beer or wine, or, we may add, cider, rather than water, since it is only by keeping up the custom of living well that wages can be kept up so high as to furnish the means of good living. If the standard of wages falls, it falls never to rise again, and the laborer's comfort falls with it. The general exhortation, therefore, given by these philosophers to the industrious classes is, 'Live as well as you can; eat, drink, and wear the best you can get; you cannot possibly receive more wages than will defray your expenses according to the mode of living, to which you are accustomed; if you accustom yourselves to live well, your wages will enable you to live well; if you accustom yourselves to live meanly, you will get no more than the amount required for living meanly; therefore, once more, by all means live well.' 'With all my heart,' would probably be the reply of the honest laborer, who has generally sense enough to prefer a beef steak to a boiled potatoe, if he can get one as cheap as the other. But what follows? We turn over a few pages, and our liberal philosopher of the new school sings another tune. We come now upon the old story of retrenchment and economy. 'Friendly societies are excellent things; saving banks are still better; therefore by all means lay aside a part of your wages, and put it into the saving banks, or the fund of the friendly society, that you may have a little hoard against old age and infirmity.' This again sounds well, and agrees sufficiently with the wisdom of ages, and the dictates of plain common sense. But how does it agree with what goes before, and with the wisdom of the new school? Wages are always by necessity, according to this theory, just at the point, where they furnish the means of living according to the custom of the country. If the laborer wish to economize a part of his wages, in order to put them into the saving bank, he can only do it by living below the customary standard. This may have its advantages, but how will he contrive to live below the common standard and above it at the same time? He cannot both have his cake and eat it. If he spend his wages he cannot

put them in the bank; if he put them in the bank he cannot live well, and will have no wages either to spend or spare. What consistency is there in advising him in the same breath, first to consume his wages, and then to hoard them? But this latter counsel is not only inconsistent with the theory of these gentlemen, but on their principles cannot possibly be executed. If the laborer economize he must fare worse; and this advice being general, if the laborers in general conform to it, they all fare worse; and the standard of living falls. Wages (still reasoning on this system) fall with it; and the laborer in consequence of his economy now receives only just enough to enable him to defray the expense of his reduced mode of living. How then can he accumulate or make deposits? If his wages be high, he can by living meanly diminish them, but all his economy can do no more. It cannot possibly put a dollar into his chest, or into that of the saving bank. If he have imprudently reduced himself from bread and beef to potatoes, in order to lay up some provision for his old age, he will obtain no reward for his foresight but the satisfaction of living on potatoes all the rest of his life, without securing the provision he wanted; for no sooner has he brought himself and his wages down to the potatoe standard, than he loses the power of economizing at all, his earnings being now barely sufficient to support life. Economy, as well as charity, is therefore a word that has no place in this reformed vocabulary of moral science. Its authors, when they advise the laborer to hoard his wages, not only advise him to do precisely what they have just before advised him not to do, but what they have also proved to him to their own satisfaction, that no man in his situation possibly can do. Such advice we consider both inconsistent and unreasonable.

On the system of the new school, the whole class of laborers may be regarded figuratively as clinging to the sides of a rocky precipice, overhanging the bottomless gulf of starvation. Into this their children above a certain number, by the kind laws of an overruling Providence, regularly fall. The rest with their parents sustain themselves painfully upon two or three projecting ledges, of which the upper ones correspond with a bread and beef diet, and the lower with a potatoe one. If a laborer habitually occupy *bread and beef*, and be accidentally pushed off, he alights on potatoes and avoids the gulf. If he habitually occupy *potatoes*, and meet with the same accident,

there is no salvation for him, and he goes to the bottom for ever. Such is the doctrine of these gentlemen, and in consequence of it their first and very natural advice to the laborer to adhere firmly to *bread and beef*. With what appearance of consistency or humanity, then, can they afterwards turn round upon him, and exhort him to descend from *bread and beef* (without which he cannot possibly even attempt to economize), and take a permanent post on *potatoes?* If Mr M'Culloch can furnish us with a satisfactory reply to this query, we shall cheerfully give him credit for more ingenuity than he has exhibited in any passage of his works, with which we are acquainted.

The liberal exhortation to live well and spend all his wages, which is addressed to the laborer by Mr M'Culloch in the first instance, is, as we have said, naturally dictated by his theory on the subject of wages. The system furnishes, however, an additional motive of a different kind for giving this advice; and if we look a little more nearly into the matter, we shall perhaps be able to account for, though not to reconcile, the inconsistency alluded to above. Mr M'Culloch exhorts the laborer to live well, evidently for the purpose of preventing him from marrying, and having carried this point, he then exhorts him to live poorly, and economize, in order to prevent him from becoming a burden upon the community, when disabled by old age or accident. Marriage and the poor laws are, as is well known, the two great bugbears of the new economical school. Our ancestors, simple souls, thought it a vastly fine thing to promote marriage; but like the man in Molière who had reformed the position of the great vital organs, *Nous avons changé tout cela*. Our readers are not so ignorant as to require to be told, that it is considered at present the great object of political economy to bring about a state of things, in which there shall be the fewest possible marriages, and to each marriage the fewest possible children. Since the publication of the work of Mr Malthus, the sages and statesmen of the mother country are continually beset with the apprehension of being eaten out of house and home by a hungry population, which, as they say, is pressing hard everywhere against the limits of the means of subsistence. In vain you tell them that there is no appearance that the earth, or any part of it, is, or ever was, or will be overpeopled; that if we cast a glance over the surface of the globe, from Kamtschatka westerly till we come back again to

the other side of Behring's straits, we find nothing but immense tracts of uncultivated land, with the exception of some half dozen small spots, which are precisely those where provisions are most abundant; that the population of the earth is not greater than it was two or three thousand years ago, and will probably not be greater two or three thousand years hence than it is now. All this gives them no satisfaction, and they still insist, that the earth, and every part of it, always has been, is, and always will be, by a necessary result of the laws of Nature, encumbered with an excess of inhabitants; and that every new marriage, and every birth occasioned by such marriage, has the effect of making bad worse. Under the influence of these terrors, they are constantly exerting their eloquence to discourage people from marrying. To the higher classes they hold out the prospects of easier circumstances, greater consideration, and a more rapid progress in the career of professional or political advancement, which they say, are among the advantages of celibacy. They quote with approbation the opinion of a gallant Scotch general, who in his youth abandoned his mistress to go to the wars and acquire military glory;

> 'Ambition, I said, would soon cure me of love;'

and they remember to forget to add the recantation in the same song;

> 'Ah! what had my youth with ambition to do?
> Why left I Aminta? why broke I my vow?'

To the laboring classes, who have no pretensions to political advancement or military glory, they offer the solid attractions of a heartier and more substantial diet. When the Hercules of humble life is to make his choice, they paint to him vice and poverty in the form of a young wife and a dish of potatoes, while virtue and success are depicted under the seducing image of celibacy, and a smoking beef steak properly garnished with bread and porter. 'Beware what you do,' they say; 'the moment is critical. If you marry young, you will inevitably have more children than you will be able to maintain, your wages will not support you as you have been accustomed to live, and you will be compelled to drag out a miserable existence on poor potatoe diet; while if you will consent to live single, you may revel all your life on beef and beer.' Thus placed, like the long eared animal, between his two bundles of

hay, our laborer, we will suppose, in a hungry moment decides for celibacy, bids adieu to fair eyes and tempting looks, and fixes his gaze resolutely on the air drawn vision of the steak. But now comes the hardest part of the case. No sooner has the disinterested and liberal monitor carried this point, than the scene shifts at once. He flourishes his pen, more potent than the wand of the famous Dr Snatchaway, sometime court physician of the island of Barataria, and lo! the pretty young wife disappears—the steak goes off in its own smoke—and our prudent laborer, recovering from his day dreams, finds himself clinging as before to the fatal precipice, with a lonely potatoe before him, and the gulf of starvation yawning under his feet. After exercising every species of moral restraint and prudence—after sacrificing his future spouse to a mess of pottage, and then the mess of pottage to the hopes of a provision for old age or accident, he sees himself fixed precisely in the worst position in which he could ever have been placed, without exercising any prudence at all—no provision for old age—no food for life but potatoes—and not even the satisfaction of eating these in company. 'Poor moralist!' as we may well address him with the poet,

> 'Poor moralist! and what art thou?
> A solitary fly!
> Thy joys no glittering female meets,
> Thou hast no hive of hoarded sweets,
> No painted plumage to display;
> On hasty wings thy youth is flown,
> Thy sun is set—thy spring is gone.'

Now we say, that to reduce a poor man to this situation, under pretence of teaching him how to better his condition, is not dealing fairly with him, and that '*Frolic while 't is May*,' is the only philosophy consistent with the doctrines of the new school. We shall see hereafter that the whole theory is without foundation, and that an honest, industrious, and temperate laborer (bating accidents, which may happen to great as well as small) may always earn enough not only to support his family in a comfortable manner, but to lay aside a hoard against old age. But be that as it may, the strange inconsistency of advising a man to live single in order that he may live well, and then exhorting him to economize out of his wages—which on this theory must necessarily force him to live meanly, without enabling him to lay up anything after all—is sufficiently obvious. Such

reasoning, we repeat, appears to us extremely loose, and we cannot but notice it as a specimen of that defect in the work of Mr M'Culloch.

A strong aversion to the poor laws is, as we have already intimated, another favorite tenet with the writers of this new economical school. A public provision for the disabled members of society has no other effect, they say, than to create the very wretchedness, which it afterwards imperfectly relieves, without in any way diminishing the amount which would otherwise exist. Private charity is less mischievous, because it operates less systematically and extensively, but in principle and as far as it goes it is no better. Therefore steel your heart, and shut your hands. Let the poor laws be repealed without delay, and let it be understood, that the supposed right of the indigent or distressed to relief, either public or private, is wholly inadmissible. Such doctrines, like the antimatrimonial system which we have just been considering, are so completely abhorrent from all common notions and common feelings—from the text and spirit of Scripture—the traditions of the fathers, and the universal consent and practice of all nations and ages, that we hardly know in what manner to treat them.

One is tempted to think, that the writers who support these monstrous paradoxes cannot be really serious, and that they are imposing upon the public a sort of *melancholy humbug*. At all events, their language addressed to a civilized and christian community carries its own refutation with it. When we are told, that we are no longer to perform the duties of charity, public and private, because of this or that discovery in political economy, we may well answer, without examining at all the value of the supposed *new lights*, that our own hearts (to say nothing of Scripture) furnish us with stronger evidence of the reality of these duties, than we can possibly have of the truth of any metaphysical theory. If then the new system be at variance with our strongest natural sentiments, and the conduct they prescribe, it follows not that these sentiments are of injurious tendency, and this conduct immoral, but that the system is false, were it even impossible to detect the least logical flaw in the argument. This, however, is so far from being the case here, that the argument in support of this theory is as singularly flimsy, as the theory itself is unnatural and inhuman.

But waving this point for the present, let us advert for a moment to the manner in which this view of the operation of

the poor laws coincides with the urgent advice given to the laborer to invest a part of his wages in saving banks and friendly societies. If the new school system were true, the laborer, as we have seen, could not possibly follow this advice, and the consequences, if he could, would be directly ruinous to him by reducing his wages in exact proportion to his economy. But supposing the reverse, we could venture to inquire of Mr M'Culloch why the operation of friendly societies and saving banks should be a whit more favorable, than that of the poor laws? Are they not all so many different modes of relieving the distressed out of a common fund provided for the purpose? Are not friendly societies communities instituted for the express object of making public provision for the poor? Is not the general community, of which we are all members, a great friendly society, established for the very same among other ends, and *bound* (notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Mr Malthus, Mr M'Culloch, and the rest of the new lights), *bound* in duty to provide for its poor, as much as to defend the common territory from foreign violence, or to administer justice between man and man? How then, we repeat, can the operation of things substantially the same be essentially different?

It may be said, that admitting the principles to be the same in both cases, they are carried into effect on a very different scale, and that their results may on that account vary considerably. This no doubt is true; but why are we to suppose without proof that all the variation will be in favor of the friendly societies and against the poor laws? The latter, it is said, may be badly digested, or badly executed. What then? Are all the friendly societies and saving banks perfect systems and perfectly administered? Mr M'Culloch himself assures us, on the contrary, that there are great defects, theoretical and practical, in the best of them. Is it probable, in fact, that every little knot of laborers, who may associate for such a purpose, will exercise more wisdom than the government of the country? In general not, it may be answered—but under corrupt political systems, like many of those that now exist in Europe, it may be safer for a few families, who know and can trust each other, to confide wholly in their own foresight, rather than place any dependence on a heartless and purseproud aristocracy. Let us grant all this—which is going as far as the stoutest whig or radical in England (and the philos-

ophers of the new school belong mostly to one or the other of these parties) need to desire. Grant that the poor laws must be badly administered, because the government is corrupt and bad. What follows? Not that we are to supersede the action of the government by establishing a thousand little *imperia in imperio* to do its work, but that the government itself requires to be reformed. Instead of wasting labor, time, and money, in doing yourselves what you have already paid the government to do for you—if the machine be really incapable of going through its functions, set to work manfully and repair it where it needs alteration. When this shall have been done, the poor laws and every other part of the system will of course be properly executed. To attempt to remedy the evil by private associations is in no degree more reasonable, than it would be to provide in the same manner for the security of the highways, or the defence of the country. Remark, too, the singularly heavy burdens, which these private associations impose upon the laboring classes. The latter have already contributed their share to the common fund of the state, out of which they have a *right (pace Malthusii)* to be relieved in their distresses. They are now called upon to make a second contribution out of their moderate earnings (which, on the principles of the new school, can never be more than just enough to support them) for the same purpose. Their situation is therefore in this respect the same with that of the English Dissenters and Catholics, who pay tithes to the established Church, and maintain their own clergy besides. When the laborers depend, on the other hand, on the poor laws for relief in their distresses, they are in fact relieved, as they ought to be, by the rich. They pay, it is true, their proportion of the public taxes; but these taxes fall principally upon the wealthier classes, while the poorer, which furnish exclusively the subjects that require aid, contribute almost nothing to the fund that affords it. This is precisely as it should be; while, on the other hand, the plan of taxing the poor exclusively for this purpose, as is done by the friendly societies, is unjust, and that of taxing them doubly, as is done by the union of the two systems, is doubly so.

We make these remarks for the purpose of pointing out the glaring inconsistency between the opinions of Mr M'Culloch on the merits of the two systems. If his theory be true, the poor laws are no doubt mischievous, but on the same principles, friendly societies are equally and doubly so. For our-

selves we have no hostility to these societies, and no objection to see them introduced into the United States, although we believe them to be unnecessary under a good government and a judicious and well administered code of poor laws. According to our view of the general condition of the laboring classes, neither poor laws nor friendly societies tend in any considerable degree, either to encourage population or depress wages. The operation of both we consider favorable, and we believe that they may very properly and usefully come in aid of each other. On the theory of the new school, they both tend directly to reduce the wages and of course the comforts of the laborer, without producing in either case the least countervailing advantage. In order to be consistent, these writers should denounce both alike; and we cannot but notice the different manner in which they treat the two, as another specimen of a singularly loose way of reasoning, even admitting the premises on which they wish to proceed.

The tone of apparent indifference, if not actual self satisfaction, with which these gentlemen announce their supposed discoveries, which, if real, would be fatal to all the hopes and prospects of society, and which shock, at first blush, every sentiment of natural humanity, is truly painful. We believe them to be perfectly sincere; and entertain no doubt that they consider the promulgation of their theories as a service to the public. In decrying matrimony and charity they suppose themselves to be tearing off the mask from a pair of beautiful syrens, who would decoy us to our ruin. We respect their intentions, their characters, and their talents; for it proves talent rather than the want of it to invent and sustain an ingenious paradox, however unsubstantial. We will even go further, and admit, without hesitation, our belief, that if such gentlemen as Mr Malthus, Mr M'Culloch, Mr Brougham, and others, who hold these opinions, and who have shown themselves on many occasions the enlightened and generous benefactors of their country and the world, were called upon to *act* in the interest of the laboring classes, even in regard to these particular subjects, they would prove their hearts to be surer guides respecting them than their heads. With all this, or rather partly in consequence of this, we cannot read without pain such a paragraph as the following, from the pen of Mr Ricardo.

'The progress of knowledge manifested upon this subject [Wages and the Poor Laws] in the House of Commons since 1796,

has *happily* not been small, as may be seen by contrasting the late report of the committee on the poor laws, and the following sentiments of Mr Pitt in that year.

'"Let us," said he, "make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honor, instead of a ground of opprobrium and contempt. This will make a large family a blessing and not a curse; and this will draw a proper line of distinction between those who are able to provide for themselves by their labor, and those who, after having enriched their country with a number of children, have a claim upon its assistance."' *

In plain English, what is the amount of the first of the two preceding paragraphs? The House of Commons have *happily* discovered, since 1796, that the poor, of whom there will be always more or less in every society, must inevitably perish without relief, and that there is no possibility of giving them any real aid, either by public or private charity. Now is this discovery, supposing it to be real, a *happy* one? Is it a thing to thank God upon? Is it not rather, as the poet Campbell says of the imaginary discoveries of the atheist, one which its author should 'weep to record?" Would Mr Ricardo have thought it decent to say, that the House of Commons had happily discovered that the horrors of the slave trade were irremediable,—that the late famine in Ireland was beyond the reach of any human palliation,—that the present distress of the British manufacturers is incurable except by death? In these cases, as in the one in question, the discovery (always supposing it real) might have the effect of preventing a waste of labor upon injudicious projects of charity, and might thus far be a positive advantage; but to call it *happy* would be thought something worse than mockery. How much more noble, humane, and instinctively just is the language of Mr Pitt, quoted as above by Mr Ricardo in terms of reprobation! We cannot agree with this illustrious statesman in believing, as he appears to have done, that a family of children would naturally among the poorer classes, bring with it a necessity of recurring to the charity of the public; but we heartily approve the tone of thought and feeling displayed in his remarks. We cannot but repeat, that the continual opposition to the dictates of common sense and humanity, into which the partisans of the new economical school are led by their peculiar doctrines, is, in our

* Ricardo's Political Economy, p. 103, note.

opinion, independently of any other objection, a conclusive refutation of the whole theory.

It is time, however, to leave these preliminary points, and proceed to those which it is our present principal object to consider. We have dwelt longer on the preceding topics than we should otherwise have done, because, while they show the inaccuracy of the reasoning of these writers on their own suppositions, they also serve to throw light upon the leading questions with which they are intimately connected, and which we now propose to examine in the cursory manner which suits the compass of an article like this.

The great problem in Political Economy, as is justly observed by Ricardo in the Introduction to his work, is to discover the manner in which the wealth of a community naturally distributes itself among its members. And supposing the latter, economically viewed, to consist of the three great classes of *landholders*, *capitalists*, and *laborers*, (a distinction, which, however, is rather formal than substantial, but which may be assumed without occasioning error for the present purpose,) the problem takes the more distinct shape of an inquiry into the amount of the shares, that respectively fall to each of these classes, out of the products resulting immediately from the labor of the last. The immense importance of this inquiry is sufficiently obvious; for according to the different answers which may be given to it, the whole science of Political Economy, and with it that of government in general, which is closely connected with the former, assume a different aspect. If the laborers, that is the mass of the people, can never, in any country, or by any possibility, enjoy any considerable portion of the fruits of their industry, but are condemned by the standing laws of nature to work incessantly for the profit of others, and can only reserve for themselves the scantiest pittance that will maintain them, and a part of their children,—if this be in fact the case, why then we say that the laborers, that is, the mass of the people, are always and everywhere necessarily abject and wretched, and that it is idle to look for the cause of their degradation in political abuses or private vice.

Such is the doctrine of the writers of the new school, who have thus denounced against their fellow men a doom more dreadful than the 'eldest primal curse,' inflicted on us through our frail first parents in Paradise. *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*, were the terms of the latter; *In the*

sweat of thy face shall OTHERS *eat bread*, is the import of the modern philosophy, which thus cancels the beneficial clause of this great covenant, and leaves the onerous condition in full force. The sweat stands as before on the laborer's brow, but the bread that was to be the fruit of it, is not to be found. *Οἴχεται*, as Cicero says of a certain sum of money in one of his pleadings. It is taken from the mouth of the laborer and his children, and thrown to the wealthy or their dogs. No matter how industrious, temperate, and active may be the man himself; no matter how just, mild, and powerful the government that protects him, it is so ordained by the fixed decrees of Providence, that, do what he can, work as hard as he may, he can never receive anything more than a bare subsistence for himself, and a limited number of children; the rest, if he happen to have more, being foredoomed from the beginning to inevitable destruction, and himself and family condemned to share the same fate, if they are touched by the slightest breath of mischance.

Why, then, if all this be true, talk of political reform or improvement? What means the name of *Whig*, which is claimed as an honor by most of these philosophers, if the mass of men, under all forms of government and modes of administration, are equally bondmen, and *Helots* to a few favored taskmasters? What matter is it whether the two classes are called *capitalists* and *laborers*, or tyrants and tyrants' slaves? All substantial melioration of the state of the people is on this supposition impossible (the pretended palliative of *moral restraint* being, as we have seen above, a mere mockery), and a difference of names is not worth contending for. Such in fact appear to be the conclusions of these writers, and the only difficulty is to understand why, with such opinions, they should attach themselves to a political party, whose professed object is the improvement of the constitution, and whose watchword is *liberty*. If, however, we suppose, on the contrary, that the laborer, by the regular operation of the principles that determine the distribution of wealth, receives a fair and equitable portion of his own products, or rather (the terms being properly explained) the *whole*, it will follow, that wherever the mass of the people are debased and wretched, it is owing either to accidental misfortune or their own fault, and that the evil is of a nature to admit of palliation to an indefinite extent, if not of complete remedy. The problem in question is therefore undoubtedly the most important and interesting, not only in political econo-

my, but in the whole extent of the science of government, and is one that must be solved in a satisfactory manner, before we can even enter upon the study of politics with a prospect of advantage. However general may be the prejudice at present (among the few persons who examine these questions in the abstract) in favor of the strange and desolating paradoxes of the new school, we think it not very difficult to show within a short compass, and by arguments drawn from their own writings, the radical error of the system.

The basis of it is the theory of *Wages*, which we have just been considering, and which supposes that the actual laborer can never receive anything more than the smallest pittance which will serve for his support. For a full refutation of this doctrine, we need not look beyond one of the first principles universally admitted by these and all other writers on political economy, as a law of the science. They all agree that no economical enterprise can be carried on, unless it be sufficiently productive to support all the persons engaged in it, replace all the capital invested, and afford in addition the average rate of profit. Any branch of labor, which does not give the returns necessary for this, is overdone, and the capital employed in it is gradually withdrawn and invested in others, until the equilibrium is restored. Such is the doctrine on this subject, which is generally acknowledged, and is also, we may add, incontestably true. Now as the actual laborers are among the persons interested in all economical undertakings, it follows, of course, that they must be supported before a profit can accrue to any body, and it also follows, that they must receive their proportional share of the profit, whatever it may be, that remains, after all expenses and charges are deducted, to be divided among the interested parties. These, we say, are the natural consequences of the principle; and it is therefore a curious question, how the writers of the new school have been able to deduce from the same premises conclusions diametrically opposite. The wonder ceases when we find that they treat the whole class of laborers as an exception from the general laws regulating the distribution of wealth, which they lay down as applicable to society at large. Now it is evidently making a very large allowance to suppose, that a hundred families out of every thousand are landholders or capitalists, the other nine hundred being laborers. But taking this for granted, we have here a general rule, which, when applied to practice, is, by

acknowledgment, false in nine cases for every one in which it is true. If the system be correct, it is evident that the rule must be laid down the other way; that the distribution of the products of labor must be represented as naturally unequal, and the cases of the landholders and capitalists (who are supposed among themselves to share equally) viewed as exceptions.

But waving this point, which is merely formal, let us examine the grounds upon which these writers establish their supposed exception against the laborers. Unless this point can be rigorously proved, the general rule applies to these as well as to all other persons, and they stand on precisely the same footing with the landholders and the capitalists. The doctrine in regard to this subject, which has since been developed and insisted on by subsequent writers, was stated originally by Adam Smith in his great work on the Wealth of Nations. It is one of the few weak points in that noble performance, but, by a singular sort of fatality, it has of late attracted more attention and approbation than almost any other, and has been made the basis of a pretended reform in the science of Political Economy. Smith himself does not seem to have viewed the principle as a very important one, and at any rate has not sustained it with his usual care and success. We owe it, however, to his high and well deserved authority to consider in detail the arguments by which he defends his theory. These are contained in his chapter on the wages of labor.*

He begins with stating that the natural wages of labor are its products, that before the land is appropriated and capital accumulated, the whole amount of them belongs to the laborer; but that afterwards a great deduction takes place, because the landholder and the capitalist come in for a share. These facts are substantially true; but it does not follow from them by any means, that the laborer is a loser in consequence of the appropriation of the land and the accumulation of capital; nor is it quite correct in form to represent the laborer as giving up a share of the products of his labor to the landholder and capitalist. The three persons bearing these characters are partners in a common enterprise; and each receives a share of the products corresponding with the amount of his interest in the joint concern. If the laborer, while he employs the land

* Wealth of Nations, b. I. ch. viii.

and capital of others, were to retain himself the whole product of his work, it would be at the expense of the capitalist and landholder, who would in that case suffer a gross and palpable injustice. While the several interested parties divide fairly the profits of the common concern, each may be said with propriety, as was intimated above, to receive the *whole* product of his *own* labor; nor would the expression be improper as respects the landholder and capitalist, since capital and land, economically viewed, are merely the representatives of labor, which forms the source and substance of all the wealth of nations. The condition of the laborer, instead of being made worse, is greatly improved by this state of things, because the productiveness of labor is much increased by the introduction of machinery, and the accumulation of capital. He receives, as before, the whole product of his labor, and this product is greater than it would have been had he worked alone instead of entering into partnership with the landholder and the capitalist. To say that a mere laborer is not so well off as he would be, if he were at once landholder, laborer, and capitalist, is as much as to say, that if one man could cultivate the whole earth, and consume all its fruits, he would be as rich and as happy as the whole present human race put together. On this view of the subject, therefore, to which he nevertheless attaches the principal importance, Dr Smith is evidently mistaken. His other arguments in proof of the same proposition are as follows.

'The actual wages of labor,' he continues, 'thus reduced by the deduction of rent and the profits on capital, are determined by the contract made between the capitalist and the workmen; *and this contract is naturally always to the disadvantage of the latter.*'

Why? The masters, it seems, enjoy greater facilities for combination, and can hold out longer in the dispute about wages with the laborers than the latter.

'A landholder, a farmer, a master manufacturer, or a merchant, though they did not employ a single workman, could generally live a year or two upon the stocks which they have already acquired. Many workmen could not subsist a week; few could subsist a month, and scarce one a year, without employment. In the long run the workman may be as necessary to his master as his master is to him, but the necessity is not so immediate.'

If this reasoning were found in any other work than the 'Wealth of Nations,' we should take the liberty of calling it

extremely feeble. In the first place, the supposition of facts is evidently erroneous. In a struggle between the capitalist and his workmen, it is clear, that the latter have every advantage. If they can barely contrive to subsist, whether on their previous savings, the bounty of friends and kindred, or chance jobs for the day, the week, or the month, during which the dispute lasts, they then start afresh with their whole capital (that is their personal strength and skill) unimpaired; and pursue their course as prosperously as if nothing had happened. If the capitalist, on the contrary, suspend his operations for a single day, he is, according to the present modes of transacting business, ruined for life. It is he, in reality, who is placed where our new lights would fain station the laborer, on the brink of a precipice; and the gulf of bankruptcy is open for ever under his feet. A ship, we will suppose, arrives from India with a rich cargo which is sold immediately by auction, and produces a large sum of money. Can the owner now come to his laborers, and tell them that he has just received as much money as he wishes to expend upon himself and his family for ten years to come,—that for that length of time he can do without them,—and that if they will not consent to take half their former wages, he will discharge them all at once? We all know the contrary. If he has received a hundred thousand dollars, he has probably notes due for two hundred thousand; for such is about the usual proportion between the real and fictitious property of our capitalists. He must, then, before he has time to think of his workmen, hurry from bank to bank, pay a note here, renew another with large deductions of interest there, and proceed in this way until, by judiciously applying perhaps fifty out of his hundred thousand dollars, he finds himself for the moment tolerably secure. Now at least he can come to his workmen with a bold face, and fifty thousand dollars in his pocket. Not at all. His ability to repeat the same operation ninety days hence depends upon his continuing his usual enterprises upon the same, and if possible, an extended scale. He has still not a moment to lose. After finishing with the banks, he must next repair to the wharf, superintend the equipment of another vessel, ship for India every dollar of his last fifty thousand that he can possibly spare from his personal expenses, and as many more as he can contrive to borrow, in order to receive as soon as may be another cargo; and instead of being at liberty to hold an independent language with his workmen,

it is for his interest to double their wages, rather than lose their services for a single moment.

We mention this state of things not as being absolutely necessary (for we know that it is possible for a man to trade within his real capital), but as what our intelligent readers will recognise as the actual and ordinary one. On this ground only we think the case is pretty well made out against Smith; but the real strength of the argument does not lie here. The average rate of wages, and of profits, does not depend at all upon the advantages that may be gained by either party in the accidental disputes between particular workmen and particular capitalists. The regulating principle, as Smith himself affirms, is that of demand and supply, which fixes the average value of labor, as of every other article. The occasional variations from this standard, that occur in particular contracts, are like the oscillations of a pendulum, which must always settle after a short time in its proper perpendicular direction. The wages of labor are determined for the time being by a comparison of the whole amount of labor in the market with the whole amount of the capital applicable to the purchase of it; and this being the case, it is obvious that competition and combination can have no effect in raising or depressing the average price. This is also the doctrine of Mr M'Culloch. *The rate of wages must depend on the proportion which the whole capital bears to the whole amount of the laboring population.** The second position taken by Smith, in defence of the proposition we are considering, is therefore even less tenable if possible, than the former; and it is really singular, that it should have been satisfactory to his own judgment.

After giving these reasons for his opinion, that the wages of labor are necessarily the smallest sum upon which the laborer can possibly subsist, Dr Smith proceeds to remark, that wages regularly rise when a community is advancing in wealth, and fall when it is declining. This is natural enough; and it would seem to be equally natural, that when a community is in this respect in a stationary state, wages would be stationary also. But this we are told is not the case.

'*The hands would naturally multiply beyond the employment.* There would be a constant scarcity of employment, and the laborers would be obliged to bid against one another in order to get it.

* Essay on Wages, p. 113.

If in such a country the wages of labor had ever been more than sufficient to maintain the laborer, and to enable him to bring up a family, the competition of the laborers and the interests of the masters would soon reduce them to the lowest rate which is consistent with common humanity.'

Here at least we have the appearance of an argument, although it is not to our minds a convincing one. If it be true, that the laborers naturally multiply in the long run, as Dr Smith has it, beyond the demand for labor, it certainly follows, that the market for this article will be constantly overstocked, and the price of it regularly depressed below its natural level. Such, as Smith asserts, is in fact the case; but he enters into no developement of the proposition, and brings nothing at all in proof of it, excepting a few loose observations on the situation of China. He does not, in truth, appear to attach much importance to the observation, but seems to have considered the strength of his argument on this subject as lying in the remarks we have considered above, respecting the effect of competition, and the deductions made from the gross products of labor by the landholder and the capitalist. The authority of Smith can therefore hardly be alleged with propriety, in favor of the doctrine that population naturally multiplies beyond the supply of employment, which he seems to have thrown out without much reflection as a sort of *obiter dictum*. The remark has since been taken up, illustrated, and as some think demonstrated by subsequent writers; and now forms the basis of the science of Political Economy, as understood and taught in the new school. Our readers will recognise in it the germ of the theory of Malthus on population, which it will therefore be necessary for us to examine, in order to ascertain the real principles that regulate the rate of wages.

The doctrine of Mr M'Culloch resolves itself into the same proposition, which we last quoted from Smith. He begins by stating, as above, that the rate of wages must depend upon the proportion between the whole capital and the whole amount of the laboring population. He then very naturally concludes, that if capital increase in proportion to population, wages will rise, and the reverse; and after making some inquiries into the principles, that determine, respectively, the increase of capital and that of population, he finally lays it down, on the authority of Malthus, as a fundamental law of nature, that population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the increase of capital,

that is, in the last result, of the means of subsistence. Mr M'Culloch is himself so fully satisfied of the truth of this principle, that he adopts it from the work of Malthus without even thinking it necessary to copy the reasoning in support of it. It is therefore needless to consider the particular form, in which the theory appears in his book; and in the few observations that we shall make upon it, we shall view it as presented by its author.

Mr Malthus is in fact the only person who has yet entered into a formal argument in support of this proposition. Before the publication of his work, it had been hinted at by various writers (as for example Dr Smith, in the passage quoted above), but they were generally not aware of its importance (if true) to the welfare of the world, and gave it but a small share of attention. Subsequent writers, who have adopted the theory of Malthus, have also in general, like Mr M'Culloch, depended wholly upon his reasoning in support of it, so that his book still remains the only manual of this new faith. It may appear presumptuous to think of replying in a few pages to an essay which occupies two thick octavos; but in this, as in other cases, the essential points lie within a small compass, and we shall now attempt to indicate them in a brief, but we hope satisfactory manner.

The work of Malthus was originally prepared as an answer to the visionary scheme of absolute perfectibility, which obtained a temporary vogue at the close of the last century. Condorcet, Godwin, and a number of other writers, undertook to maintain that all the evil we suffer is the effect of bad government, and that if the public affairs could once be properly conducted, vice and misery in all their fearful forms, including disease and death among the number, would disappear entirely, and that we should flourish forever in immortal youth, upon the face of the earth, without of course having any occasion to wish or hope for a better state hereafter. This extravagant system, which has lately been revived by Mr Owen, hardly requires a serious answer. If it did, there would be no difficulty in producing a hundred different ones, metaphysical and physical, each stronger than the rest, and all decisive. Among the number of these possible answers is the one, which appears to have formed the groundwork of the theory of Malthus, namely, that if disease and death, or, in his phraseology, vice and misery did not mow down one after another the generations

of men as they successively come up, the earth would pretty soon be overpeopled, and its inhabitants in want of the means of subsistence. This obvious fact furnishes a complete refutation of the system of absolute perfectibility, and although the partisans of that doctrine have made some awkward attempts to evade its force, they have failed entirely, as may well be supposed, of refuting it.

This principle, we say, appears to have been the germ of the theory of Malthus, but as brought out by him it wears a different and far less satisfactory form. After showing that population, if not checked by disease and death, *would* overpeople the earth, and produce a general famine, he goes further, and affirms that population, checked as it is by disease and death, *actually does* overpeople the earth and produce a general famine. These two propositions, which Mr Malthus strangely enough appears throughout his work to confound with each other, and to consider as in a manner identical, are obviously quite distinct, and very nearly contradictory. The former may be regarded as self evident; the latter, supposing it to be true, is at first sight paradoxical and contrary to common sense and feeling. Before it can be granted, it must therefore be rigorously proved. The single argument advanced by Malthus in support of it, when divested of the mathematical garb in which he has chosen to dress it up, is the following. Population has a tendency or capacity to increase very rapidly; the means of subsistence have a tendency or capacity to increase very slowly; therefore population actually outruns the means of subsistence, and by its excess produces everywhere distress and famine.

Now we are bold to say, that for an argument which has obtained a pretty extensive currency among enlightened men, this is as questionable a piece of logic as can well be found in the annals of sophistry. The form of the argument is in fact completely vicious, and if the leading propositions were both proved, the conclusion that is drawn from them would not be a whit the more probable. The premises are, that population has a capacity to increase very rapidly, and the means of subsistence a capacity to increase only very slowly. Now it does not require all the syllogistic science of the Stagyrite to see, that from possible premises nothing can be inferred but a possible conclusion. If it be possible for population to increase more rapidly than food, why then it is of course possible that men may be reduced to a state of famine. If we wish to know

whether they actually are or are not reduced to this state, we must inquire how fast they actually have increased, or are increasing, in proportion to the supply of food, and not how fast they possibly may or might. In the argument of Malthus a *possible* deficiency of food is made to produce an *actual* famine. A community in which the inhabitants do not increase at all, and are even diminishing in number, is supposed to be starved by the possibility of doubling its population, under other circumstances, once in twentyfive years. This is very much as if we should say, that Peter keeps a coach and six, and servants in proportion, upon the proceeds of a prize, that he may possibly draw in the next lottery; or that John entertained a select company of friends at dinner last Tuesday upon some larks, that he may possibly catch when the sky shall fall. Such reasoning reminds one of the middle science of the schoolmen, and would perhaps be better treated in the manner of Martinus Scriblerus than by fair and serious argument.

The only conclusion that really follows from the famous comparison of ratios, which forms the basis of the theory of Malthus, is, as we have observed above, that a deficiency of food is physically possible; a thing well known to all, and of no practical importance. It is true that this writer, whose reasoning is throughout extremely wanting in precision, often shifts his ground, and instead of his first assertion, that population has a physical capacity to increase very rapidly, substitutes the entirely different one, that population actually does increase very rapidly, excepting when it is checked by want of food. This new principle, if true, would doubtless establish his conclusion; but so far is it from being proved, that Mr Malthus has hardly laid it down for the first time, when he again withdraws it or qualifies it in such a way that it leads to nothing. After stating in his first chapter, that 'population *when unchecked*, goes on doubling itself every twentyfive years,' and farther in the same paragraph, that 'population, *could it be supplied with food*, would go on with unexhausted vigor,' he declares five or six pages later, that population does not proceed with unexhausted vigor, but that want of food is never the immediate check to its increase, except in the rare case of actual famine, and that the real immediate checks are diseases or vices resulting from scarcity, and *various other causes, moral and physical, entirely independent of the supply of food.* He thus contradicts his new fundamental proposition at the moment of

stating it; and afterwards proceeds to illustrate, by an infinity of examples drawn from a general survey of the different parts of the globe, the nature of these moral and physical checks to the increase of population, and the manner and extent of their action. Having in this way proved to his own complete satisfaction, and that of the reader, that population is nowhere checked by the want of food, and that it still does not increase in general with any great rapidity, and having thus completely refuted his own leading propositions, he very coolly and quietly without the least attempt to explain the contradiction, returns again to these propositions at the close of his first volume, repeats that population proceeds with unexhausted vigor, when not checked by want of food, and draws his agreeable conclusion of the necessary existence of a permanent and universal famine.

The real source of the erroneous reasoning of this writer, if probed to the bottom, would perhaps be found to lie in a disposition to consider all the moral and physical evils, to which we are subject, as indirect results of scarcity. If this were granted, it would follow, that there are no checks to the increase of population, except the consequences direct and indirect of this cause, and the conclusions of Malthus would in fact be true. This position is, however, quite untenable, and Mr Malthus, who is perfectly honest through the whole of his work, is occasionally led by the course of his reflections to feel that it is so, and in such cases readily admits for the moment, as in the passage above quoted, that there are various moral and physical checks to the increase of population, *wholly independent of the supply of food.* After candidly making these concessions he soon, however, appears to forget them, and returns to a course of argument which supposes the opposite opinion.

But whatever may have been the source of his mistake, it appears that the original premises which are employed in his argument, and which may safely be admitted, lead to nothing; while those which he occasionally substitutes for them, and which if proved, would establish his conclusions, are not only not proved, but are amply refuted by himself. His conclusions are, therefore, wholly groundless, and there is, of course, no reason for supposing, as is done by Mr M'Culloch and the other writers of the new school, upon the authority of his system, that the laboring classes naturally multiply in all countries beyond the means of subsistence. We might, then, with perfect safety,

rest the case here; but as the principle we are considering is of great moment, the most important, as we have said before, in the whole compass of political science, it may be agreeable to our readers to see it established in a positive as well as in a negative way. Having demonstrated the error of the doctrine, which assumes, in substance, that *the increase of population has a natural tendency to produce a scarcity of the means of subsistence at the time and place of its occurrence*, we shall now proceed to show the truth of the directly opposite principle, namely *that the increase of population has a natural tendency to produce a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence at the time and place of its occurrence.* If this can be made out, it will follow that the theory of the new school is not merely erroneous, but directly the reverse of the truth, and that its partisans have mistaken for a source of evil what is in fact a real and permanent principle of national good.

In order to ascertain with precision the effect of an increase of population upon the supply of the means of subsistence, let us suppose it to take place in a territory with which we are familiar, as for example the District of Columbia. The ten miles square comprehended within this district are capable of producing only a limited quantity of provisions, while the population is capable of increasing to an indefinite extent. Let us suppose for argument's sake, that the territory is already so fully peopled, that all its products are completely forestalled, that the last grain of corn, which can possibly be raised from the last inch of ground by the utmost stretch of agricultural science, is regularly grown, baked, and eaten by the actual population, and that the increase is nevertheless proceeding with the same untiring march as before. A new family presents itself; what, under these circumstances, will be the conduct of the person charged with procuring the supplies? Will he feel in his conscience, that he has come to the great banquet of nature without invitation? that there is no place reserved for him, and that he must necessarily starve? Will he, out of complaisance to Malthus, abstain from the use of imported grain or flour, and die of inanition, rather than consume a bushel of wheat, that was not grown within the District? We are bold to say, that, without so much as dreaming of any of the grand discoveries of the new economical school, he would simply put on his hat and walk across the street to the next flour merchant's, to order a barrel of flour, which, as the pro-

ducts of the District are by the supposition forestalled, must of course have been imported. But what in this (on the new system) somewhat critical and alarming emergency is the deportment of the flour merchant? An attempt is here made to induce him to aid and abet an open violation of the standing laws that regulate the distribution of wealth. Will he not see through it, and resist it with a manly firmness? Will he not exact from the applicant for flour a sight of his invitation to the banquet of nature? Upon his failure to produce it, will he not unfold to him the doctrine of the two ratios, convince him of the necessary disproportion between the number of empty stomachs and that of the loaves that are to fill them, and exhort him to starve with resignation and cheerfulness for the honor of political economy, and the greater glory of Mr Malthus?

Such, perhaps, would be the course which we should naturally expect, at least upon the system of the new school; but in point of fact nothing of all this happens. The flour merchant, or his shopman, welcomes our supernumerary with perfect civility, takes his orders, delivers him the barrel of flour, receives his money, books the transaction, wishes him a good morning, and turns away quietly to serve the next customer. But how long could this system be pursued? Would not a frequent repetition of similar applications exhaust at last the worthy merchant's patience or his flour? Suppose, for instance, a new family to present itself under the above mentioned circumstances every day for a year in succession (giving an annual increase of about two thousand inhabitants for the District, which we presume is pretty near the truth), would they all obtain their supplies as readily as the first? Would not the exasperated dealer in grain, worn out and baited in this way with ceaseless demands upon his constantly diminishing stock, at last take the bit between his teeth, and resolutely refuse to part with another barrel for love or money? This might be reasonably expected on the theory of the new school; but here again the reasonable expectations of these gentlemen are completely disappointed. The arrival of each new customer, instead of irritating the flour merchant, seems by some extraordinary accident to sweeten his humor, and give him a finer flow of spirits. He smiles upon each still more graciously than on the preceding one, and as the number increases, his very countenance and person seem to expand with it. He fattens on the flour which he sells to others, more than on what

he ate before himself. His brow, which was hitherto somewhat cloudy and contracted from a lurking doubt, whether he should be able to sustain himself at the stand which he had chosen, grows smooth and glossy; and the little man bustles about among his people with the gaiety of a cricket. Strange as it may seem, his stock of flour, instead of being diminished by this continual drain, increases like the contents of the widow's cruise in Scripture at every deduction. His warehouse itself enlarges; a neat dwellinghouse rises by the side of it, and his little patch of a backyard dilates into a decent garden, with a stable at the bottom. Untaught in political economy, and bewitched with the sparkling eyes of some one of his pretty young neighbors, the man marries. Here again his doom would appear to be sealed; but by the effect of his singular good fortune, and the constant affluence of new customers, he contrives to weather even this last and fatal rock. His family increases; but as his profits increase still faster, he keeps his head above water, and even comes at last to be regarded as a thrifty man. His wife and daughters give balls, and sport their merinos, his son (too probably) a tandem; and the father, if he be not ruined by the extravagance of his children, emerges at last into public notice as a successful merchant and wealthy capitalist, figures as a bank director, and finally closes his useful career by filling successively the responsible offices of Common Council man, Alderman, and Mayor of the city of Washington.

To state the same facts in fewer words, the supply of grain in the District increases in exact proportion to the increased demand, created by an increase of population; and we submit it to our intelligent readers to decide, whether a barrel of flour would ever be wanting there as long as there was a five dollar bill (or whatever the market price may be) to offer for it, although the whole territory were as thickly covered with dwelling houses as the sides of Broadway, or the Ward of Cheap in London. What is true of the District of Columbia is equally so of the ten square miles adjoining it, and so on to the Pacific Ocean. While the process we have described is going on in the District, a similar one, we will suppose, is proceeding at Baltimore, at Philadelphia, at New York, at Boston. What follows? Has the opening of this line of great markets along our coast produced, as it ought to have done on the theory of Malthus, a scarcity of provisions, or of anything else?

Do we hear that any citizen of any of these flourishing capitals has been compelled to request his neighbor, as a great favor, to sell him a barrel of flour at a famine price? The smallest merchant's clerk in Broadway, or State street, would smile at such a fancy, which has yet bewildered the brains of all the European professors of Political Economy. We all know that the increase of population on the seaboard, instead of producing any scarcity, has not only covered that part of the country with abundance, but exercised the most beneficial influence on the welfare of the whole interior. The growth of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, has scattered wealth and plenty through the Genesee country, and made the wilderness beyond the Ohio and Mississippi to blossom like a rose. It dug the Clinton Canal.* It will open a road through the Rocky Mountains. It would drain the interminable marshes, that form the interior of New Holland, and convert the last acre of them into a wheat field, before a bushel of grain would be wanted in the United States by any citizen, who had the money to pay for it at a fair market price.

These considerations are completely decisive against the theory of the new school, which supposes that it is the effect of an increased population to produce an actual deficiency in the supply of provisions. They are not, however, quite sufficient for the purpose we have in view, which, as the reader will recollect, is to establish the proposition that an increase of population, instead of creating a scarcity, produces, on the contrary, a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence, at the time and place of its occurrence. We have already shown, that the *supply* of provisions under these circumstances is just as ample as it was before, and that it increases in exact proportion to the increased demand. It only remains to inquire in what manner the *price* of provisions is affected by the same causes. Although there may be no deficiency in the quantity of provisions, if their real value rise in consequence of an

* We have little doubt that the state of New York will sooner or later do Mr Clinton the justice and itself the honor of conferring his name on the magnificent work for which we are all so much indebted to him. No individual, perhaps, ever rendered a greater service of an economical kind to any country, than he has done to ours by effecting this canal, which, considered merely in its political results, as a new bond of union between the different sections of the republic, would place its author in the first rank of public benefactors.

increase of population, the result will be equivalent to a virtual scarcity. If, on the contrary, as we shall endeavor to show, h eir real value fall, the result produced is a comparative abundance. The extraordinary cheapness of grain in the province of Holland, a country that lives wholly on importation (which is mentioned by Malthus as a *curious fact)*, is a pregnant indication of the nature of the conclusion, at which we shall probably arrive. It is our object, however, at present to establish the point in a theoretical way.

The price of provisions, like that of everything else, is determined by the cost of production, or the amount of labor necessary to bring them into market, and varies, of course, with the fertility of the soil upon which the supplies are raised, and the distance from which they are brought. The dearest that are required to furnish the market necessarily regulate the value of the whole. Where the population is scanty, and the state of society rude and unimproved, the price of the provisions consumed by a community depends wholly upon the quality of the soil they occupy. They are unable to profit by the superior fertility of any other, because they have nothing to give in exchange for its products. Although grain were ten times as cheap in Poland, as it is in Norway,* the Norwegians

* Norway is a favorite country with Mr Malthus. He considers the inhabitants as affording an honorable example of the practice of moral restraint, inasmuch as they seldom marry till the age of forty or fifty. Upon visiting the country he was much struck with the comfortable appearance of everything; and remarked particularly, that the farmers' boys had better calves to their legs, than any that he had seen elsewhere. It appears, however, that with all their prudence, the Norwegians do not succeed in supplying themselves regularly with a sufficiency of the ordinary kind of food, being frequently reduced, as Mr Malthus himself informs us, to mix their flour with sawdust. This was their condition when the writer of this article saw them in the year 1809.

Holland, on the contrary, is looked upon by Mr Malthus with an evil eye, the inhabitants being universally addicted to marriage. He says that it has been called the *grave of Germany.* We have had opportunity (in our personal capacity) to visit that country also, and, after residing several years in different parts of it, can say with great truth that the people could not wear a healthier appearance if they inhabited the garden of Eden. We were not led to examine particularly the lower extremities of the farmers' boys, but we have often observed with singular satisfaction the ruddy countenances of the young Dutch girls, who are all as fresh and blooming as the roses and lilies in their own flower gardens of Noordwyck and Haarlem. Mr

would nevertheless be compelled to live upon their own, and even at times to suffer from scarcity, because they have no products which they can offer to the Poles in exchange for theirs. But wherever an increase of population takes place, bringing with it, as it always does, a division of labor and a rapid progress in the arts of life, the price of provisions is regulated by the cost at which they can be raised on the best soil, anywhere under cultivation, with the addition of the charge of transportation to the place of consumption. If Norway should increase in population, and become a manufacturing country, the inhabitants would then have the means of supplying themselves with grain from Poland; and its price in their market would be the lowest at which it could be raised in the latter country, increased by the charge of transportation. Supposing this, on so bulky an article, to amount to one hundred per cent, still if the foreign grain be ten times as cheap as that of domestic growth, the price of the article would fall four hundred per cent, in consequence of the increase of population. A quantity of grain which could be raised in Norway for ten dollars and in Poland for one, the price being doubled by the charge of carriage, would now sell for two. It would therefore still be five times as cheap as the same quantity raised at home.

Malthus affirms that the number of marriages is about twice as great in proportion to the population in Holland as it is in Norway. He adds that the proportional mortality is also about double, and appears to suppose that the greater number of marriages is owing to the greater number of deaths. As the great mortality in all countries takes place among children, and as the number of children increases of course in exact proportion to the number of marriages, it is necessary that the mortality should also increase in the same proportion; and it seems more correct to reverse the order of cause and effect assumed by Malthus, and attribute the greater mortality to the greater number of marriages. If the mortality increase only in the same proportion with the number of marriages, it follows that all other circumstances are equal, and that in the present case the *grave of Germany* is precisely as healthy as the pattern country of Norway. This writer adduces some documents, which appear to prove that the actual number of births in the latter is about one quarter more than that of the deaths; and that there is of course a considerable annual increase. It is, however, highly improbable, that statements which make the number of births to a marriage greater in Norway than in Holland can be correct; because the marriages in the latter country being more frequent, are naturally earlier, and of course more instead of less fruitful. If the mortality and the number of marriages be both twice as great in Holland as in Norway, it is probable that the former country is increasing in population much faster than the latter.

A considerable part of the grain consumed in England is raised in soils that afford only ten or twelve bushels an acre, and this of course determines the price of all the rest. Now there are many soils in our country, that afford by the acre forty, fifty, and sixty bushels. In the latter case there would be an advantage of five hundred per cent to the British public in consuming our grain instead of their own, and deducting from this the charge of transportation at one hundred per cent, there would still be a net profit of four times the value of the article. This profit on the price of provisions would be the result of the increase of population, that has taken place in that country since the first occupation of the land now under tillage. The same considerations explain the cheapness of provisions in Holland, a country where, if raised on the spot, they would cost their weight in gold, and into which they could not be imported were it not for the density of the population, and the high state of improvement at which it has arrived. These circumstances have fixed the price of grain on one of the most sterile parts of the earth, at the lowest rate at which it can be raised in the most productive, increased by a small charge for transportation by water.

In general, therefore, the effect of an increase of population is to reduce the price of provisions wherever the soil is so much inferior in fertility to the best soils anywhere under cultivation, as to admit of the importation of grain from the latter. This reduction might be, as we have seen in the cases of Holland and England, a very considerable one; and as the average quantity of the different soils under cultivation, in different parts of the globe, is of course much inferior to that of the best, it follows that as a general rule, the effect of an increase of population is to reduce the price of provisions at the time and place of its occurrence. This reasoning supposes a perfect freedom of the trade in grain. If a nation chooses to limit its consumption to the quantity of grain, that can be raised on a limited territory abroad or at home, its population will be limited of course to the number of persons, which this territory will nourish; and when it has reached this point, if emigration be also prohibited, provisions will be sold at a famine price. But such artificial restraints have no connexion with the principles, which naturally regulate the distribution of wealth.

The only exception to the rule just stated is that of communities, which occupy soils of the very first quality. Grain

being with them already at a minimum price, cannot, of course, be made cheaper; and if it become necessary, on account of an increase of population, to draw supplies from abroad, the price of foreign grain, although raised also on soils of the first quality, would still be higher than that of domestic, by the amount of the expense of importing it. At this price the supply would be ample. But even in a case of this kind, the whole expense of living would still be less than it was before. The mere article of necessary food forms only a part, though a considerable one, of this expense in civilized communities. Clothing, furniture, and various articles of comfort or luxury, compose another portion not less important. Now the price of this whole class of articles is much diminished by the increase of population, and the consequent advance of manufactures and commerce; so that were the price of necessary food even to rise considerably (as it would in the particular case now supposed) by the effect of these circumstances, an equal quantity of labor would still produce a more abundant supply of the usual wants of life. Hence the effect of an increase of population is in this respect universally favorable. As a general principle, it reduces the price of necessary food, and in the few cases where this does not happen, it still reduces the total expense of living.

These principles are, we trust, sufficiently clear not to stand in need of any further illustration. If they did, it would be easy to corroborate them by one or two considerations of a very familiar, and at the same time very satisfactory kind, to which we shall now briefly allude.

1. If living were not at least as cheap in a thickly peopled territory, as it is elsewhere, it would be impossible for a dense population to exist anywhere as a permanent condition of society. If the necessary expenses of life, as compared with the reward of labor, were greater in the District of Columbia, than they are in the neighboring country, the products of an equal amount of labor would of course be less, and the profit upon it would fall below the ordinary rate. In that case capital, and population with it, would be withdrawn from the District, and invested somewhere else, until the equality was restored. The least tendency to an increasing density of population, if it were accompanied by an increase in the expense of living, would be counteracted by a stronger principle, acting in an opposite direction, and could never in fact be realized. Thus every city

on the globe affords, by the mere fact of its existence, a demonstration that the real cost of living in a dense population is at least as small as it is elsewhere. Mr Malthus denies entirely, that emigration could have any effect of this kind, and in his chapter on the subject enlarges on the dangers and hardships, that attend the settlement of new colonies in distant countries. But such considerations are foreign to the question, because the settlement of new colonies is not the sort of emigration, which would equalize, if necessary, the expenses of living in different places. If grain were dearer in the District of Columbia, than it is in the neighboring country, it would not be necessary for the inhabitants, in order to relieve themselves by emigration, to embark for New Holland or Spitzbergen. They would quietly remove to the next county, and all would be well. As this does not happen, we are certain that the evil does not exist, for which, if it did, so simple a process would afford a perfect remedy.

2. But this argument may be pushed farther, and it may be shown, that the permanent existence of a dense population upon any spot of the earth's surface shows not only, as we have seen, that the means of subsistence are at least as plenty there as elsewhere, but that they must necessarily be much more so. It is known that the annual mortality is much greater, and the chance of life much smaller in proportion to the density of population. In London, for example, the annual proportion of deaths to the whole number of the inhabitants, is as one to twenty, while in England in the average it is only as one to forty. The difference is in most cases not so great, but it is always considerable. It is necessary, therefore, to the permanent existence of a dense population on a given territory, not only that there should be no emigration from it, as there necessarily would be if living were unusually dear, but that there should be a constant *immigration* into it, equivalent to this difference of mortality; and this could not happen unless living were unusually cheap. There must be, for example, an annual immigration into London, equal to the number of native inhabitants of the city that annually reach a mature age, supposing the population of that city to increase only as fast as that of the kingdom in general.

What cause then attracts this never ebbing flood of emigrants towards London, and every other thickly peopled spot on the globe? Do they encounter the inconveniences and ex-

penses of a change of residence, for the mere satisfaction of diminishing their chance of life, without any countervailing advantage? Evidently not. If a thickly peopled territory naturally attracts labor from all quarters, it can only be because the reward of labor is greater than it is elsewhere. It is calculated that the population of Great Britain is about twelve millions, the number of annual births three millions, and of persons annually arriving at maturity one million five hundred thousand. On the same supposition the population of London being about twelve hundred thousand, the number of annual births would be three hundred thousand; but the mortality being double, the number of persons arriving at maturity would be only half as great in proportion, or seventyfive thousand. Hence an *immigration* to this amount of persons of mature age, or a proportionally larger one composed of persons of various ages, would be necessary to maintain the population at its actual height; and as it is known to be increasing much faster than that of any other part of England, the annual immigration may be rated at one hundred thousand persons of mature age, or about one fifteenth part of the whole number of persons annually coming to maturity in the country. This immense and never ceasing influx of new comers from every corner of the island, proves sufficiently the extent of the attractive force existing at the metropolis, which can be no other than the more abundant reward of labor, or, in other words, a more copious supply of the means of subsistence.*

* If we suppose two exactly equal masses of population, and that the reward of labor in one is twice as great as in the other, it will require an emigration of half the latter into the territory of the former to restore the equilibrium. Thus if the two masses be each composed of four thousand persons, and the quantity of grain to be distributed among them, as a reward for an equal amount of labor, be in one four thousand bushels, and in the other two thousand, each person will receive one bushel in the former and half a bushel in the latter; but if half the population, or two thousand persons, emigrate from the latter to the former, there will then be two thousand bushels to be divided among two thousand persons, and each will also receive a bushel. If the mortality be also double in the former, the influx from the other will exactly counterbalance it, and leave the reward of labor the same. If the former be smaller, it will require of course a smaller emigration from the other to establish an equilibrium. If the population of London be one twelfth of that of Great Britain, and the reward of labor twice as great as it is on an average throughout the island, an annual emigration of one twenty fourth part of the laborers

We have thus, satisfactorily we hope, though briefly, attempted to establish the proposition that an increase of population produces a comparative abundance of the means of subsistence, at the time and place of its occurrence. It follows of course, that the class of laborers have no tendency to multiply beyond the demand for labor; since their multiplication, to whatever extent it may go, increases instead of diminishing the demand for labor and its reward. The grounds, on which the writers of the new school endeavor to make the case of the laborer an exception from the general rules, that regulate the distribution of wealth, of course fail entirely, and with them the unnatural and antisocial doctrines, which they have pretended to establish upon this foundation.

The natural rate of wages is not the smallest pittance, that will serve to support life, but is a variable quantity determined by the productiveness of labor for the time being. Its amount is greater or less in different countries, and parts of the same country, according to the state of civilization and industry; and with particular individuals according to their personal habits. Where the state of society is such, that the people are generally industrious and temperate, an individual is able to produce in the course of the year more than he has occasion to consume. The excess of his products over his consumption constitutes his profits, and the average rate of profits is the mean of this excess in the different branches of industry. The profits thus obtained will be variously employed according to the temper and taste of the possessor. The more provident will accumulate a part of them, and the fund formed by such accumulation is what we call *capital*. It is realized in the shape of houses and furniture, machinery of all kinds, and any other objects of convenience or luxury. The exchangeable value of all these articles is determined by the productiveness of labor for the time being, and in making the exchange the capitalist and the laborer enter the market on a footing of perfect equality. In general they are partners, jointly interested in a common enterprise, of which they share the expenses and the profits, and in which each may therefore be said, with propriety, to receive the whole of his own products.

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would be sufficient. The loose calculations given in the text make the actual amount equal to one fifteenth, and the conclusion would be that the reward of labor in London is more than twice as great as it is in the country, by the difference between one twentyfourth and one fifteenth.

It is pleasing to observe the effect of these principles in dissipating the frightful phantasmagoria, which the writers of the new school present us as a correct picture of the condition of the laboring classes, that is, the mass of mankind, and restoring every thing at once to its proper place and shape. The gulf of starvation, which was yawning but now under the feet of this large and meritorious portion of society, closes forever without the necessity of a previous propitiatory offering of their children to the Moloch, who alone would have presided over a creation, such as these philosophers would make of the world we inhabit. The steep and rocky precipice, upon which we left them clinging painfully for life, spreads itself out into a fair and open country, the narrow stations that afforded them a difficult and scanty footing expanded into comfortable dwellings, surrounded with trim gardens, fruitful orchards, and snug outhouses, the whole neatly fenced, and in good order. The tenant is not condemned to renounce his natural feelings, and pass his life in cheerless celibacy, nor does he find his material comforts reduced by an early marriage with a prudent and well chosen partner. The pretty young wife, therefore, whom our economical enchanters had conjured away, now reappears, but no longer brings with her the fatal dish of potatoes, which before deprived her of half her attractions. The smoking steak, with its garniture of bread and beer, no longer deceptive and unsubstantial visions, assumes a tangible form and a permanent position on the table. A troop of healthy children flourish like olive plants around and upon them; and the whole scene exhibits a charming picture of simple but real happiness.

Such is the condition of the laboring class, that is, the mass of the people, wherever the state of civilization is such, that the mass of the people are generally industrious and temperate. The more deserving part of them, that is, those who are somewhat more active, industrious, and provident than the rest, realize a regular profit from their labor, and gradually accumulate a moderate capital. We have all read the history of the Forty Thieves, in which the uttering of the magical word *sesame* is supposed to open a passage through a solid rock. The cheerful sounds of *profits and accumulated capital* produce an effect less marvellous, but far more pleasant on the laborer's condition. A troop of minor comforts and humble luxuries gather round him and his family at the very mention of the names,—the decent holiday apparel, the Sunday's board

crowned with rural dainties, education for his children, and a gradual improvement of his own circumstances; until, after beginning as a common workman, he finishes, perhaps, as a justice of the peace; holds his own court of a week day; sits on Sunday with a proud satisfaction, only chastened by the reverence due to the place, under the pastoral instructions of his son, proclaiming the word of life from the pulpit; beholds his daughters forming well assorted marriages with the neighboring youth; and finds himself at last the patriarch of a numerous group of children, grandchildren, and family connexions, which rise up around him, calling and making him blessed.

The condition of the mass of the people is not therefore abject and wretched, by the necessary operation of the standing laws of nature; but depends on the agency of two principal circumstances; the state of civilization, and in each particular case the character of the individual. Accordingly as the habits of the individual rise above or fall below the standard of morals established around him, he will be either prosperous or unhappy, as compared with his neighbors and countrymen. Thus far everything depends upon himself; but no personal superiority over those about him will place him on a level with men, whose characters are formed upon a higher model. A respectable Hottentot is a being quite inferior to a common European or American. Much, therefore, depends upon the circumstances under which the individual character is formed, and in this particular a man can do but little for himself. If he have enjoyed the benefit of a social position favorable to happiness and virtue, he should regard and be grateful for it as a blessing of Providence.

But though the individual can in general do but little in raising himself above the standard of civilization, upon which his character is formed, the standard may itself be elevated by the efforts of powerful minds, whose talents and advantages enable them to exercise an extensive influence over the opinions and fortunes of others. By diffusing the knowledge of truth, by correcting errors, and reforming their practical results, by laboring to improve the great institutions of religion and government, which rule with imperial and almost unbounded sway the characters of men, by perfecting the modes of education, and finally by holding up the high example of a pure, disinterested, and honorable life, they may very much meliorate the circumstances under which the individual characters of their

countrymen are formed, and bequeath a permanent legacy of virtue and happiness to future generations. The philosophy of the new economical school teaches us, that such expectations are idle and visionary; and that no improvements in religion, education, or government can effect any favorable change in the condition of the mass of mankind, who, according to them, are everywhere condemned by the standing laws of nature to a state of abject wretchedness. Without going quite so far as the illustrious Roman orator, who declared that he would rather be in the wrong with Plato than in the right with Epicurus, we cannot but feel a strong satisfaction in finding what we think good grounds for rejecting this gloomy, though at present popular system; and shall be happy, if we have been able to communicate to the minds of our readers the convictions of our own.

It is time, however, to bring these remarks to a close. Although we have extended them to the full limits of a long article, it has not been in our power to do more than indicate, very briefly and rapidly, the leading errors of the system we have been considering, and the more correct principles which we have ventured to propose in their place. We must leave it to the intelligence of our readers to follow out these principles into their conclusions. They will be found to modify more or less, in almost all its parts, the science of political economy, as now understood and taught in England; and to give it a more agreeable and satisfactory aspect than it wears at present. In treating at times with levity, and occasionally with some degree of harshness, the prevailing doctrines, we have no intention, as we have already declared, of attacking the motives or depreciating the characters of their adherents. We believe the system to be not only erroneous, but in a high degree antisocial, and of course immoral; but the experience of the world has shown, that opinions of this description may be held and promulgated by very good and able men.

Mr M'Culloch, whose work is immediately before us, has personally but little to answer for as respects the merits of the system, as he belongs in substance to the class of commentators and compilers. Mr Malthus is the chief authority with this whole school, which was also sustained in the British Parliament and in his writings by the late Mr Ricardo, and to which Mr Brougham has given his personal sanction, and probably that of the Edinburgh Review. All these gentlemen are among the

most intelligent and philanthropic men of the age, and their imposing names would almost necessarily give a temporary currency to any opinion. The unsettled state of the public mind in England, upon all the main points of moral and political philosophy, and the questionable character of the theories most generally received respecting them, are also among the causes that have contributed to favor the circulation of these repulsive paradoxes. Society reposes, one might almost say, *ex vi termini*, upon the basis of the social instincts and affections, and no system of moral science could ever gain a complete ascendancy in any civilized community, that did not acknowledge their reality and importance. Wherever, therefore, the public opinion on these subjects was completely formed, no theory of any branch of political philosophy, which, like the one in question, should proscribe the social affections, and declare them to be merely pernicious illusions, would have any chance of success. But the nations of Europe have been so much distracted, for centuries past, by a series of revolutions and antirevolutions in government, most of them immediately connected with the state of public opinion on the leading principles of morals, and in turn producing a reaction upon it, that this most important branch of science has never yet acquired among them a consistent and settled shape.

The doctrines now most popular, especially in England, are by a strange kind of fatality, those which fairly invert the social pyramid, and place it upright upon its apex, by founding society precisely on the antisocial principle, improperly called *self love*. Such opinions, however improbable in themselves, tend, if once admitted, to facilitate the adoption of any theory that depreciates the value of the social affections. We may reasonably expect, that the current notions on these subjects will in time give place to others of a sounder and loftier cast, but we rather doubt whether we ought to look for such a reformation to the mother country; where all the literary and philosophical pursuits, that rise at all above the level of the business and amusement of daily life, seem to have fallen into a state of hopeless decrepitude. It is in this our young and flourishing republic, if we are not too much deceived by our own partialities, and what we think the signs of the times, that we shall behold, and that at no very distant period, a restoration of the true social philosophy, and shall see, perhaps for the first time in the history of man, the great science of morals assume a fixed and

stable form. Our political institutions favor in every way the developement of the best and noblest sentiments, and our prosperous national position, prospective and present, naturally leads us to regard the destiny and fortunes of man on the bright side.

Whenever this reform or anything like it shall happen, the antisocial paradoxes we have now been considering will fall of themselves, as worthless appendages of exploded and degrading heresies. We observe, already, the stirrings of a spirit, which seems to prognosticate this new order of things. The strains of pure and sweet poetry, that rise upon the public sense, like 'a cloud of rich distilled perfumes,' in the unaffected freshness of nature on every side; the copious vein of elegant literature, far more precious than our new found mines of gold, that has been opened in our native mountains, under the shade of our antique forests, and is now wrought with such brilliant success, the recent awakening of the patriotic fervor of '76, which has burst upon the nation in a glorious flood of eloquence unmingled, for the first time, with the bitterness of party spirit, and unsurpassed, whether for the elevation of the matter, or the classical perfection of the form, by the highest efforts of any age or country; these, we say, are the splendid signs of the times, that forebode the era of a sounder and more generous moral philosophy, than the heartless system that now prevails in England.

ART. VII.—1. *Message of the President of the United States, transmitting Copies of the several Instructions to the Ministers of the United States to the Government of France, and of the Correspondence with said Government, having Reference to the Spoliations committed by that Power, on the Commerce of the United States, anterior to September* 30*th*, 1800, &c. In compliance with a Resolution of the Senate. May 20th, 1826.

2. *A Sketch of the Claims of sundry American Citizens on the Government of the United States for Indemnity for Depredations committed on their Property by the French (prior to the* 30*th of September*, 1800), *which were ac-*

knowledged by France, and voluntarily surrendered to her by the United States, for a valuable National Consideration, in the Convention of that date. By A Citizen of Baltimore.

3. *Report of the Select Committee to whom were referred the Petitions of Joseph Emerson and many Others, praying to be remunerated for Losses sustained by Captures and other Injuries, under Authority of the French Republic, in the Senate of the United States.* Feb. 8th, 1827.

The document first named, at the head of this article, forming an octavo volume of more than eight hundred pages, contains various things, which, at different periods, have been deemed matters of the most intense public interest, but which now scarcely awaken the attention, except of the curious student of our political history. On the first of March, 1796, General Washington communicated to Congress a copy of the British treaty. The next day (although this does not appear from the journal) Mr Livingston, then member for New York, and now for Louisiana, laid on the table his famous resolution, calling on the President for the instructions, under which that treaty was negotiated by Judge Jay. On the seventh, the resolution was taken up and a debate began, which lasted without intermission till the twentyfourth. No debate had ever occurred, since the organization of the government, of a more purely partisan character; and, on taking the question, General Washington's administration was left in a minority, by a vote of nearly two to one.* A week after, General Washington sent a Message to the House, refusing to communicate the papers asked for, and assigning his reasons for that refusal. This refusal was considered a very strong measure, and increased the eagerness to see the papers to an extravagant height.

These famous instructions are contained at length, among the documents accompanying the Message, named first at the head of the article. This is the first time they were ever made public, and, excepting in the pamphlet named second at the head of this article, this present allusion to them is the first, as far as we are aware, that has ever been made, although they have been in print now nearly a twelvemonth. Such is the effect of time on questions of party politics.

* Ayes 62, Nays 37, absent 5.

Before we leave the subject, it may be observed, that the question of communicating or withholding the instructions must have been, with General Washington, purely a constitutional question. It does not appear, on examining them, that they contain anything which it would have been inconvenient or prejudicial to the administration to divulge. On the contrary, the publication of the instructions would have furnished a sufficient defence of the administration against the only charge which it was supposed the instructions would substantiate, namely, that of sacrificing the obligations, which the United States, by the treaty of 1778 and the consular convention of 1788 were under to France. Every point in the instructions was left to Judge Jay's discretion, to be modified as he should think best, except in the following cases, in which they were declared to be immutable.

'1. That as the British ministry will doubtless be solicitous to detach us from France, and may probably make some overture of this kind, you will inform them, that the government of the United States will not derogate from our treaties and engagements with France; and that experience has shown, that we can be honest, in our duties to the British nation, without laying ourselves under any particular restraints as to other nations.

'And, 2dly, that no treaty of commerce be concluded or signed, contrary to the foregoing prohibition.'

Whether, in the general effect of the treaty concluded, the first point of these instructions was not departed from, is a question which we will not here attempt to discuss. It belongs to the history of the politics of the United States, which, in all essential particulars, is yet unwritten.

But these instructions are by no means the only curious portion of the document under consideration. It contains papers, now for the first time published, in their nature far more important than the instructions of 1794, and relative to a matter of still greater interest in our political history. We mean the instructions to Messrs Murray, Davie, and Ellsworth, who composed the second special commission sent to the French republic; two journals of these envoys, one seemingly intended for publication, the other more confidential; their correspondence with the French ministers and with the American government, and the negotiation and correspondence of Mr Murray, relative to the ratification of the convention of 1800. Not a line of these documents, containing the history of a negotiation, which

was the leading event in the great revolution of our politics that was consummated in 1801, and which averted a foreign war, was ever before published. They will be found replete with the most curious and important matter, and it were really to be wished that our public journals could spare a portion of their columns from the electioneering service, and devote them to the circulation of these interesting materials of our political history.

Further, the volume contains a considerable part of the correspondence between the American government and its minister abroad, and between the latter and the French government, relative to the purchase of Louisiana. These papers are also now for the first time brought to light. They furnish the materials, whereby, with a little care, the history of this memorable acquisition may be traced. Several of the letters are of a most important character, but we have not time more particularly to notice them.

Lastly, the volume comprises numerous documents relative to that most strange, and unsatisfactory affair, the liquidation and payment of American claims, provided for by the Louisiana convention. Among them is the 'conjectural note,' forming a part of the Louisiana conventions, but not printed with them. These papers, with the pamphlet of Mr M'Clure, which has become exceedingly scarce, present a view of the controversy between Chancellor Livingston, our minister in France, and Messrs Mercer, M'Clure, and Barnet, the commissioners under the convention. One thing is evident, that the American government, in giving its assent to the principle, that the claims should be paid as fast as they were liquidated, acted under the impression that the fund provided was fully adequate to all the claims. As soon as the contrary was found to be true, Mr Madison, by direction of the President, exerted himself to procure a *pro ratâ* distribution among all the claimants. This, however could not take place, under the terms of the convention, which required an immediate payment of principal and interest of each claim, as soon as it was liquidated; and insuperable obstacles presented themselves to the rectification of this oversight by a new convention. The consequence was, that about half the claims were paid, principle and interest, and the other half, *though liquidated*, were not paid at all.

Were it possible, at this distance of time, to lay bare the progress of this transaction, in all its details at the board of

liquidation and *comptabilité* at Paris, we apprehend it would disclose scenes, which would throw a strong light on the wisdom and forethought of the administration who negotiated the late Florida treaty, in providing for the erection of a tribunal for liquidation and payment beneath their own eye.

The second article, of which we have given the title at the head of these remarks, we may ascribe, without indelicacy to Mr J. H. Causten, of Baltimore, a gentleman, to whom those who are interested in the recognition, by the American government, of the claims on France which were renounced by the convention of 1800, are deeply indebted. To his indefatigable exertions, aided by the liberal indulgence of the department of state, it is mainly owing, that the immense mass of documents, forming the first article under review, have been selected and prepared for transcription, in the archives of the government. In addition to the service thus rendered, Mr Causten's able pamphlet contains a learned and profound investigation of the subject; and, without being able to subscribe to all his views, we can cheerfully express the opinion, that he has treated the subject with extraordinary diligence and no little acuteness.

We have also named at the head of our article, the report of a select committee of the Senate of the United States on this subject. It may be recollected by our readers that in May, 1824, a resolution passed both Houses of Congress calling upon the executive for the communication of papers illustrative of the claims in question. The great amount of the documents included in this call prevented a compliance with it, till toward the close of the first session of the nineteenth Congress. Fortified by the contents of these papers, renewed memorials were last winter presented to Congress through the Senate, by those interested in the claims. These memorials were referred to a select committee, of which Mr Holmes, a senator of Maine, was chairman. We shall give a more particular account of this important paper, before closing our remarks.

It may be in the memory of those of our readers who take an interest in this question, that it has been once before examined, somewhat in detail, in the pages of the North American Review. In our number for January, 1826, we gave an account of the origin of the claims of our citizens in the various illegal acts of the French government and its agents, whereby

an immense quantity of American property was seized, confiscated, or destroyed, in the ports of France, or of her colonies, or on the high seas. The estimated amount of all the claims on France in 1797 was fifteen millions of dollars.

The French government, on the other hand, brought forward heavy claims on the American government, founded upon the treaty of alliance of 1778, whereby France and the United States guarantied to each other other the integrity of their possessions severally, and on the consular convention of 1788, which (as the French government alleged) entitled them to privileges in our ports, which, after having been practically withheld, were formally contravened by the provisions of Jay's treaty.

The settlement of these differences formed the chief subject of the negotiation entrusted to Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry. The instructions of these ministers, published shortly after the termination of their mission, showed, in a very clear light, the sense of the American government of the onerous nature of their obligations to France, under the treaty of 1778 and the convention of 1788.

When our former article was written, no part of the instructions to Messrs Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, who formed the second mission to France; nor of their negotiations; nor of their correspondence with their own government; nor, finally, of the correspondence of Mr Murray with the French government, relative to the ratification of the treaty, which had been ratified by the Senate of the United States, with the exception of the second article, had ever been published. These important and valuable documents are now in print, and as the great strength of the claim lies in them, we shall need no apology for offering our readers an analysis of them.

The second extraordinary mission to France consisted, by the first appointment, of Chief Justice Ellsworth, Patrick Henry, and William Vans Murray, then our minister in Holland. Mr Henry declined, and General Davie, of North Carolina, was appointed in his place.

The instructions to these commissioners bore date twenty-second of October, 1799. The first article in these instructions is expressed in the following terms;

'At the opening of the negotiation, you will inform the French ministers, that the United States expect from France, *as an indispensable condition of the treaty*, a stipulation to make to the citi-

zens of the United States full compensation for all losses and damages, which they shall have sustained by reason of irregular or illegal captures, or condemnation of their vessels and other property, under color of authority or commissions from the French republic or its agents.'

Our commissioners arrived in Paris on the second of March, 1800, and found the Directory subverted and Bonaparte in power as First Consul. On the eighth of the month his brother Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. C. Fleurieu, and M. Roederer were appointed on the part of France, to negotiate with our envoys.

On the 7th of April (the full powers having been satisfactorily exchanged in the interval), the negotiation was opened by a note of our ministers, in which they thus express themselves;

'To satisfy the demands of justice, and render a reconciliation cordial and permanent, they propose an arrangement, such as shall be compatible with national honor and existing circumstances, to ascertain and discharge the equitable claims of the citizens of either nation upon the other, whether founded on contract, treaty, or the law of nations.'

On the ninth, a reply was made by the French ministers, in which they thus express themselves, on the leading topic of the note of our envoys;

'They think that the first object of the negotiation ought to be, the determination of the regulations and the steps to be followed, for the estimation and indemnification of injuries, for which either nation may make claim for itself, or for any of its citizens.'

We have made these citations, to show that, in the understanding of our envoys, the indemnification of our citizens was the first point to be secured, and that the commissioners of the French government admitted, that a mutual indemnification was the first object to be provided for on just principles.

With a view to bring the negotiations to a point, our ministers, on the eighteenth of the same month, presented to the French commissioners a portion of the *projet* of a treaty, the first article of which is the usual one, establishing peace and friendship. The second commences in the following manner;

'Whereas complaints have been made, by divers merchants and other citizens of the United States, that, during the course of the war, in which the French republic is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damages, by reason of irregular or illegal captures and condemnations of their vessels and

other property, in ports and places, within the jurisdiction or dominions of the said republic, or under color of authority or commission from the same, for which losses and damages they have failed, without manifest neglect or wilful omission on their part, to obtain adequate compensation, it is agreed, that, in all such cases, full and complete compensation shall be made by the government of the French republic.'

On the sixth of May, the ministers on the part of France returned an answer to this communication of the American *projet*. They here, for the first time, touch the matter, out of which grew the great embarrassment of the negotiation.

In the close of their second article the American ministers had introduced this provision, namely;

'They [a board of liquidation to be raised] shall decide the demands according to their original and intrinsic merit, conformably to justice and the law of nations; and, in all cases of complaint prior to the seventh of July, 1798, they shall pronounce agreeably to the treaties and consular convention, then existing between France and the United States.'

The reason why the seventh of July, 1798, was thus assumed, as a dividing point between the two classes of claims,—those accruing before and those after that date, was, that this day was the date of the law, by which the treaties between France and the United States purported to be annulled. Supposing that annulment to be valid, the claims before that day would of course be decided by the treaties and the consular convention between France and the United States, while the claims subsequent to that date could rest only on the general principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations.

Alluding to this distinction, the French commissioners, in their note of May 6th, 1800, thus express themselves;

'The ministers see no reason which authorizes a distinction between the time prior to the seventh of July, 1798, and the time subsequent, for the purpose of applying to damages, which have taken place in the former, the dispositions of the treaty, and only the principles of the law of nations to those which have taken place during the latter. The mission [commission] of the ministers of the French republic has pointed out to them the treaties of alliance, friendship, and commerce, and the consular convention, as the only foundations of their negotiations. Upon these acts has arisen the misunderstanding, and it seems proper that, upon these acts, union and friendship should be established. When the undersigned hastened to acknowledge the principle of

compensation, it was in order to give an unequivocal evidence of the fidelity of the French government to its ancient engagements, every pecuniary stipulation appearing to it expedient, as a consequence of ancient treaties, and not as the preliminary of a new one.'

On the eighth of May, the American envoys returned an answer to the French commissioners, accompanied by the remainder of their *projet* of a treaty. In this answer, they state the reason why the seventh of July was assumed as a point of division between the claims which accrued respectively before and after that day; which reason, of course was, that on that day, a law was passed by the American legislature, declaring that the treaties and consular convention with France had ceased to bind the United States.

To this course of procedure, proposed by the American envoys, the French ministers made this decided and (we must own, in our judgment) pretty reasonable objection; in the words of our envoys, 'The French think it hard to indemnify for violating engagements, unless they can thereby be restored to the benefits of them.'

The American government, it will be considered, was resolved not to revive the treaties of 1778, nor the consular convention of 1788. This circumstance gives force to the French objection. The following extract from the journal of our envoys, under date of May 23, 1800, conveys this objection in ample form.

'The French ministers had frequently mentioned in conversation the insuperable repugnance of their government to yield its claims to the anteriority, assured to it in the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, urging the equivalent alleged to be accorded by France for this stipulation; the meritorious ground on which they generally represented the treaty stood; denying strenuously the power of the American government to annul the treaties by a simple legislative act; and always concluding, that it was perfectly incompatible with the honor and dignity of France to assent to the extinction of a right in favor of an enemy, and much more so to appear to acquiesce in the establishment of that right in favor of Great Britain. The priority with respect to the right of asylum for privateers and prizes, was the only point in the old treaty on which they had anxiously insisted.'

On the twentythird of May, the American envoys were informed that the French commissioners were at a stand for the want of fresh instructions from the First Consul; those which

they had started with, resting on the basis of a renewal of the former treaties and the consular convention of 1788. The First Consul was then in Switzerland, and this circumstance occasioned a considerable delay. Before the return of the First Consul, the American ministers, as a last effort, proposed an article, which went to delay the payment of indemnities, till the United States should have offered to put France on an equal footing with any other power, in respect to asylum for privateers. As this could not be done while Jay's treaty subsisted, an intimation was made by our envoys, that such an article *might* be offered to France, in a little more than two years, that is, after the expiration of the period to which Jay's treaty was limited.

On the return of the First Consul from his successes in Italy, a decisive answer was returned by the French commissioners, rejecting the modified proposal of the American envoys and concluding with the following alternative.

'Thus, the propositions which the ministers have the honor to communicate to the envoys are reduced to this simple alternative;

'Either the ancient treaties, with the privileges resulting from priority, and the stipulation of reciprocal indemnities;

'Or a new treaty, assuring *equality* without indemnity.'

On the fifteenth of August our envoys had an interview with the French ministers for the purpose of further explanation of some points, in the last despatch, and the following is the manner in which they express themselves in their journal, as to the result of this interview;

'It now became necessary to decide, whether the negotiation should be broken off, or the instructions departed from; whether the treaties should be revived or the indemnities sacrificed; and if the treaties were revived, whether (after considering the text of the French note, and the obstinacy with which the ministers adhered to it) an attempt should be made to effect a modification, that might enable our government to extinguish the exclusive privileges of France.'

In pursuance of this last idea, the American envoys made a proposal to the French minister, embracing substantially the following provisions.

1. To revive the former treaties.

2. To allow either party, within seven years, by paying three millions of francs to reduce the rights of the other party with respect to privateers to the footing of the most favored nation, *on which footing also the right is meantime to rest.*

3. To commute the mutual guaranty into an obligation, that when the United States shall be attacked, France shall furnish them one million francs in military stores; and when the French possessions in America, in any future war, shall be attacked, the United States shall furnish one million francs in provisions; and further, that either party may wholly liberate itself from the obligation of guaranty by paying to the other, within seven years, five millions of francs.

Other articles in this proposed arrangement made provision for the mutual stipulation of indemnities and restoration of captured property.

The clause Italicised, in the second of the above propositions, was that, to which the French ministers most perseveringly adhered; not, probably, because they now attached much importance to securing the privileges formerly guarantied to their privateers, but because they perceived that the treaty of 1794 with England inextricably embarrassed the American government on this head. To this effect therefore the French ministers reply as follows.

'In the last conference, it was clearly understood, and even reduced to writing, that the first part of the alternative essentially excluded all modification operating upon any one of the points controverted in the negotiation, and especially on the privileges secured to the French nation [by the treaties and consular convention] over other powers. The note, however, of the American Ministers proposes an essential modification of the seventeenth article of the treaty [of amity and commerce]. It is therefore evident that this note rests on the second part of the alternative, which consisted of an offer of a *new* treaty *without indemnity*. The French ministers therefore insist upon the condition, that all stipulation for indemnity be laid aside.'*

The French ministers, however, notwithstanding this protest, add, 'that France will give to the United States a new proof of her amicable intentions, by consenting, at the same time, to the modification of her treaties and to the principle of indemnities.'

They then offer a counter project, embracing the following provisions in substance.

* We have changed a few words in this extract, in order to give the sense more distinctly, than it appears in the document quoted, either from the obscurity of the original or the defect of the translation.

1. Full revival of the ancient treaties.

2. Commissioners to be appointed to liquidate losses on both sides.

3. The right of French privateers in the ports of the United States secured by the seventeenth article of the treaty of commerce of 1778 is continued in full force, with a proviso saving for seven years the like right, which may have accrued to England, by the treaty of 1794.

4. If the United States do not, within seven years, establish to France her rights *entire*, under this article, the indemnities awarded shall not be paid.

5. The guaranty shall be commuted into a supply of two millions of francs, or redeemed by a payment of ten millions.

These propositions, besides other disadvantages, were incompatible with the obligations understood to have been created by Jay's treaty. The American envoys accordingly offered, on the twentyninth of August, another proposal, which was in substance as follows.

That in consideration of eight millions of francs to be paid by the United States to France, the United States should be released from the obligation of guaranty, under the treaty of alliance, and the rights of France, under the seventeenth article of the treaty of commerce, should be reduced to those of the most favored nation. In addition to this, indemnities were to to be allowed and paid.

On the fifth of September a *counter project* was returned by the French ministers, in the following laconic despatch.

'To the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris.

'We shall have a right to take our prizes into the ports of America.

'A commission shall regulate the indemnities, which either of the two nations may owe to the citizens of the other.

'The indemnities, which shall be due by France to the citizens of the United States, shall be paid for by the United States. And in return for which, France yields the exclusive privilege resulting from the seventeenth and twentysecond articles of the treaty of commerce, and from the rights of guaranty of the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance.

'Signed BONAPARTE.
C. P. CLARET FLEURIEU.
ROEDERER.'

To this proposal the American envoys returned the following answer.

'For the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

'The American Ministers consider the propositions received from the Ministers Plenipotentiary of France yesterday, under date of the seventeenth Fructidor, as altogether inadmissible. The nearest approach to them, which the Envoys can make, is,

'1. The former treaties shall be renewed and confirmed.

'2. The obligations of the guarantee shall be specified and limited, as in the first paragraph of their third proposition of the twentieth of August.

'3. There shall be mutual indemnities, and a mutual restoration of captured property not yet definitively condemned, according to their fifth and sixth propositions of that date.

'4. If, at the exchange of ratifications, the United States shall propose a mutual relinquishment of indemnities, the French Republic will agree to the same; and in such case, the former treaties shall not be deemed obligatory, except that under the seventeenth and twentysecond articles of that of commerce, the parties shall continue *for ever* to have for their public ships of war, privateers, and prizes, such privileges in the ports of each other, as the most favored nation shall enjoy.'

An interview took place a few days after, between the American envoys and the French ministers, in which the latter avowed that it was their object to avoid, by every means, any engagement to pay indemnities, and in which the American envoys were brought to the conclusion, that any further attempt to obtain a treaty was vain, unless the provision for indemnities was abandoned. They accordingly offered the next day the following proposals to the French ministers.

'The discussion of former treaties, and of indemnities, being for the present closed, it must, of course, be postponed till it can be resumed with fewer embarrassments. It remains only to consider the expediency of a temporary arrangement. Should such an arrangement comport with the views of France, the following principles are offered as the basis of it.

'1. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the respective parties, not being able to agree respecting the former treaties and indemnities, the parties will, in due and convenient time, further treat on those subjects; and until they shall have agreed respecting the same, the said treaties shall have no operation. In the meantime,

'2. The parties shall abstain from all unfriendly acts; their commercial intercourse shall be free, and debts shall be recoverable in the same manner as if no misunderstanding had intervened.

'3. Property captured, and not yet definitively condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of ratifications, shall

be mutually restored. Proofs of ownership to be specified in the convention.

'4. Some provisional regulations shall be made to prevent abuses and disputes, that may arise out of future cases of capture.'

After some days' consideration and conference, the French envoys returned the following proposal.

'The French and American Ministers having admitted, at the close of repeated discussions, that they could not then agree upon the interpretation of the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance, and of the seventeenth and twentysecond of the treaty of commerce of 1778, or upon the reciprocal indemnities that may arise out of the capture of prizes from individuals of both nations, have agreed upon what follows.

'1. The parties put off to another time the discussions of indemnities and of the above three articles of the treaties of 1778, which treaties are, moreover, acknowledged and confirmed by these presents, as well as the consular convention of 1788.

'2. The ships of the two nations, and their privateers, accompanied by their prizes, shall be treated in the respective ports, as those of the most favored nation.

'3. National ships shall be restored or paid for.

'4. The property of individuals not yet tried, shall be so, according to the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, in consequence of which a *rôle d'équipage* shall not be exacted, nor any other proof which this treaty could not exact.

On the basis of these two proposals, the negotiation recommenced, and was continued *de die in diem*, till the treaty was signed.

The great point of embarrassment and difficulty was disposed of, in the second article, in the following terms;

'Art. 2d. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able to agree at present, respecting the treaty of alliance of the sixth of February, 1778, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of the fourteenth of November, 1788, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed, the parties will negotiate further on these subjects at a convenient time; and until they may have agreed upon these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no operation, and the relations of the two countries shall be regulated as follows.

The convention thus negotiated was on the sixteenth of December, 1800, laid before the senate of the United States, and on the third of February, 1801, the consent of that body was given to its ratification, with the exception of the second article, and the addition of another, limiting the duration of the

convention to eight years. With these modifications, it was ratified by the President, then about to retire from office.

Mr Murray was employed on the part of the United States to exchange the ratification of the treaty. Messrs Bonaparte, Fleurieu, and Roederer were employed in the same service, on the part of France. These ministers immediately inquired of Mr Murray, what were 'the motives of reciprocal interest,' which led to the suppression of the second article. Mr Murray frankly informed the French ministers, that he had no instructions on the subject; but that he presumed the object of suppressing the second article to be, to remove from the convention everything connected with an unsatisfactory and unpromising discussion. On this explanation, a correspondence arose between Mr Murray and the French ministers, which ended in the refusal of the latter to ratify the treaty, with the omission of the second article, unless it should be expressly stated, that this omission was intended as a mutual renunciation of claims and indemnities. To this Mr Murray was finally obliged to accede, and the proviso was introduced into the ratifying clause in the following form;

'The government of the United States having added to its ratification, that the convention should be in force for the space of eight years, and having omitted the second article, the government of the French Republic consents to accept, ratify, and confirm the above convention, with the addition importing that the convention shall be in force for the space of eight years, and with the retrenchment of the second article; *provided, that by this retrenchment the two states renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article.*'

The convention came back from France with this addition, was again referred to the senate of the United States, and by them the addition was sanctioned by a resolution, that they 'consider the said convention as fully ratified.'

Such is the history of this convention. We shall not now go into an argument on the subject. Such of our readers as may bear in mind the contents of the article on this subject, in the North American Review for January, 1826, may there find the principal points of the case.

The report of the select committee of the senate is an able and a valuable document. It presents in prominent relief a view of the claims, which France could reasonably make and did make against the government of the United States, both

under the treaties and under the consular convention. The pertinency of this view is evident, because, the stronger the claims of France on the United States, the more valuable was the consideration, for which the claims of our citizens were renounced by our government. The report also relates the history of the convention of 1800, and expresses decidedly the opinion that compensation is due to the claimants. The amount of the claims is estimated, in the report, at eight millions of dollars. It concludes with a resolution, calling upon the President of the United States, to procure the evidence and documents relating to these claims, and to cause an abstract of them to be laid before the senate, at the commencement of the next session of congress. This resolution was proposed by the committee, under the persuasion that the evidence in support of these claims is deposited in the bureau of the American minister or agent at Paris. This resolution was debated in one of the last days of the late session of Congress, and after an opposition, chiefly on the part of senators from the states in which the smaller number of the claimants may be supposed to reside, it was laid on the table.

Having, however, already exceeded the limits which we originally proposed to ourselves, we shall close with a few brief statements.

The amount of these claims has been portentously overrated. They have been stated on the floor of the senate at two hundred millions of dollars. The instructions of General Pinckney and his colleagues stated them at fifteen millions. Of this amount, nearly four millions of dollars were paid under the Louisiana Convention. Making this deduction and a fair allowance for exaggeration, three or four millions are probably the extent of what a commission would award.

It was the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall, expressed as one of the envoys, that, 'if they (the envoys) renounced them, or did not by an article in the treaty save them, the United States would thereby become liable for them to her citizens.'

From the beginning to the end of the negotiation, France admitted the justice of the claims, and professed her readiness to make indemnity to our citizens.

This the American government declined to accept, because the French coupled with it the recognition of their own claims under treaties with us.

Our government proposed to buy off these French preten-

sions by a very large sum of money, and it was unquestionably a vast political object to be relieved from them.

This object was effected solely and entirely by the renunciation of these claims.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the head of the French government when this convention was negotiated, said, at St Helena, that 'the suppression of the second article of the convention put an end to the privileges which France possessed by the treaties of 1778, and annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace.'

Spain having, in 1804, sought to evade the obligation of certain claims for spoliations in her ports, on the ground that these were French acts, for which the United States had renounced indemnity (and in this pretension Spain was backed by France), Mr Madison wrote to Mr Pinkney thus. 'The claims again, from which France was released were *admitted by France*, and the release was *for a valuable consideration*, in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them.'

If something be not due to the claimants under this state of facts, the natural principles of right are illusory, and the provision of the constitution is worthless, which prescribes that 'private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.'

ART. VIII.—*America; or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the several Powers of the Western Continent, with Conjectures on their future Prospects.* By A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, Author of 'Europe,' &c. Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1827.

THE appearance of this work has been expected with no inconsiderable degree of interest. It was generally supposed that a volume from the pen of the author of 'Europe,' whatever other qualities it might possess, could scarcely fail of being an ingenious and elegant production, and this expectation has been amply verified in the present instance. We believe that this work will be generally considered as a valuable accession to American literature, and it is by no means necessary in

order to appreciate its merits in this respect, to coincide in all the opinions and views which it contains.

The subject, which our author has selected, independent of his other weighty claims on our attention, is sufficient to recommend his remarks to a careful perusal. Our attachment to our country, as to all other objects, is in some degree proportioned to the frequency, with which she is presented to our thoughts; and an able and elegant treatise on her condition and prospects, may contain much that is open to dispute, and yet be highly valuable to our fellow citizens, on account of the reflections which it suggests, and the feelings which it tends to cherish.

The style, in which this work is written, would alone warrant us in placing it as a mere literary production in the highest rank of English classics. It is a style equally free from the meretricious ornament so prevalent in our own country; and from the colloquial roughness which distinguishes many of the ablest British authors of the present time. It affords a striking proof that vigorous thoughts lose nothing of their power, by being embodied in harmonious language, that a style by being easy does not cease to be energetic, that a lively imagination can utter all its conceptions, without violating the purest simplicity. To our author and to Washington Irving we are indebted for two of the most successful efforts, which have been made in the present century to revive the Attic elegance which distinguished the best writers of the days of Addison, mingled in the case of our author with much of the energy of a more modern school. It has been the fortune of these accomplished writers to acquire a high and extensive celebrity both at home and abroad, and we trust that the perusal of their works has not been wholly without its effect on the literary character of our country. Every candid mind must be convinced that whatever other causes may have impeded our progress in literature, a progress, which we have no disposition to exaggerate, it has been neither a deficiency of talent, nor a total want of the means of literary improvement. Both our author and Mr Irving are men born and educated in the United States, and we cannot forbear to speak of the former as one of the alumni of our venerable university, and to ask whether this is not one fact among many others, tending to place that institution in rather a different light, from that in which it has been sometimes represented.

The motives which led to the production of this work may be learned from a perusal of the following concluding remarks.

'It is time, however, to conclude these reflections. Notwithstanding the disclaims I have made of Utopian dreams and baseless theories of all kinds, I am aware that some persons (who would perhaps regret to see them realized) will charge even the most moderate anticipations, in which I have ventured to indulge, with exaggeration. I can only say that I have advanced no conjectures, without giving what I think good reasons for them; and that if the latter can be refuted, I am quite prepared to abandon the former. Other persons perhaps may doubt the expediency of holding up these favorable pictures of our own institutions, and future prospects. Why nourish in this way, they may say, a national vanity already perhaps sufficiently exalted? If we are really a favored and prosperous nation, let us rather thank God for it, and enjoy our blessings in silence, than excite the envy and malignity of other less fortunate communities, by empty boasting. If we occupy a high and commanding stand in the political system, let us not, by indiscreetly vaunting our strength and advantages, induce other governments to attempt to deprive us of them. In these remarks, there is some degree of force; and I should regret to be considered, by competent judges as having passed the line of discretion in speaking of the political importance and future greatness of our union. But in order to appreciate fully the value of our liberty, it is absolutely necessary that we should, in the first place, correctly estimate the advantages for which we are indebted to it; and in order to discharge our duties as a nation, we must know our precise position as such, in the system of which we form a part. On both these subjects there are various opinions. Some deny that our liberty has contributed at all to our progress in wealth and greatness. Others contend that we have nothing to do as a people with foreign relations. Both these doctrines are, in my opinion, of dangerous tendency, and I have endeavored, in the course of the preceding work, to prove their incorrectness. If I have represented the government as occupying a lofty station among the leading powers of the world, it has been with a view of impressing upon the minds of our rulers and of the nation, the deep responsibility under which they act, in consequence of the immense influence, which is necessarily attached to their position, and which they must exercise even in refusing to exercise it. If I have presented a flattering image of our present situation and future prospects, it has been for the purpose of showing more distinctly the inestimable worth of the political institutions which have made us what we are. Should one or both of these great

objects be in any way effected, I shall think myself, I will not say rewarded for the trouble of writing this work, which has been to me a pleasure, *labor ipse voluptas*, but fully satisfied with its success.' pp. 363, 364.

In pursuance of these views, the principal part of this work is devoted to the consideration of the condition and prospects of the United States, viewed as one member of the great family of civilized and christian nations, which occupies, with some slight exceptions, the whole of Europe and America. These nations are divided into three classes. 1. Those communities which are governed upon the *despotic system.* In this class are placed those of the abovementioned communities, which inhabit the continent of Europe and its dependencies. Of this class Russia is represented as the leading and ruling state, while France, Austria, Prussia, and the remaining nations of the continent, are considered as in a condition of virtual subjection to her immense military power, or to borrow our author's happy expression, as 'crushed beneath the giant mass of this political colossus.' 2. Great Britain is represented as constituting, together with her dependencies, a second class of powers. In our author's opinion these dependencies are destined, at no very distant period, to sever themselves from the mother country, and the connexion between them, as it is not founded on principles either of right or policy or permanent and lasting power, must be considered as accidental and transitory. Great Britain herself is described as in a state of transition from tyranny to freedom, as exhibiting the elements of despotism and liberty, in a condition of action and incessant warfare. 3. Our author's third class is composed of those nations, which live under free and popular governments, and comprises the republics of the Western Continent. At the head of these he places our own country, which 'enjoys the proud distinction of taking the lead in the great division composed of the various new nations that cover this continent, a lead, not assumed in arrogance and maintained by force, but resulting in the course of nature from priority of national existence, and secured by continual good offices done and to be done to our sister republics.' Russia, Great Britain, and the United States are therefore, according to our author, now the three prominent and first rate powers of the civilized and christian world, and all the rest stand at present in an order secondary to one or the other of these. These are the views

laid down in our author's first chapter, which also contains some spirited remarks respecting the comparative effect of despotic, free, and mixed governments respectively.

We are prevented from quoting these remarks by their length, but shall have frequent occasion to refer to them in the course of our observations, and shall only observe, in passing, that in his picture of the situation of free and republican countries, our author has asserted respecting all the republics existing 'throughout America,' (see p. 21.) what in our humble opinion can be truly predicated in its full extent of the United States alone.

Having thus stated in his first chapter his leading opinions, our author devotes the remainder of his work to illustrating and enforcing them. We shall merely offer to our readers such cursory remarks, as have suggested themselves to us, on the perusal of his arguments. The superiority of Russia not only to any other power in Europe, but to all the powers of the European continent united, seems to be a favorite position of our author. It was maintained at some length in a former work, and is repeatedly brought forward in the present. We must beg leave now, as on a former occasion, to express a different opinion. We look in vain for proofs of this amazing preponderance. The power of Russia, great as it unquestionably is, seems to us far from sufficient to enable her to direct at will the movements of France, of Austria, or even of Prussia, still less to overcome their united forces. The memorable defeat of Napoleon in 1812 (a defeat in which the rigors of a Russian winter had, at least, *some* agency) may prove that Russia is impregnable to foreign invasion, but it proves nothing else. Who supposes that Alexander could have reached Paris in 1814, unaided by his allies? and who doubts that if the emperor of Russia should now attempt to repay the hostile visit of Napoleon, his discomfiture would be equally certain and signal? Indeed we cannot readily conceive, how France, lately the mistress of Europe, can be considered as a mere secondary power, either to Russia, or to any other nation in the world. France contains within the compass of less than two hundred thousand square miles, upwards of thirty millions of inhabitants. Her population is perfectly homogeneous in its character, more enlightened than that of any other country, with the exception of Great Britain and the United States, and distinguished by frugality, industry, courage, and patriotism.

She is no less remarkable for her physical advantages, than for the magnitude and character of her population. The mildness of her climate enables her to devote large regions to the cultivation of the vine and olive, which would be absolutely sterile under a colder sky, and scarcely any country of equal size contains so small an extent of unproductive soil. She has already risen as if by magic from the state of extreme exhaustion, to which she was reduced in 1815, to a high degree of prosperity; she is rapidly throwing off the burden of her public debt, and providing for the increase of her navy and her fortifications, with a liberality from which freer and more favored nations, might derive a useful lesson. A nation thus circumstanced has nothing to fear from the aggressions of any continental power. It is in her foreign possessions and on the ocean only, that she is vulnerable.

These remarks are made simply from a regard for what seems to us to be the literal truth. We are no advocates for the late policy of the French government. The invasion of Spain was a measure, which can have excited only one feeling in the minds of all lovers of liberty or justice. The doctrine that the subject can derive no rights or immunities from any source but the liberality of the throne, that the king and not the people is the fountain of all rightful power, is one which we presume needs no comment.

But we are none of those, who think it necessary to disguise their opinions, lest they should be suspected of desiring what they believe. The power and resources of France are one thing; the justice of her measures, the liberality of her rulers, and the freedom and happiness of her subjects, another. Believing, as we do, that she has nothing to fear from the force of Russia, we cannot admit the correctness of our author's assertion, at least in its full sense, that in overthrowing the Spanish constitution 'she acted under the influence, one might almost say under the compulsion, of that power;' nor can we allow that this triumph of bigotry and injustice over knowledge and liberty, deplorable as it was, warrants us in renouncing all expectation of any immediate improvement in the political condition of the nations of continental Europe. On the contrary, no future event seems to us more probable than the eventual progress of free principles and free institutions throughout those communities. To what degree, and in what mode, the systems of government now existing in these countries can be exchang-

ed for those of a more popular character; what abuses can be at once extirpated and what must be corrected by a more gradual process; what degree of liberty can now be borne by nations, which have been long buried in ignorance, and how speedily they can be fitted for a higher state of political existence; these are questions for those more immediately concerned, and not for us to settle. But the late efforts of the patriots of Spain to erect a constitutional monarchy, though frustrated by the united force of foreign arms and domestic treachery; the establishment of a representative branch of government, and of the trial by jury in France; the late signal defeats, experienced by the ministry of that country in their attempts to establish the law of primogeniture, and to restrain the liberty of the press; the freedom with which political discussions have been carried on in the very centre of Europe; and above all, the glorious struggle of the Greeks; these and many facts of similar import constantly passing before our eyes in the European world, are unequivocal indications, that the progress of political light and knowledge throughout Christendom can no longer be permanently arrested by any human agency;

'and yon grey lines
That fret the East are messengers of day.'

Great Britain is represented by our author, as we have already remarked, as in a state of transition, from a despotic to a popular government. 'We find,' says he 'institutions existing together, which suppose the truth of directly opposite principles, and which, if they retain any real force, must lead of necessity to continual collision. A king, reigning by the grace of God, and a parliament, claiming and exercising the right of deposing him at pleasure; an established church, with universal liberty of conscience and worship; equality of rights, and hereditary privileges; boundless prodigality in the public expenses, with a strict accountableness of all the agents; with a thousand other incongruities of the same description.' There is certainly much truth in this spirited picture, but it ought not to be forgotten that the British constitution, composed as it is of various and apparently discordant materials, may, after all, be in most respects better adapted than any which can be devised, to *things as they are*. Nothing can be better said on this subject than the following remarks of our author, in his chapter upon South America.

'In the United States, we hold nearly two millions of blacks in domestic slavery, while our senate chambers are daily echoing with our fervent protestations of zeal and affection for freedom under every color and aspect! And reason good, for it is one thing to love liberty, and another to love desolation, slaughter, and universal uproar, which would be the consequence of a simultaneous and general emancipation of the blacks. Any measure, therefore, and most of all a measure so momentous as the establishment of a new constitution of government, is not necessarily politic and expedient, merely because it is favorable to *liberty*, that is to the absence of restraint upon individuals. The absence of restraint in itself is a good thing, but the absence of all restraint would be, in other words, the absence of all government, and would of course afford no basis for any institutions. Restraint to a certain extent is everywhere necessary, and the degree to which it might be admitted, must be determined, as I have stated above, by considering not merely abstract notions and foreign examples, but also the state and condition of the people. The institutions which may be recommended by the former, can only be established with safety as far as they are also consistent with the latter. Any attempt to introduce others, however beautiful in theory, and however beneficial elsewhere, is dangerous. To say that it will certainly be ruinous or greatly injurious to the nation that makes it, would be going too far; because we know that Providence often modifies the working of general causes, so as to bring good out of evil. Dangerous and imprudent such attempts certainly are, and it is the practice of men and nations, who pretend to wisdom, before they invoke the special intervention of Providence, to exercise, in the first instance, with the greatest possible effect, the power and means, which the same Providence, operating through the general laws of nature, has placed at their disposal. pp. 190, 191.

We do not therefore look for the establishment of a republican government in Great Britain, and it belongs not to us to say whether under present circumstances, such a measure would be desirable. The popular cause in that country has sometimes been supported in a mode far different from the calm and dignified course, which was pursued by the people of this country in the establishment of our own constitution, and by men of a far other character than those who composed the Congress of 1776, and the Convention of 1787. But though we expect no *radical* change, in any sense of the word, in the constitution of Great Britain, there is much in her present system of government, which many of her wise and good

men are laboring, we trust not in vain, to extirpate. The change of public opinion in the course of half a century with respect to the slave trade is of itself a sufficient proof of how much can be effected for the cause of truth in a country, where the press is unshackled. In the early part of the reign of George the Third, the royal authority was repeatedly exerted to invalidate acts passed by our colonial legislatures for the prevention of that traffic. We scarcely need mention in what light the slave trade is now regarded. This most signal triumph of the persevering efforts of the friends of justice and humanity, is, we confidentially believe, not destined to stand alone. It argues, we think, no very sanguine temperament, to believe that the Unitarians in Great Britain will not long be debarred from the rights of freemen, that the Catholics will soon experience at least a mitigation of their present Egyptian bondage, and that the *necessity* of employing seamen without paying them an adequate compensation for their services will not always be held a sufficient justification for the most arbitrary violation of equal rights and personal liberty.

The views of our author respecting the political prospects of the South American republics, seem less sanguine than those entertained by many of our fellow citizens. 'It appears,' he observes immediately at the close of those remarks in his fifth chapter, which we have quoted in another connexion, 'rather a doubtful point whether the establishment in Spanish America, of governments as popular as that of the United States was a measure recommended by the character and condition of the people, and of course whether these governments are likely to be equally durable and successful with ours.' He afterwards observes, however, with great justice, that no foreigner probably possesses the information respecting the political situation of those immense regions, which would justify even a suggestion of the nature of the institutions that would suit them best. But though he declines pronouncing any positive opinion on the course pursued by the newly emancipated communities of South America, in the establishment of their respective constitutions, his chapter on this subject is highly interesting. It is written throughout with great ability, and throws much light, not only on the nature of the South American revolution, but on that of our own, and with the exception of the remarks on the subject of religion, we think will approve itself to every candid mind, for sound as well as

ingenious reasoning on the science of government. We recommend the whole of this chapter to the attentive perusal of our readers, and cannot forbear extracting from it the passage relating to Bolivar, particularly on account of the excellent remarks with which it closes. We trust that they will not be without their effect in repressing that prostitution of great names, now so fashionable among political writers.

'The same remarks may be made upon the respective pretensions of Bolivar and Washington. The attempt to compare them is wholly premature. Bolivar is still in the midst of his career; and although I have no disposition whatever to cherish the doubts respecting his future conduct, which the enemies of liberty affect to entertain; although I feel the fullest confidence that he will justify the hopes of the world, and terminate as he has commenced, the glorious mission which has been allotted to him, it is nevertheless too early to award the prize before the race is run. Long as he has labored in the cause of his countrymen, and much as he has done for them, he has one thing left to do, more difficult, if we may judge at least by its rarity, than all the rest; and without which all the rest will go for nothing and worse than nothing. He has yet to show, that he knows the difference between true and false greatness, that is, between true greatness and a hoop of gold or a wooden seat covered with velvet. After subduing hostile enemies, he has yet to subdue (if he is unfortunate enough to feel them) the impulses of irregular ambition; and this is the achievement which Cicero, in his splendid but unhappily wholly unmerited encomium on Cæsar, declares to be the one which raises a man as it were above the level of humanity. The enemies of liberty in Europe, who judge of others by the consciousness they have of their own base and sordid sentiments, generally laugh at the idea that Bolivar will ever resign his truncheon and descend to private life. For my part I see no reason whatever to suspect him. His whole conduct, as far as I am acquainted with it, has been patriotic and disinterested, and affords the happiest prognostics of his future course of life. When he shall have justified, as I have no doubt he will, these high expectations, we shall be able to pronounce a favorable opinion on his general character, and to class him with the few great commanders in free states, who have been at the same time heroes and friends of their country. Even then, however, before we can compare him with Washington, he must have rendered the most important services to his fellow citizens in the foundation and administration of their civil institutions, must have rescued them from monarchy, as he had redeemed them before from foreign bondage, must have held out to them the

graceful and edifying example of a private life corresponding in dignity and purity with the glory of his public career, and finally must have brought his earthly course to an honorable end. Death, says Burke, canonizes a great character, and we may add death only; because nothing else can give us complete assurance, that the greatness we admire will be kept up without failure or fault to the last. To accomplish all this may not be so easy as Mr De Pradt, whose pen sometimes outruns his judgment, perhaps imagines. All this, however, must be done, before Bolivar can claim the honor of being a worthy and successful student in the school of Washington. Greater honor than this he need not wish, and can never under any circumstances aspire to. To place him at present above his illustrious master, is merely an idle exaggeration, and argues a very inadequate conception of the characters of both. In general the world and even his own countrymen have been somewhat too prone to raise up rivals and equals to our incomparable hero. Bonaparte was at one time the Washington of France; Iturbide in his day was a Washington. Riego and Quiroga rose in a few months from the rank of lieutenants to be the Washingtons of Spain. The name of the father of his country is too honorable a title to be lavished upon every bold adventurer, even in a cause apparently just. The world had been created nearly six thousand years, before the appearance of the first or rather the unique Washington, and it would be singular if half a dozen more should spring up like mushrooms within twenty years of his death. I would not be understood, however, to confound the name of Bolivar with those of the other pretenders to distinction, whom I have just mentioned. Should the close of his career correspond with its commencement, he will no doubt stand more nearly on a parallel with Washington, than any other character recorded in history.' pp. 181—183.

The remarks on religion, to which we have alluded, extend from page 194 to page 203. The following is the introductory paragraph.

'Without, however, pretending even to suggest an opinion as to what forms of government would be most suitable to the condition of Spanish America, much less to speak with decision on this subject, it is not very difficult to perceive that there was one important element of political power, at their disposal, which did not exist at least to the same extent and in the same shape with us, which they have certainly not entirely neglected, but of which they might perhaps have taken greater advantage than they have done, in forming their institutions—I mean *religion*. It has been made by some an objection to the constitution of these new states, that they have adopted an established religion, and that

in some of them the exercise of any other is prohibited under severe penalties. This latter clause is undoubtedly injudicious, at variance with policy as well as common humanity, and directly detrimental to the purpose which it is meant to promote. But as respects the former, instead of blaming the Spanish Americans for having done too much, I should rather be disposed to think that they had done too little; and that the religious establishment, which they did not create, but found already existing in full vigor, deeply seated in the faith, affection, and habits of the people, might have been employed, with great propriety and utility, as the mainspring and principal basis of the new political institutions. It does not belong to my purpose to state in detail what would have been in this case the modes of legislation and administration, or the names and functions of the principal magistrates. These are matters comparatively unimportant in all governments. But on this supposition, the great rule of assuming the existing state of things as the basis of the new fabric would have been observed, and at the same time an element of power been brought into action, not inferior perhaps in beneficial potency to any other, and amply competent to keep in motion the machinery of any constitution.' pp. 194, 195.

Every reader in this country will agree that our author has not employed too strong terms of censure, to say the least, in speaking of the prohibition of the exercise of any but the Catholic religion, which we believe exists in most of the republics of South America. That such a clause could be introduced into the constitution of any state professing to be free, is a most strange phenomenon in political history, and is more calculated than all other circumstances put together, to excite fearful apprehensions for the future success of rational liberty in South America. The spirit which could dictate such a provision is not that which animated those sages and heroes of our own country, for whom the nations of South America profess, we doubt not sincerely, so deep a veneration. It is possible, however, that the number of Protestants in these nations may be so inconsiderable, that this prohibition, however absurd and unjustifiable, however inconsistent with the principles on which these governments are avowedly founded, may produce but little practical evil. But should the fact be otherwise, should there be a large body of citizens in the South American republics debarred by legislative enactments from exercising what has ever been considered by all reasonable men, as one of the clearest and most inalienable rights of every human being, the right of worshipping God according to the

dictates of his own conscience, the continuation of such tyrannical provisions must, and we hesitate not to say it ought to diminish, in no inconsiderable degree, the claims of those republics to the sympathy and respect of all free and enlightened nations.

The mere establishment of a national church is a measure certainly less objectionable than that of which we have just spoken, but differing from it more in degree than in quality. We believe that public sentiment in this country is directly at variance with our author's opinion on this subject, that the South American nations, in adopting an established religion, 'have done too little rather than too much.'

We have yet to learn with what justice or consistency the tenets of a certain specified sect can be made an indispensable passport to the honors of a republican country, or how they can be rightfully supported and diffused at the expense of Christians of other denominations. Our belief in the doctrine of the necessity of separating the church from the state is too firmly established to be overthrown by our author's reasoning, ingenious as it is; and we cannot agree with him, that such a separation does not exist in our own country. The sovereignty of church and state, says he, is united in the people. But whether (admitting the entire correctness of this position) this sovereignty can be exercised, in the opinion of the people of the United States, with equal propriety in both cases, is a question, upon which some light is thrown by the fact, that in the very instrument by which they established a civil government for the union, it is declared that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' As little can we agree with our author in the remark, that our laws have hitherto wanted the advantages of a direct religious sanction. We suppose that men of every religious sect in our country assent to the correctness of the rule, that it is the religious duty of every citizen to obey all laws duly enacted by the government, under which he lives, or in the language of Scripture, 'to submit himself to every ordinance of men, for the Lord's sake'; and what other sanction could be given to our laws by any church or priesthood of human establishment, we are utterly at a loss to know;

'Scimus, et hoc nobis non altiùs inseret Hammon.'

We are told that 'religion should have been made by the lawgivers of the South, the principle in forming their political

creations, in the same way that liberty was with us.' (p. 201.) We cannot conceive in what way such a course could have been pursued without the establishment of a national church; but as we do not quite understand the suggestion, we shall hazard no farther remarks upon it.

The greater part of this work is devoted, as we have before observed, to the consideration of the condition and prospects of our own country.

With respect to our external policy, we cannot perceive that our author recommends any material variation from the course hitherto pursued by our government, of avoiding, as far as possible, any entangling connexion with foreign nations. It is truly said that a complete abstinence from all intercourse with other countries is a plan which would be highly impolitic if practicable, and which has never been avowed or defended by any one. It must be equally considered, however, as one of the greatest benefits of our local situation, that we are almost entirely exempted from the necessity of interfering in the contentions of other states, in order to protect ourselves from unjust aggression, and that consequently such a necessity can rarely be made a pretext by ambitious and unprincipled statesmen, for engaging in war for purposes of mere aggrandizement. *The balance of power*, a phrase of magical efficacy elsewhere, is little else than an empty sound to us. The only instance in which the government of our country has manifested a strong interest in the internal policy of other nations, is in their conduct towards the newly formed republics of South America. What will be the nature of our connexion with those communities, it is now impossible to say. We may safely predict, however, that it will not be of a kind to put our neutrality in unnecessary jeopardy.

The internal policy of our country is the subject of the author's fourth chapter. The greater part of this chapter is taken up with the consideration of the necessity of encouraging our manufactures. Our author combats, with great ability, the opinion, that manufacturing establishments are necessarily prejudicial to morals. The truth, we conceive to be, that in manufactories, where a number of individuals of both sexes are collected together, it is difficult to preserve a medium between great regularity and gross disorder. We have little doubt that most of those establishments in this country are distinguished by the former of these qualities.

To what degree our manufactures should be protected by our imposts is a question, on which we shall not enter. That some protection should be afforded, is a principle, which we consider as settled in the minds of a great majority of our countrymen, and which has been avowed and adopted by our government ever since the days of Hamilton. We find that the tariff of 1824 was opposed by Mr Webster, and many of its ablest adversaries, not on the abstract principle that manufactures should be left to themselves, but on the ground, that, admitting the reverse of this principle to be true, the bill itself was injudicious and unreasonable. Hence all questions, which can arise in Congress on the encouragement of manufactures, will, probably, be viewed as questions of *more or less*, and whether a tariff shall be passed or not must depend almost wholly on its details.

Our author's principal aim, in his remarks on this country, seems to be rather to present a picture of her future progress, than to describe her actual condition, or to suggest any precise course of foreign or domestic policy. We cannot feel perfectly confident of the complete fulfilment of his splendid anticipations, though we assure him it is for any other reason, than because we should regret to see them verified. But we trust it argues no despair of our republic, still less any indifference to her welfare, to look on the speculations of the ablest men with some degree of diffidence. If the political events of the last twenty years have impressed any lesson on our minds, it is the truth of the utter uncertainty of all political anticipations. What will be the precise rank of our country among the nations of the earth in power and wealth we consider only a secondary question. It is enough for us, that though not the greatest, we are the happiest of nations, and that our happiness is as secure as the lot of humanity will permit, from every one but ourselves.

Art. IX.—1. *Almack's.* A Novel. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

2. *Vivian Grey.* Part I. and Part II. 3 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. 1827.

This is, emphatically, the age of novel writing; and as such will be undoubtedly characterized in the annals of English

literature. We of the present generation can hardly estimate our own good fortune, in having lighted upon this prolific and entertaining epoch. Thrice blessed is the man who first devised these agreeable fictions; which so sweetly soothe the dull ear of sickness; exalt the fainting spirit with draughts that 'cheer but not inebriate'; brighten the horrors of a rainy day; dispel the tedium of a winter's evening; and even give zest and animation to that saddest of all earthly formalities, a family party. Who has not witnessed the instantaneous effect produced on the dull, invariable visages of such a circle, by the appearance of the novel; the muscle dilated into the sympathetic smile; or the eye, as the plot deepens, suffused with the tear of sensibility; while the reader, animated by the magical effects of his own voice, secretly imputes to himself half the merit which belongs to his author.

Happy indeed for us is it, that our lot was not cast in those thorny times, when 'Doctors hight Irrefragable,' Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and others, filled the world with interminable disputes on quiddities and entities, the *nugæ difficiles*, which, John of Salisbury assures us, 'were the constant amusement, even of old men who had lost all powers of disputation themselves,' but who loved to linger over these fascinating tomes of dialectics. We should hardly expect much diversion from this sort of light reading. Even in the golden days of Queen Bess, things were not materially better. Those, indeed, who had no objection to a pestilential congregation of vapors, might find abundance of merriment with Will Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, in the little Globe theatre. But plays were not printed in those days till long after they had become stale. And those quiet personages who preferred the pleasures of the fireside, were obliged to extract their mirth from the dismal affectations of the 'unparalleled Lilly', or the pastoral insipidities of Sir Philip Sidney. In later times, when 'civil dudgeon first grew high', polemics and politics were the only fashionable staple of the day; and even in the ripe age of Queen Anne, although things brightened somewhat, and such adventurous personages as Robinson Crusoe, Captain Gulliver, and Martin Scriblerus, began to make their way in the world, yet they were few and *longo intervallo;* while the ordinary bill of fare consisted of a poetical squib, or a periodical essay, served up with coffee and rolls, and disposed of in much the same time. In short, it is truly astonishing how our good ancestors, before the latter half

of the last century, contrived to dispose of the long evenings and dull rainy days, which doubtless were quite as frequent, and afflicted the hypocondriacs of that age as sorely, as those of ours.

We live to see a new order of things; '*ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*' Multitudes of wits of the first water, toil by day, and nightly 'outwatch the bear', to furnish dainties for our epicurean palates. In other words, the press daily, nay hourly, teems with works of fiction, of no contemptible quality; the dry precepts of morality are seasoned with the sallies of a lively wit; barren historical fact is adorned with the graceful coloring of taste and sentiment; the muse of history, indeed, has condescended to take this department of fiction under her especial care; characters, modes of thought, and habits of society, are depicted with singular fidelity; novels and romances, no longer unprofitable, become the pleasing vehicles of truth; and thus, in spite of the old adage, a royal road has been opened to much genuine and substantial knowledge.

A problem worth considering, but which our limits will barely allow us to hint at, is, why this species of elegant literature is so peculiarly suited to English genius, that it has never flourished to any extent among any other people. The nations of the continent, the Spaniards, Italians, and French, particularly the two former, so prolific in every variety of invention, have little to boast of in this way. The Spanish *picaresco* tales may indeed be reckoned in the same general class of fictions. They represent, with great uniformity, some young adventurer, born of nobody, lying and thieving his way through the world, pilfering larders, picking pockets, and playing off all sorts of jokes practical, upon such unfortunate personages as happen to fall in his way. The adventures of Scipio, in Gil Blas, a novel, by the by, infinitely superior to any thing which the Spaniards have in this line, are a good sample of this kind of writing. The invention of this humorous, but humble sort of romance, is due to a Castilian grandee, none of the meekest of his *caste* either; and the finest wits of Spain, among the rest Cervantes, have since repeatedly condescended to imitate it. Its value, however, cannot be rated very high; it can boast of little variety; the range of characters discussed, is extremely limited, and, for the most part, of the meanest sort; as if Castilian dignity was afraid of being compromised, by being brought into the farce. There is no great expense of wit required for

devising or describing the pranks of malicious roguery; and it must be remembered, that the nearer the exhibitions of bawds, sharpers, and beggars approach the truth, the more vulgar and offensive they necessarily become. Don Quixote, in spite of the highly charged, chivalrous caricature, which forms the basis of it, contains more genuine effusions of taste and sentiment, with a wider and better delineated portraiture of life, both high and low, than is to be met with in any other Spanish romance, with which we are acquainted.

But the Italians, first, among the nations of Europe, naturalized the *Novelle;* which may be regarded as the

'fonte
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume;'

as the spring from which have issued abundant streams of prosaic fiction in our own literature. 'The Fiametta', too, of Boccaccio is cited as the model of the modern amatory romance. But the resemblance will be found to be rather nominal than real. A novel, which makes its machinery out of heathen deities, can scarcely be reckoned in conformity with our notions. Besides, such long works of invention in prose have never been patronised by the Italians; although it must be acknowledged, that one or two successful attempts, in this way, mostly imitations, have been made during the last century.

The brief *Novella* has ever been a prodigious favorite with the nation, and has been assiduously cultivated by them, since the days of Boccaccio. It may be generally described, as exhibiting short animated sketches of common life, intrigues and adventures not the most decorous, with abundance of *persiflage* on the priests, monks, &c. all introduced with bewitching *naïveté*, and varnished over with the richest coloring of the most beautiful of modern languages. This last quality is indispensable. These characteristics, of course, are not to be understood as equally applying to all. The Tales of Sacchetti, for instance, are little more than a farrago of drolleries, such as are to be found in a modern Encyclopedia of Wit. So that it is difficult to account for their pertinacious popularity, on any other principle, than that of the taste for gossip, which pervades, more or less, every class of the Italians. Now whatever be the merits of literary execution appertaining to these works, they must be reckoned, in an intellectual point of view, immeasurably below English fictions of the same class; since they exhibit little of the careful dissection of character, of the inge-

nious perplexities of plot, that stimulate, yet perpetually disappoint the reader's curiosity; of the gradual, yet full developement of passion; or of the brisk interchange of repartee, the mercurial and often highly intellectual conversation, which enrich the pages of the English novel.

Now, what is the cause of this superiority of the latter? It is not certainly a want of fancy or creative power, in the people of the South. The Spanish drama, it is well known, has furnished plots and intrigues for half the theatres of Europe. And some of their writers have been proverbial miracles of invention. Still less can such deficiency be imputed to the Italians, as well may vouch their multitudinous and unrivalled creations of the epic muse.

We must look for it, first, in the condition of the nations who are the subject of these fictions, and secondly, in that of the authors themselves. The most ample materials for popular fiction will undoubtedly be found in a country whose political institutions allow an entire freedom of social intercourse, and consequently a perfect display of character; where an equal security of personal and civil rights encourages, in every individual, the entire developement of his intellectual and moral energies, in the career best suited to his genius, of ambition or of wealth; and where this entire freedom of selection and action in the commerce of life, has distributed society into a multitude of classes, each independent of the others, and set in distinct relief by its own peculiar habits of thought and occupation. It is these circumstances, which have prepared an inexhaustible variety of character and incident for the English novelist; which have furnished the simple, unsophisticated pleasures of rustic life for Goldsmith; the fearlessness, rough cordiality, and popular humor of the lower classes, for Fielding and Smollet; the affectations, sentimental intrigue, and vapid fashionable chitchat of fine life, for Miss Burney; the tender sympathies, vexations, and intrigues of domestic privacy, which go to make up the somewhat overgrown family pieces of Richardson; and finally, which have furnished Scott with the rich variety of materials that he has crowded into his magnificent and motley panorama.

But whatever advantages may be presented to the novelist in the condition of the nation, they will be all ineffectual, if the free expression of his own sentiments be controlled by any other power than public opinion; if an inquisitorial police,

whether in the shape of an academy or of a censorship, is to check the natural expansion of thought, of invention, of colloquial intercourse, which constitute the charm of this kind of writing. Yet in what other country, beside England and our own happy land, does this intellectual independence exist, even at this enlightened day?

If we apply our preceding remarks to the situation of Spain and Italy, we shall find obvious reason for their inferiority in domestic fiction. The former nation may be considered as divided into two great classes, of which the one, monopolizing wealth, power, and rank, is too much degraded by ignorance and superstition, to afford agreeable models for the study of the novelist; and the other, perhaps still more degraded by their political abasement, is even less fit for his purposes. We find none of those diversified ranks of citizens, who, as the middling class, constitute the bulk of most free communities, who, supported by successful enterprise, and by a just confidence in their own independence, display in all their strength the natural energies of their character. Even if there were some exceptions to all this, how could we expect that the writers in such a country would venture on a bold and popular expression of their sentiments; or that thought could freely expand under the baleful shade of the Inquisition?

In Italy, however, it is somewhat different. The courteous temper and gregarious habits of the people, their universal relish for elegant and even intellectual recreations, the multiplied monuments of art and grandeur, that must touch the most torpid sense, might seem to present the most agreeable illustrations for romance. And so they might, as far as imagination, or superficial accomplishments are concerned. But we must not expect to find Italy a suitable *studio* for a philosophical artist, who would exhibit the human character in its noblest and most imposing attitudes; as it is developed by that brisk concussion of ideas, that habitual independence of thought and action in the most important concerns of life, which are permitted only to the citizens of a free government. The Italians have been too long oppressed by foreign despotism, too long relaxed by corrupt and effeminate pleasures, to supply either models or masters for such a scientific analysis of the moral phenomena of our nature, as enters into the works of the highest English novelists. Apparently resigned to his condition, the modern Italian seems to derive sufficient satisfaction from the mere

sensation of repose; and it may be doubted, in this torpidity of his faculties, whether he would consent to be disturbed by any more potent appeal, than an agreeable, though impotent sally of imagination. The harmonious organization of their language has also still further operated to the discouragement of long fictions in prose, with the Italians. Generally endowed with an exquisite sensibility to verbal melody, and desirous of combining, at the same time, as many *jouissances* as possible, they look upon verse as the only suitable vehicle of fancy; as is sufficiently attested by the patience with which they resign themselves to their interminable epics in *ottava rima*.

In the general progress of knowledge and of the understanding, the French are as decidedly superior to the nations we have been considering, as in the mere province of the imagination they are inferior to them. And during the last century in particular, they have been confessedly no less distinguished for their proficiency in the higher branches of moral and metaphysical science, than their English neighbors. It might therefore be expected, that they would have carried somewhat of this spirit of philosophy into their fictitious compositions; and that they would have made some effort to investigate in these the latent springs of human conduct. In this attempt they have partially succeeded, and their evident inferiority to the English on the whole, must be imputed to several causes, which we will enumerate.

On the regeneration of letters, it is singular, that the French should have been more eminent for orignality of invention, than any other people of Europe. Their *fabliaux* and romances, their Trouveurs and Troubadours, were the delight and the study of other European nations, the models of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and of Chaucer. It would seem as if this precocity of talent in a barbarous age, like the unseasonable maturity of some vernal flower, had been the occasion of its premature decline. Certain it is, that no highly cultivated literature of modern Europe, betrays such a sterility of fancy as the French; none which cannot, for example, exhibit a superior epic, the touchstone of poetical invention. Another impediment to the success of this lively people, in the department we are now criticising, is the result of the principles on which the intercourse between the sexes is regulated. In the higher circles of the community, an extreme reserve before marriage, and a licentious indulgence after it, are equally unfavorable to the

gradual expansion of pure and delicate passion, which forms the basis of many, not to say most of our best English romances.

A still greater impediment, is the oppressive influence which the conventional forms of good breeding, or of etiquette, have on the character of the people; obliterating, if we may so say, the moral physiognomy of the individual. So nearly assimilated to each other are all classes by this exterior polish, that without some ostensible distinction in dress, a foreigner would find it no easy matter to discriminate them. Now, whatever be the effect of all this on the civilization of the country, it may readily be conceived to be extremely unpropitious to the purposes of the novelist, whose models, in order to have any merit, must be formed on the naked lineaments of nature. Scarcely less prejudicial to the interests of the novel writer, are those narrow principles of criticism, which, in France, regulate all the productions of taste, and which must go far to extinguish the free, volatile spirit which should animate the creations of fancy. Indeed that very combination of terms, *rules and romance*, has something in it highly paradoxical. How many of the rough gems, which are so lavishly scattered over the works of Smollet, Fielding, and Scott, would be refused admittance into the fastidious cabinet of a French *précieux!* Humor is a quality, in which the French are singularly deficient. Rabelais' buffoonery, and Molière's high caricatures of the affectation and pretensions of Parisian society, are not examples of it; nor is it to be found in the light skirmish of wit, for which the French have a peculiar capacity; nor in the fine *piquant* raillery with which they frequently season (though it is somewhat out of place) their gravest compositions, as history, criticism, &c. That broad, good natured sarcasm, half shrewdness, half blunder, which makes us laugh nearly as much at the speaker, as at what he says or does, is a compound wholly English. Nothing shows more clearly the difference between the two nations, in this particular, than the vulgar caricatures which we see pasted up at shop windows. The English, with all the varieties of broad grin, and whimsical distress, the French, with the same invariable pasteboard physiognomy, polished curls, and costume *à la Parisienne;* so that without the friendly assistance of the label, we are at a loss to distinguish *Jean qui rit*, from *Jean qui pleure.*

But although the French have confined themselves to a more

circumscribed range of action, and have shown less depth of observation than their northern rivals in the field of romantic fiction, yet they have produced in it works of singular beauty. Their first attempts were, contrary to the national habit, conceived in the worst taste possible. The unwieldy romances of Calprenede, Scuderi, &c. had neither the graces of literary finish, nor the least resemblance to nature. But these were soon succeeded by a purer style of composition. Some of their greatest masters in science, as well as letters, have ventured upon this kind of writing; but as they have written with some exclusive philosophical aim, their personages, instead of being true to nature, are only ingenious pieces of mechanism, accommodated to the peculiar system of the author. Other writers of less notoriety have given a warmer coloring of reality to their pictures of life and manners; and among these, especially to be distinguished, certain female authors, whose finer perception of the *convenances* of society, has led them to a more chaste and temperate representation of it. The French romance, in its improved state, in which the salutary example of the English is undoubtedly to be traced, though deficient in any very powerful exhibition of character, is enriched with many beauties of taste and sentiment, and has the enviable merit of maintaining, to the last, a lively interest in the reader.

This talent for *characterization*, or, in other words, the power of calmly scrutinizing the workings of the human heart, and of accurately describing them, has distinguished the best British writers, from the times of the venerable Chaucer to our own. It is no exaggeration to say, that his Canterbury Tales, nay, his Prologue to them, contain more original and diversified views of character, than are to be found in all the similar productions of the contemporary Italian novelists. It is surprising, after this complete success, that the English should have altogether neglected a form of writing so favorable to the display of their peculiar genius. The age of Shakspeare, however, opened a new and brilliant career to dramatic talent; the circle of observation was widely extended; philosophy lent her aid to poetry, and a chart of human character, with all its unknown depths and windings, was laid down with an accuracy which we may look for in vain to any of the masters of antiquity. Succeeding periods were variously distinguished by philosophy, criticism, satire, and other kinds of preceptive writing, which discussed principles of art or of conduct, without much

attempt at invention or at an exhibition of life. In our own age, the spirit of creation has again revived; the forms of the ancient drama, after some feeble efforts, have been abandoned; from the despair of finding novelties in a path already so beaten; or from a higher cultivation of the age, which invites the discussion of deeper matters than can be popularly exhibited in a play; or perhaps from the improved condition of society, which, with its refined intrigue, its polished intellectual conversation, offers a most inviting field to the novelist. Thus the form of the ancient drama is abandoned, while its spirit is fully revived in the modern novels and romances.

This department of fiction has been a favorite with the English, the last half century; and it now seems, equally whether we consider its philosophical spirit, or its execution as a work of art, to have reached as high a point of perfection as it can reasonably be expected to attain. In this improved state, it has been purified from most of those frequent violations of taste and morals, which formerly disfigured it; from the licentiousness of Fielding and Smollet, the sentimentality of Burney and Radcliffe, and the painful elaboration of Richardson. It is now characterized by a pure and manly tone of sentiment, by a familiar acquaintance with the world, by an extensive erudition, and by no ordinary beauties of eloquence. Scott must of course be considered to have been the most efficient agent in producing this revolution; and from this circumstance he may, like Shakspeare, be taken for the representative of his age. Like him, he has embraced, within his comprehensive glance, every variety of rank, profession, and party; the principal object of both seems to have been the developement of character, without any concern for the disposition of incident, except as far as, by affording new points of view, it may be made subservient to the main purpose. Hence probabilities are frequently violated, and the legitimate limits of the play or novel having been attained, the narration is brought up by a sort of apoplectic termination of the whole *dramatis personæ*. Witness the historical plays of the one, and the novels of the other, *passim*. Another deficiency, peculiar to both these writers, is that of any avowed or implied moral purpose, in most of their fictions. They content themselves with imitating the ordinary course of events in real life; with scarcely any more equity, than is observed here, in the ultimate distribution of rewards and punishments. Take, for obvious

examples, the *dénouement* of Hamlet, or King Lear, of the Bride of Lammermoor, or St Ronan's Well,—where the same dreadful catastrophe overwhelms alike the innocent and the guilty. Perhaps, however, the influence of their writings has not been less salutary on this account. An exhibition of the misery, the mental disquietude inseparable from guilt, may be sufficiently impressive. A moral, on the other hand, sturdily inculcated or illustrated in every page, as is the case with Miss Edgeworth, or which in any degree diverts the current of events from their natural course, occasions a violence to probability, revolting both to the taste and conviction of the reader. Both seem to have possessed the remarkable faculty of abstracting themselves from self, if we may so say. Each one of their dramatic entities seems to possess a sort of conscious individuality, as in real life, and the whole of the complicated mechanism moves on, without ever betraying the invisible hand of the master. If anywhere the spirit of the author breaks forth, it is in a goodhumored philosophy, which smiles at the vanities of life, which regards the world as a farce, and the men and women in it as players.

Scott, like his great predecessor, has called in the preternatural, not for vulgar purposes of poetical interest only, but for the illustration of popular superstition, and like him, he has made fiction the vehicle of historic truth; the form of his work has obviously given him greater scope for the exposition of his national antiquities; and the superior opulence of his literary acquirements has enabled him to enrich his compositions with a much greater variety of information.

Both are profound in the knowledge of men, but Shakspeare seems to have been endowed with a finer perception of the character of women; at least he has far surpassed his rival in the exhibition of tender and romantic passion. In everything relating to the sex, indeed, he is a warmer colorist than Scott. We will pursue the parallel no farther, and only remark in conclusion, that as the one is the greatest poetic, so the other is the greatest prose dramatist of any age or country; an eulogium which will not appear unmerited, if we consider the essence of the drama to consist in developement of character.

The influence of Scott, during the short period of his literary existence, on the taste of his countrymen, is truly surprising. He has given a healthful character to fiction, elevating it above the dull heroics and stale sentiment which deluged our circu-

lating libraries, and teaching the artist by his own example, that the only study worthy of him, is man.

> 'Non hîc Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque
> Invenies: hominem nostra pagina sapit.'

A plentiful crop of imitations has ensued; many of them of singular beauty; and sketches of life have been drawn with great truth and vivacity, from the simple 'Annals of the Parish' up to the fashion and foppery of 'Almack's.' The impulse has been rapidly communicated to our side of the water. And although the Coryphæus of our native novelists, is wanting in that familiarity with polite life, and in that degree of literary cultivation, which is indispensable in order to give a high finish to works of invention, yet he has with great effect embodied many original conceptions of character and circumstance peculiar to the New World, the more valuable, as the state of things which produced them, is itself rapidly passing away. It may be doubted, however, whether these attempts are not somewhat premature; whether our country be yet ripe for the purposes of the novelist. The dawn of letters, among every people, has opened with the creations of fancy; and it is not till after a long interval, that the age of invention is succeeded by one of philosophy and reason. But the position of our own country is materially different; engrafted on a healthy parent stock, it may hope to produce these mature fruits at a much earlier period. Indeed, the ordinary state of things is entirely reversed with us. We are a young nation, with an old and highly finished literature; we are oppressed by the very wealth of our inheritance. Every province of the imagination has been preoccupied by a minute and laborious cultivation; and when we reflect, how rarely from some cause or other the same department has been cultivated with success a second time, we may have some reason for distrusting our immediate achievements in this way. To the progress of knowledge, however, there is no such limit. Science has this advantage over the arts, that from its very nature, the more it is attended to, the more it will be advanced; every new step must be upward, elevating us to a higher point of view, and opening to us a more unbounded prospect. Science, therefore, practical science, as applied to the improvement of government, and to social happiness, would seem to be the first natural object of attention to our countrymen, and in fact has been so. There is, however, a subdued effort of the imagination, which com-

bined with wit, a knowledge of life, and a high degree of literary finish, forms an agreeable substitute for those bolder flights of invention, that usually distinguish the early period of intellectual culture. Such is novel writing. But such compositions, it is obvious from the constitution of their elements, can only be the product of a highly polished and mature state of society.

The expense of talent, which of late years has been lavished on works of fiction, is matter of regret with some, who regard it as so much diverted from the service of truth and genuine knowledge. Such is not our view of it; and we cannot help thinking, that novels, as they are now conducted, might admit of some very plausible arguments in their favor, even on the ground of the *cui bono*, as compared with history. The moral and social organization of a people, is certainly not less interesting to the philosophical student, than the deeds of violence and intrigue, which chequer the page of history. The poems of Homer have done more to acquaint us with the domestic constitution of the Greeks, than all their histories put together; and where are future generations to obtain so clear a conception of the peculiarities of Scottish character as from the Waverley novels? What a flood of light would one such fiction as Old Mortality throw on the dark features of Roman story, even where it is most illuminated by the prolix pen of Livy, or the brief but effectual touches of Tacitus? History has to do with the outward appearances of things; with actors in masquerade. How often may even an eyewitness be deceived! De Retz has somewhere remarked on the impertinence of writers, 'who in the seclusion of their closets, pretend to suggest the motives of conduct, which he, who was the focus of intrigue, was altogether unable to explain.' On the other hand, fiction has no concern with actions of individuals, but with passions in the abstract, with the moral constitution of man, a subject, from obvious reasons, much less liable to misconception. In a word, history represents events as they are, and men as they appear; while fiction represents events as they appear probable, and men as they are. 'The only difference between me and professed historians,' says the lively Fielding, 'is, that with me everything is true, save the names and the dates, while with them nothing is true but names and dates.' If we glance our eye but lightly over the pages of history, with how many inaccuracies, discrepancies, and monstrous lies, do we find it dis-

figured! The venerable Asiatic dynasties; the 'tale of Troy divine,' nay, her very existence, as well as that of her immortal bard; the heroic and even later ages,

'et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historiâ;'

the four first centuries of royal and republican Rome, so dear to our youthful fancies, from the glorious images of virtue, self-devoted heroism, and generous love of freedom which they present, and which furnished the basis of the fine political fabrics of Machiavelli and Montesquieu; all crumble into dust under the rude touch of modern criticism. Even the actors of a riper period; Dionysius the tyrant, the perfidious Philip of Macedon, are now regenerated as patriot princes; Sylla the scourge, becomes the saviour of his country; Pompey, the friend of liberty, and Cæsar, its enemy, exchange characters with each other; and Julian, the scoffer and apostate, shines forth the benevolent and enlightened philosopher. In later ages, the *odium theologicum* has multiplied the sources of historical obliquity; and the art of printing rapidly scatters to all quarters the inextinguishable seeds of error. Take only one or two familiar examples in our own tongue; compare Roscoe's elaborate biographies of Lorenzo and Leo de' Medici, the disinterested patrons of art, the intrepid statesmen, the friends of virtue and temperate liberty, with the same personages in Sismondi's Italian History, the selfish sensualists, the cowardly, cunning, and systematic oppressors of their country. Or what may be more familiar still, compare the first volumes of Hume with Lingard, and the last with Brodie, and if it be possible, extract truth from error. But what need of other examples, in an age which has seen Cataline and Borgia deliberately vindicated, and Cromwell and Richard the Third as deliberately eulogized, by writers of undeniable talent. No sooner do we build our conclusions than they are swept away by a new current of facts and inferences into an entirely opposite direction. 'Oh! talk to me not of history,' said Sir Robert Walpole to his son Horace, 'for that I know to be false.'

We say nothing of the popular influence of the novel, as a production of literary art; since although, from the nature of its construction, far superior in this respect to history, yet it does not essentially differ from that of the general class of ornamental writing to which it belongs. We cannot say that the

historical propensities of our ingenious countryman Irving, and of Sir Walter Scott, as lately developed, fill us with any uncommon satisfaction; and we cannot help thinking how many merry faces and happy winter evenings are like to be spoiled by this sad sacrifice of romance to reality. Many may doubtless be found to pile up solid facts as well as they; but who like them can weave the 'brittle toils of fancy?' But we are rambling into an unconscionable length of episode, and will conclude with the pious invocation of the poet of romance;

> 'Magnanima menzogna, or quando è il vero
> Sì bello che si possa a te preporre!'

We have insensibly indulged in such an amplitude of preliminary remark, that we have very scanty limits left for criticism on the works before us. One of these, 'Almack's,' is fortunately so stale with most of our readers, as to justify only one or two words respecting it. It is one of that multitudinous growth of fictions which have arisen out of the new impulse given to authorship by the author of Waverley. It is, as every one knows, a spirited sketch of fashionable life; of that class of personages in England, who born with a prescriptive right to rank, wealth, and *ton*, constitute the froth and syllabub of society. We have first, a familiar picture of rural life, in the family of a worthy country squire, much improved since the days of Squire Western; one, indeed, who talks French, and reads the Quarterly. Thence we are transported to the neighboring residence of a British peer, with rather a miscellaneous party of 'natives' and fashionables. The most amusing part of the book, in our opinion, is taken up with the various expedients by which this wellbred community contrive to kill the common enemy; and brings to our recollection the distress of those unfortunate passengers in one of our belated packets, who, kept together in the sweet bond of union considerably longer than they had anticipated, are scarcely able to disguise, under a thin varnish of decorum, their chagrin and mutual antipathy for each other. For all such constraint, however, they amply indemnify themselves by the liberties which they take with one another behind their backs. The host sacrifices his guests, these in turn, their host; and both unite in offering up daily hecatombs of departed characters; 'at every word a reputation dies.' From the country we follow this merry party up to town, where the same wayward goddess,

'Spleen,
Who rules the sex from fifty to fifteen,'

urges them through a giddy circle of dinners, routs, operas, and Almack's. The point of view here offered to the reader, is the perpetual hostility carried on between time and *ton*, as to which shall kill the other. Fashion presides over the whole scene with necromantic sway; rank, wealth, beauty, sink alike before her. In every society those qualities will be most prized, which are best adapted to its peculiar spirit; talent, therefore, in the House of Commons, and *ton* at Almack's. On the whole, the view of things exhibited in this work must be exceedingly consolatory to that numerous class of personages in England, who have had the misfortune to be born without a title and ten thousand a year. The novel is conducted on the same general principles that we described as the basis of modern fiction. Incidents are of very little account, or only so, as far as they afford favorable points of view for the exhibition of character. How different this from the good oldfashioned romances of Miss Burney; where a long train of intrigue is cautiously prepared through half a dozen volumes, and a person can hardly get up or sit down, without the bustling aid of machinery. The story here is absolutely nothing; a mere thread, to string together showy conversations and characters. The dialogue is kept up with a good deal of vivacity, and without any unreasonable exaggeration; indeed much of it is not above the ordinary level of fashionable gossip. There is a certain liveliness of repartee in it, sharpened with a little malice; a decided inclination visible in the author for this sort of skirmishing; a deep knowledge of millinery, mantuamaking, and other mysteries of feminine craft; joined moreover with a certain tact for society, peculiar to the sex, which leave little doubt in our mind, that 'Almack's' was written by a woman; one too, who, with spirit enough to laugh at the heartless insipidities of fashion, has not quite lost her original relish for them.

The general style of the work is pretty equable, seldom rising above a certain *level;* the poverty of incident being unfavorable to passages of excitement and deep interest. The whole is plentifully bespattered with French phrases; a foolish affectation of the author, which, however excusable in the mouths of the *dramatis personæ*, as taken from real life, should never have been admitted into the body of the narrative. If

people of fashion in England, continue to cultivate, with their present assiduity, this *patois* of broken English and bad French, they will have occasion again for the old laws of the Plantagenets, prescribing the use of the vernacular.

The First Part of Vivian Grey appeared during the last summer. As well as we recollect its contents, which we have not looked into since, it sets forth the adventures of a youth of genius, a sort of *homme universel*, who, contrary to the old adage, is good at everything he takes in hand. At school he is the terror and torment of his master; but soon after, indeed before he is out of his teens, we find him settled down in the calm of 'divine philosophy,' highly Platonic, and not a little pedantic. His father's ridicule, and his own riper judgment, soon drive away these lazy dreams of boyhood; and he next shines forth, a practical man of business, a politician of the Machiavellian school, full of intrigues for oversetting one cabinet of ministers, and for setting up another. In the meanwhile he figures as the man of *ton*; flirts with the fair sex; ingratiates himself into the confidence of my lord and lady, by furnishing one with a receipt for 'tomahawk punch,' and the other with a recipe for a sick poodle, till at length the whole concludes with a grand blow up of projects and personages, one of whom, his dearest friend too, Mr Vivian Grey, after having previously ruined, coolly shoots through the heart, and so the curtain drops.

The probability of the story cannot be very strongly contended for. Indeed one chief source of amusement is derived from the extreme composure with which the most barefaced '*mendacia poëtæ*' are related. In short the book is a mere quiz from one end to the other, a sort of portfolio of caricatures of people of fashion, designed with infinite spirit, though somewhat overcolored. Vivian Grey affords one of the best portraits; that of an agreeable, accomplished young rascal, who calmly cuts his way through every obstacle to his own schemes, and who seems to make up, by an extra fund of generosity and spirit, qualities so agreeable in a hero, for the deficiency of every other principle.

The Second Part introduces us into Germany, where Vivian Grey, after a year's interval, is endeavoring to forget his disappointed schemes of ambition in the dissipation of a fashionable watering place. But he is no longer the same man, as in his days of hope and young ambition. Instead of the buoyant wit, who was wont to set the table in a roar, he subsides

into a commonplace sort of personage, very gentlemanlike, and somewhat sentimental. If his misfortunes have made him wiser, they have also made him a much sadder hero for romance than before. Here he gets deeply engaged in play, though somewhat against his inclination; and his happy star carries him triumphantly over all the chances of *rouge et noir.* All this leads to an interview with a couple of diplomatic black legs, whose knavery he exposes in a scene, executed in the very best style of our author. In the mean time Mr Grey falls deeply in love with an elderly English lady or her niece, for it is long uncertain which, until after a pretty assiduous courtship, he naturally discovers, that his passion for the former is only a respectable sort of admiration. This incipient attachment is unfortunately nipped in the bud, before it has full time to disclose itself. The adventure, though somewhat abrupt, is told with much eloquence and pathos, and we will cite it as a good specimen of our author's powers in this way.

'The sun had already sunk behind the mountains, whose undulating forms were thrown into dark shadow against the crimson sky. The thin crescent of the new moon floated over the eastern hills, whose deep woods glowed with the rosy glories of twilight. Over the peak of a purple mountain, glittered the solitary star of evening. As the sun dropped, universal silence seemed to pervade the whole face of nature. The voice of the birds was stilled; the breeze, which had refreshed them during the day, died away, as if its office were now completed; and none of the dark sounds and sights of hideous night yet dared to triumph over the death of day. Unseen were the circling wings of the fell bat; unheard the screech of the waking owl; silent the drowsy hum of the shardborn beetle! What heart has not acknowledged the influence of this hour—the sweet and soothing hour of twilight!—the hour of love, the hour of adoration, the hour of rest!—when we think of those we love, only to regret that we have not loved more dearly; when we remember our enemies only to forgive them!

'And Vivian and his beautiful companion owned the magic of this hour, as all must do—by silence. No word was spoken, yet is silence sometimes a language. They gazed, and gazed again, and their full spirits held due communion with the starlit sky, and the mountains, and the woods, and the soft shadows of the increasing moon. Oh! who can describe what the o'ercharged spirit feels at this sacred hour, when we almost lose the consciousness of existence, and our souls seem to struggle to pierce futurity! In the forest of the mysterious Odenwald, in the soli-

tudes of the Bergstrasse, had Vivian at this hour often found consolation for a bruised spirit—often in adoring Nature had forgotten man. But now, when he had never felt Nature's influence more powerful; when he had never forgotten man, and man's world more thoroughly; when he was experiencing emotions, which, though undefinable, he felt to be new; he started when he remembered that all this was in the presence of a human being! Was it Hesperus he gazed upon, or something else that glanced brighter than an evening star? Even as he thought that his gaze was fixed on the countenance of Nature, he found that his eyes rested on the face of Nature's loveliest daughter!

'"Violet! dearest Violet!"'

'As in some delicious dream, the sleeper is awakened from his bliss by the sound of his own rapturous voice; so was Vivian roused by these words from his reverie, and called back to the world which he had forgotten. But ere a moment had passed he was pouring forth, in a rapid voice and incoherent manner, such words as men speak only once. He spoke of his early follies, his misfortunes, his misery; of his matured views, his settled principles, his plans, his prospects, his hopes, his happiness, his bliss; and when he had ceased, he listened, in his turn, to some small, still words, which made him the happiest of human beings. He bent down—he kissed the soft silken cheek which now he could call his own. Her hand was in his; her head sank upon his breast. Suddenly she clung to him with a strong grasp. "Violet!" my own, my dearest; you are overcome. I have been rash, I have been imprudent. Speak, speak, my beloved! say you are not ill."

'She spoke not, but clung to him with a fearful strength—her head still upon his breast, her full eyes closed. In the greatest alarm, he raised her off the ground, and bore her to the river side. Water might revive her. But when he tried to lay her a moment on the bank, she clung to him gasping, as a sinking person clings to a stout swimmer. He leant over her; he did not attempt to disengage his arms; and, by degrees, by very slow degrees, her grasp loosened. At last her arms gave way and fell by her side, and her eyes partly opened.

'"Thank God! thank God! Violet, my own, my beloved, say you are better!"'

'She answered not—evidently she did not know him—evidently she did not see him. A film was on her sight, and her eye was glassy. He rushed to the waterside, and in a moment he had sprinkled her temples, now covered with a cold dew. Her pulse beat not; her circulation seemed suspended. He rubbed the palms of her hands; he covered her delicate feet with his coat; and then rushing up the bank into the road, he shouted with frantic cries on all sides. No one came; no one was near.

Again, with a cry of fearful anguish, he shouted as if a hyæna were feeding on his vitals. No sound :—no answer. The nearest cottage he remembered was above a mile off. He dared not leave her. Again he rushed down to the waterside. Her eyes were still open, still fixed. Her mouth also was no longer closed. Her hand was stiff—her heart had ceased to beat. He tried with the warmth of his own body to revive her. He shouted, he wept, he prayed. All, all in vain. Again he was in the road ; again shouting like an insane being. There was a sound. Hark !—It was but the screech of an owl !

'Once more at the riverside—once more bending over her with starting eyes—once more the attentive ear listening for the soundless breath. No sound ! not even a sigh ! Oh ! what would he have given for her shriek of anguish ! No change had occurred in her position, but the lower part of her face had fallen ; and there was a general appearance which struck him with awe. Her body was quite cold ; her limbs stiffened. He gazed, and gazed. He bent over her with stupor, rather than grief, stamped on his features. It was very slowly that the dark thought came over his mind—very slowly that the horrible truth seized upon his soul. He gave a loud shriek, and fell on the lifeless body of Violet Fane !' pp. 160, 163.

We next find our hero, after a reasonable hiatus of some months, travelling in the forests of Southern Germany, accompanied by a facetious valet, made up of wit, mountebank, and bore ; the last predominant, and evidently a studied imitation of Shakspeare's quaint oldfashioned clowns. Our travellers soon fall in with a party of jolly epicures, who are celebrating the glories of old Hock, in a tremendous drinking bout, that would do honor to the adventures of Baron Munchausen. Thence our hero proceeds to the court of a petty German prince, whose life he had accidently saved at a boar hunt ; he becomes his confidential counsellor, accompanies him to a clandestine interview with the prime minister of a neighboring state, whose extraordinary humors furnish matter for three or four very comical chapters, much too long for insertion here. Thence he passes to the court of another grandee, and falls desperately in love with a fair *incognita*, proud, peevish, and ignorant, but uncommonly beautiful. This amour turns out quite as unfortunate as the preceding. The lady proves to be no less a personage, than the archduchess of Austria ; and, of course, notwithstanding a reciprocity of attachment, is far above the reach of our young plebeian. Upon this second disappointment, he again betakes himself to his knighterrantry, and

after a variety of small adventures, falls in with a tremendous hurricane, thunderstorm, and deluge, in the course of which a great lake is converted into a cataract, and the upper half of a mountain slides down on the heads of an unoffending village, just before the nose of our hero, who swoons away with excess of terror, and in this predicament is left at the end of the Second Part. Such is the fantastic conclusion of this most fantastical performance.

Through the whole of the work, the author's spirit moves very unequally; sometimes taking a brave poetical flight, and sometimes flagging and floundering most heavily. Unlike 'Almack's,' it abounds in scenes of deep interest and high picturesque beauty, to arrive at which we are obliged to wade through long prosy pages of mere barrenness. On the whole, this Second Part is inferior to the first; it is deficient in keeping, both as regards the hero, who, as we have before hinted, seems to have parted with his personal identity, and as regards the narrative, which is made up of a motley mixture of romance and reality, of rapid transition from the humdrum business of every day, to the most barefaced absurdities of Fairy land. We would not be understood as objecting to the *marvellous;* but it should be introduced in its proper place, and made out of proper materials, of the airy stuff that 'dreams are made of,' not out of the coarse homespun of common life. The precept is as stale as Horace.

'Vivian Grey' is an obvious imitation of Byron's 'Don Juan.' It exhibits the same whimsical contrasts of sneer and sentiment, of deep passion and broad farce, of generous enthusiasm and chill misanthropy, of fashionable slang and prosy pedantry; the same elegant wit, picturesque description, &c. with that eccentric production. To its credit, it has none of the licentiousness which taints Lord Byron's epic, but in common with 'Almack's,' 'Granby,' and some other recent novels, it seeks to heighten the interest by incentives not much more commendable; we mean the piquant personalities with which all these works abound. The English complain that we Americans are a thinskinned, irritable generation; we hope it will be long before we can bear, without wincing, to have the veil of domestic privacy thus rudely torn asunder. Its influence—but in compassion to our readers, we will not broach a new argument at the close of an article, already too long protracted.

ART. X.—*New England's Memorial*, by NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plimouth. Fifth Edition. *Containing, besides the original Work, and the Supplement annexed to the Second Edition, large Additions in Marginal Notes, and an Appendix, with a Lithographic Copy of an Ancient Map*, by JOHN DAVIS, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1826.

IT has full often already been said and sung, that we of this country are singularly fortunate in having our whole national rise and progress lie within the limit of recorded time. The poetically inclined among us are, no doubt, losers by this circumstance. They are best served by the opportunity to give shape and local habitation to the manageable phantoms of a heroic age. But historical records furnish fitter food for the philosophical hobby of the present day; and the curious and idle, always a class worthy of consideration, and never more so than now, welcome a like provision for their studies. What would be the price of a copy of Cadmus' journal of his descent upon the 'land of lost gods and godlike men,' if it had pleased him thus to make trial of his newly imported machinery of letters. With what rejoicings would this world of virtuosi 'ring from side to side,' if we should dig up the inscription *locating* the two acres of land, which, says Pliny, Romulus assigned to each primeval citizen; that is, if ever there lived such a personage as Romulus, a thing which we are far from being so hardy as to affirm. And with what a birth of gorgeous quartos would the foreign press labor, if some hitherto undecyphered parchment should be found to exhibit Hengist's first muster roll after his debarkation on British soil.

The founders of our polity enjoyed more facilities for an exact, if not for a splendid transmission of their fame, than did those ancient worthies. When they were disposed to communicate with posterity, it was not needful for menial scribes to be summoned, nor hard rock to be polished, nor tough vellum to be dressed. Ink and paper were cheap commodities, and according to their cheapness, in almost as free use as now. Besides the natural feelings and the occasions of business, which led them to maintain voluminous intercourse with their friends

at home, our fathers brought with them that itch for writing, which had spread by such a wide contagion in the parent country, at a time when a large portion of the people had begun to set up for their own priests, and were beginning to imbibe the disposition to become also their own rulers. In consequence of this, writings of our leading men in every period of our history are extant, either in print or in autograph, in such abundance, that whosoever, properly qualified by habits of observation and industry, will set himself to the task of investigating the events and the condition of any given time, may acquire much the same familiarity with his predecessors that he has with his neighbors. Due care has been and is taken of these precious documents. The twenty volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain a fund of materials for the annalist of New England, altogether unrivalled in any similar collection: and for the more adventurous explorer, there are mines of antique wealth in the library of that society, and of the Boston Athenæum, and in the Ebeling collection now added by a distinguished individual's munificence to the before rich stores of this kind at Cambridge.

As we hinted, the poetical glory, which if we were more ignorant, would surround the image of our founders in our minds, is thus shorn of not a few of its beams. They are altogether despoiled of those qualities of heroism, which, if the testimony may be credited of such as have been familiar with heroes, fade away under the observation of their *valets de chambre*. As far as we have gathered our notions of greatness from true, so called, or fictitious histories, in verse or prose, the minute accounts which we have of these good men, from themselves and their contemporaries,—of their occupations, measures, and motives, their scanty means, material wants, and homely expedients for supplying them, are apt to give us a pretty thorough lesson in the doctrine of *nil admirari*. But what we lose in the poetical interest, we gain in the accuracy and reality of our acquaintance with them; and this to some minds will be held for more than a compensation. Besides, their circumstantial history opens new lights to the philosophical observer of human nature, as it has been developed in different ages and circumstances. It is a new help towards dispelling that delusion, by which the arts of poetry would lead us to invest those who have been concerned with great events, in attributes distinguishing them widely from the nameless remain-

der of the race. It satisfies more completely of that truth, which of all painters of heroic fiction, only Shakspeare and Scott have ventured to let their readers see, that in most respects of character, of mental experience, nay, of essential fortune, individuals great by office and achievements bear a strong resemblance to common men. It vindicates the identity of human character, and so furnishes a commentary on those exaggerated portraits of it, in one aspect, which have come down from worse informed times. Undoubtedly we owe as much to the settlers at Salem and Plymouth, as Greece and Rome professed to owe to their fabulous dynasties of kings, and should be ready and prone to make as much, if we knew as little, of them. There is small hazard in the conjecture, that Winthrop and Bradford were in all respects quite as praiseworthy persons as Theseus or Numa, but a hard fate has exiled them from that region of the *unknown*, which, according to the proverb, is always the favourite sphere of the *magnificent*. In the shallop built by the carpenter, whom the provident Plymouth company transmitted with the minister and the salt man, there were coasting voyages made which might well have furnished the hint of another Argonautic expedition, if less had but been left on record concerning their purposes and prosecution. Captain Standish, if he ever heard of Hector's rapid movement before his enemy round the walls of Troy, we have no doubt disdained comparison with that hero, and held that his bold expedition against the aborigines of the Bay was a theme much more worthy, than the defence of the key of Asia, to be 'wedded to immortal verse'; but his friends, when they wrote down the number of the host that followed the Plymouth 'king of men,' foreclosed his hopes of ever figuring in epic song.

The last year was a memorable year to the antiquaries, witnessing, as it did, the publication of elaborate editions of the two principal documents relating to the earliest period of New England. In our number for January, we called our readers' attention to the very learned edition of Winthrop's Journal, by Mr Savage, embracing for the first time that part of the work which records the occurrences between September, 1644, and January, 1649; an inestimable fragment, which, having been preserved by extraordinary good fortune, was discovered eleven years ago in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston. To this work Morton's Memorial is properly a *pendant*, narrating the establishment and early fortunes of the colony of New Plymouth,

as the Journal does of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. They are the most valuable remains in their respective departments.

The Memorial was first published in 1669, in the lifetime of its author, Nathaniel Morton, who, three years after the settlement at Plymouth, being then eleven years old, came thither from his native town in the north of England, with his father and mother, who was a sister of Governor Bradford. He was admitted a freeman in 1635, and ten years after was elected Clerk, or Secretary of the Colony Court, which office he continued to hold forty years, till the time of his death. His work was printed at Cambridge, in a small quarto volume, the colony of Plymouth defraying part of the charge. A second edition appeared at Boston, in 1721, with a Supplement by Josiah Cotton, Register of Deeds for the county of Plymouth. Of this edition, two reprints, have been made, namely, in 1772, at Newport, and within the past year at Plymouth.

The circumstance of the undertaking of Secretary Morton being patronised by the public treasury, corroborates the inference which it would be safe to draw from his standing in the infant colony. Higginson and Thatcher, ministers of Boston and Salem, bear their testimony in an advertisement, that 'this present narrative is a useful piece; the author is an approved godly man,—and the work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style, and truth of matter;' adding their 'hope that the labor of this good man will find a general acceptance among the people of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the colonies, who have had knowledge of things from the beginning, to contribute their observations and memorials also, by which means there may be matter for a just history of New England in the Lord's good time; in the mean time, this may stand for a monument, and be deservedly acknowledged as an Ebenezer, that hitherto the Lord hath helped us.' In a premonition 'to the Christian reader,' the author announces 'the main ends of publishing this small history' to be, 'that God may have his due praise, his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work in the relation of the first planting of New England.' Its method he describes as 'in some measure answerable to the ends aforenamed, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth, upon special occasions, with allusions to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some

special instruments of such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, and especially in a faithful commemorizing and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them.' 'For the earliest events,' he says, in a dedication to Governor Prince, 'the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study from the year 1620 unto 1646.' 'Certain diurnals of the honored Mr Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help, and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge), than I have studied quaintness in expression.'

The work, in fact, claims no lower a rank than that of a formal history of Plymouth Colony, and in some sense of the other four colonies of New England, from the first plantation in 1620 to the close of 1668. Some chapters are prefixed presenting a rapid sketch of the emigration to the Netherlands, in 1602, of the negotiations with the Virginia Company, and of the hardships and perils of the voyage, and the first settlement. From March 1621, events are recorded under the respective years of their occurrence. The record is sometimes very scanty, relating little more than some unimportant casualty, or the arrival or death of some useful individual; and in a few instances, such as under 1640, 1641, 1648, and 1654, containing only the names of the magistrates for the year. Generally, however, it is full, and not seldom minute. Private anecdotes, letters, good sayings, biographical notices and other *memorabilia* of various kinds are interspersed, with tributes in prose and verse, elegies, epitaphs, anagrams, and acrostics, in honor of distinguished citizens deceased. It must be owned, indeed, that the narrative, though always sincere, and sometimes lively, is often framed upon trivial events, and drawn out to a tedious length. Undoubtedly it compares ill in these respects with some remains, which on the other hand cover little ground in comparison with it. But if we will observe the difference between that portion of Hubbard's History, in relation to which he had this work to follow, or rather to transcribe, and that

subsequent barren portion, in whose compilation he had not the same advantage, we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Memorial.* It is altogether the richest treasury existing of facts belonging to the period of which it treats.

But criticism of this work has been barred for some generations, by the literary common law of limitation. By the lapse of time, carrying many of the events to which it refers into forgetfulness, and the names which it recites into disuse, it had come to stand in need of illustrations which no man was better able than Judge Davis to afford; and the fruit of his labors to that end is now as gratefully received as it has been impatiently expected. The *antique wood* is no longer difficult to thread. His culture has made it rejoice and blossom;

'Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.'

Judge Davis follows the text of the original edition, restoring, in some instances, readings which had been corrupted in the copies, and distinguishing the original comments, many of which were probably written by Governor Bradford. He adds the Supplement of the second edition, from the pen of Josiah Cotton, sometime Register of Probate and of Deeds for the county of Plymouth; a document, however, of very little value, compressing into four pages, the events of twenty-three eventful years, in which, among other things, were consummated the war with King Philip, the English revolution, and the union of the Old Colony with Massachusetts. The matter now first given in this connexion, to the public, is digested into marginal notes, and an appendix which occupies more than a quarter of the volume. How valuable it is, may be partly supposed from an enumeration of the sources whence light is concentrated in this focus. A part of the printed authorities referred to are, the histories of Robertson, Hutchinson, Neal, Trumbull, and Winthrop; the biographical notices of Belknap, Allen, and Eliot; the collections of Hazard, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Holmes's Annals, Prince's Chronology, Johnson's Wonderworking Providence, Hubbard's Indian Wars, Mather's Magnalia, Purchas's Pilgrims, Mourt's Journal, Winslow's Good Newes from New England, Smith's New England's Trials, Morton's New English Canaan, and Rog-

* For an estimate of the character of Hubbard's History, and the result of a critical collation of it with those of Morton and Winthrop, we refer to Mr Savage's edition of Winthrop's History, vol. I. p. 296. Note.

er Williams's Key. Among the sources of the manuscript evidence, are the records of the Old Colony, and of the first church in Plymouth, and two compilations by Samuel Davis, Esq. of Plymouth, designated by the titles of *Ancient Vestiges* and *Historical Extracts.* The venerable semblance of the lost seal of the Old Colony, is preserved in a copy made from the book of laws, which was published in 1685. A *fac simile* is annexed of the signatures of Governors Bradford, Edward Winslow, and Prince, Elder Brewster, Captain Standish, and Secretary Morton; and a lithographic copy of a map, published in 1677, 'being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best pattern that could be had,' serves, as Judge Davis well remarks, when compared with the beautiful delineation of the same territory lately furnished by Mr Hale, as an encouraging specimen of the progress of the arts among the pilgrim race.

The editor's principal dependence for his illustrations, down to the autumn of 1623, is on the works cited by the titles *Mourt's Journal*, and *Winslow's Good Newes from New England.* As he does not give an account of these highly interesting remains, some of our readers may be inclined, for want of better, to have one from us.

Edward Winslow, who came out in the first ship, passed the winter of 1623–24 in England, and there published his 'Good Newes, or a True Relation of things very remarkable,' occurring between January 1622, and the second following September. The authorship of Mourt's Relation which, with the exception of three months, in the early part of 1621, fills the chasm between the sailing from England and this period, is unappropriated. There was no person of that name among the early settlers. In 1802, an abridgment of both tracts, contained in a very scarce volume of Purchas, was given to the public by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the originals not being then known to be in existence. In 1819, by the aid of Mr Duponceau, a complete copy of Mourt was obtained from the city library of Philadelphia. The Ebeling library has since done the same service for Winslow, and from these the *παραλειπόμενα* of the first edition of both works were supplied in Vol. IX. 2d Series, of the Society's Collections. The annotator upon the first promulgated fragments of the *Journal*, was of opinion, that Mourt was its printer or publisher, and that it might, with much probability, be ascribed to Winslow, but for a somewhat

different spelling of the Indian names. In an introductory epistle to the reader, brought to light in the entire work, and signed G. Mourt, he says, 'myself shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business, and in the mean time, these relations, coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general;' from which, and other language betokening a person interested, it may be probably inferred, that he was one of the English *merchant adventurers*. In another prefatory letter, addressed to 'Mr I. P.' probably John Pierce, the patentee, the writer says, 'As for this poor relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner;' and Winslow, in a postscript to his *Good Newes*, refers such as are inquisitive concerning the earlier period to which they do not extend, to a 'former printed book,' '*gathered by the inhabitants* of this present plantation at Plimouth in New England,' and 'to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden lions, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.' This contribution of the company could scarcely be other than Mourt's Journal, which bears the imprint of being on sale by this same bibliopole, 'John Bellamie.' The body of the Journal has been ascribed to Bradford, on the ground of the similarity between its language, and that of the portions which Prince has preserved of that distinguished person's history. The account annexed of 'a journey to Packanokik, the habitation of the great king Massassoyt,' being given in the first person, must needs have been furnished by Winslow or Stephen Hopkins, who were the only persons employed on that expedition. The journal of the ten auxiliaries furnished to Massassoit against the Narragansetts, written also by one of the party, and signed A. is attributed to Isaac Allerton, a person altogether likely to be sent on such a service; and Robert Cushman, the lay preacher of the first sermon uttered in New England, has the credit of the final paper signed R. C. containing 'Reasons and Considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of England into the parts of America,'—a controversy undertaken with diffidence, 'since,' says the author, 'it is the first attempt that hath been made, that I know of, to defend those enterprises,' but towards the elucidation of which, any minds, that yet labor upon it, may here find adduced various weighty testimonies of scripture and good sense.

The latter half of the Appendix is devoted to making up the deficiencies of Cotton's Supplement. To these it is little to say that we are reconciled, since they have given occasion to Judge Davis to prepare his spirited and satisfactory sketches of the lives of Governors Prince and Josiah Winslow, of the negotiations relating to the charter of 1691, by which Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts, and of Philip's war. These are far from being the least entertaining or important pages of the volume. In connexion with this last event, new light is thrown on a hitherto perplexing and painful subject, the death of Alexander, Philip's predecessor. It had been hitherto believed that the illness thus terminated was the consequence of offence which the highminded savage conceived at his treatment by Major Winslow, who had been despatched to bring him before the court at Plymouth, to answer for his correspondence with the Narragansetts; and Philip has had the benefit of some sympathy, on the supposition that he was partly driven into hostilities by resentment of his brother's fate. Against this view, countenanced by Hubbard and Increase Mather, who themselves appeared in the character of champions against yet more injurious imputations, all which had hitherto been brought was scarcely more than plausible extenuation. From the testimony of Major Bradford, an officer of the expedition, detailed in a letter of John Cotton, minister of Plymouth, it now appears that all the essential circumstances of the transaction were misstated abroad at the time. Alexander manifested no reluctance to repair to Plymouth, giving a satisfactory reason why he had not done it when first summoned. So far from being kept in ward, awaiting the Governor's leisure, the matter in question was forthwith amicably adjusted between him and the magistrates, then at Plymouth, who courteously spared him the inconvenience of delay till the Governor's arrival from one of the cape towns. He set off on his way home, but in two or three days returned, of his own motion, to the house of Major Winslow. While thus enjoying the hospitality of that gentleman, and not while under detention by him, he sickened. He was conveyed by water to Major Bradford's, and thence by his own people to his home, where in a few days he died. We wish the editor had been able to give us a like gratifying solution of that more vexatious problem, the execution of Miantonimo, the Narraganset sachem, in 1643, by Uncas, the Mohegan, with the counsel of the commissioners of

the United Colonies. He pleads well for them, but it is only hypothetically, and we must perforce say, that he has left this as he found it, the darkest spot on the sun of the New England annals. As far as yet appears, it was a deliberate and heinous wrong.

It is ill disputing with Judge Davis about facts, but as we look to have our review go down to posterity in the antiquarian collections, we think it meet to record our conviction, that the venerable John Watson was not the first, as is affirmed, but the second President of the Pilgrim Society, and that his predecessor was Judge Joshua Thomas. Also, we are dissatisfied with the criticism on Cotton Mather, who, in his memoir upon Warham of Dorchester, has hitherto been understood to say, that that gentleman was the first in New England who read his sermons. The grammatical construction of the passage is ambiguous. Mather (Mag. p. 121) gives an account of the origin of preaching with notes in England, and then goes on to distinguish between the *reading* and the *using* of them, treating last of such a *use* of them, as is consistent with the 'vivacity and efficacy of delivery.' Then, beginning a new paragraph, he says, 'I suppose the first preacher that ever *thus* preached with notes in our New England, was the Reverend Warham.' Judge Davis accounts the method of using them last described to be the antecedent of *thus*, and accordingly supposes that a more servile application to them had been in previous credit. We demur at this. Mather would hardly have made the name of Warham the text for a diatribe on these aids to eloquence, unless he had been the first to introduce them. The reason specified for the prejudice excited against Warham on this score, agrees only with our interpretation. 'Though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable *energy* of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives.' Moreover, unless we err, there are not a few skeletons of discourses of the earliest preachers preserved, which show that it was not the primitive practice to use the pen in the rhetorical part of their composition.

Persons curious in such inquiries desire freer access to such treasuries as the learning of Judge Davis, for circumstantial information concerning the character, appearance, and customs

of the aboriginal race. For some curious particulars relating to their domestic economy, their persons and manners, we refer to extracts from Mourt, given in this edition of the Memorial, (pp. 352, 355.) We are modest about gleaning in the editor's track, as well as about discussing with him, but we will venture to add to his a few selections from Mourt's Journal and Winslow's Good Newes, pertaining to similar points.

Winslow gives the following account of the religious faith and practices of the neighboring savage tribes.

'As they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none; he (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we, and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not. At first they say there was no sachim, or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things; this his habitation lies far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also and knock at his door, but he bids them Quatchet, that is to say, Walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury.' 'This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

'Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the northward of us Hobbamoqui; this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases.' 'This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake; he appears not to all but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confess I neither know by name or office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them; another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Pniese.' *Mass. Hist. Col. 2d Series*, vol. ix. pp. 91, 92.

He goes on with an account of the offices denoted by these two titles. The former dignitary exercised the faculties of a priest of Hobbamock and a professor of the healing art, a union which assuredly none but a most erratic imagination could have feigned. The latter were a sort of rough hewn knights templars,

affecting a character of sacerdotal staidness, but more expert with the sword than with the rosary. Their government, as he describes it, was a kind of feudal rule, characterized by the pride of that polity, its exclusive property, its system of revenue, its despotic spirit, and its indulgent parental practices. Their simple division of labor assigned the chase to the men, and to Eve's representatives all the drudgery. Their laws were merciful, and for the most part just, though there were probably some flaws in the execution, when the sachem was at once legislator, court, jury, and sheriff.

'As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel, but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and rub or chafe the same. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. *Ibid.* p. 98.

'They are of complexion like our English gipsies; no hair, or very little, on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These [the first party with whom the settlers conversed] left, according to our charge, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from the town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like anticks. They brought with him in a thing like a bow case, which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn pounded to powder, which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions as they liked.' *Mass. Hist. Col.* vol. viii. p. 227.

In the work before us is inserted a letter from King Philip to Governor Prince, which was probably indited in 1663, by Sausaman, a Massachusetts Indian, who had been a pupil of the English.

'To the much honered governer mr *thomas prince* dwelling at plimouth

'honered sir,

'King *philip* desire to let you understand that he could not

come to the court for tom his interpreter has a pain in his back that he could not travil so far, and philips sister is verey sik.

'Philip would intreat that faver of you and aney of the maiestrats, if aney english or engians speak about aney land he pray you to give them no ansewer at all the last summer he maid that promise with you that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, for that he would have no english trouble him before that time, he has not forgat that you promise him he will come asune as possible he can to speak with you

'and so I rest your very loving friend *philip* dwelling at mount hope nek.' *Memorial*, pp. 288, 289.

Judge Davis has brought together not a few details of much interest relating to the social condition of our fathers, and their intercourse with the savages. We refer, for examples, to the extract from Winthrop's Journal (Memorial, p. 169), in which the pedestrian expedition of the governor, Wilson, and others, to Plymouth, and their reception there, is described; to the narratives from Mourt (pp. 354 and 356) of the first visit of Massassoit to the same place, and of the embassy of Winslow and Hopkins some weeks after, to his seat at Packanokick, now Bristol in Rhode Island; and (p. 366) to the subsequent journey of Winslow, with Hamden (probably the English patriot), when he went to act the part of nurse to the same savage ally. The latter, particularly, is a most moving chapter in the history of benevolence, besides the great importance of the occurrence which it relates, in its consequences to the infant colony; for Massassoit, in gratitude for his restoration to health, disclosed an extensive conspiracy of the Massachusetts Indians, in which he had been solicited to take part.

But we must extricate ourselves from this *ancient forest*, which has detained us so long, not with the thorns, but with the bloom and odors of its sweet briar. At the end of the three score years and ten, commemorated in this volume, the venerable mother colony, having outlived, by force of a vigorous moral vitality, its early complication of suffering and peril; having alternately extended protection to younger settlements in their weakness, and received it from their more precocious strength; having borne its part with stubborn constancy, and a prodigality of property and life, in a most critical, distressing, and costly contest; having seen, for the fifty famishing survivors of the band who first stepped upon its wintry beach, a hundred thousand of the same free race spread over the vallies of New

England,* had brought to a close its separate annals, attaining a stable dignity and strength in union with a more prosperous kindred community. We have enjoyed true satisfaction in retracing, with such skilful guidance, the steps of this strait, steady, upright progress. We find ourselves softened, admonished, purified, refreshed, in thus revisiting the *gentis cunabula nostræ*. We are awed by the devout, gentle, prudent, brave, constant, prospective spirit of the primitive conscript fathers; the spirit in which one of them, referring to their experience of all hardships, said, 'If ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we;' 'for in these straits, such was our state, that in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time; and though at some times in some seasons I have seen men stagger, by reason of faintness for want of food, yet God preserved us; yea, and from how many things that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things best can tell; so that I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation.' We are struck with reverence by their conscientious tenderness of the rights, and their self devoting care for the souls of the indigenous tribes,† and with admiration at the generosity which, time after time, shared their scanty and hardly earned supplies with the too often lawless freights of their roving countrymen, whom disaster or improvidence cast upon their charity. If we smile, it is not with contempt, at the simplehearted jealousy for their dearly bought possessions, which brought, for instance, the mysterious Gardiner into suspicion with them of having an understanding with the Pope, and subjected the rantipole Thomas Morton, and his 'Merry Mount,' to be qualified

* Captain Smith's account of Plymouth in the autumn of 1624, as abridged by Prince, is as follows. 'There are now about 180 persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirtytwo dwelling houses. The town is impaled about a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town they have a fort, well built with wood, lime, and stone, and a fair watch house.' Dr Trumbull reckoned the number of inhabitants in New England, in 1675, at between 35,000 and 36,000. Judge Davis thinks it could not have been less than 50,000, In 1708, William Brattle of Cambridge estimated it to be between 100,000 and 150,000.

† The number of converted, or, as they were called, *praying Indians*, at the breaking out of Philip's war, when it was greater than before or since, was estimated at about 3600.

by some of the worst designations in the heathen mythology, besides a domiciliary visit and rebuke from 'that worthy gentleman, Mr John Endicot,' and rougher dealing at the more practised hands of Captain Standish. We glory with them in their meek pride when, reflecting upon the breaking up of the settlement at Weymouth, which they had been at most inconvenient cost to feed and defend, while they were in continual danger from the effects of its irregularities upon the Indians, they say, 'This was the end of those that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able and lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women, and children, and weak ones, and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course, and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to; but a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weak stand.' We are touched with the humility of their record concerning their brethren in the Massachusetts, from whom, as the weaker from the stronger, they sometimes received measure not precisely according with the golden rule, that 'those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness.' An ample roll of serious thought is opened, when, from the eminence of prosperity where now we stand, we go back to the lowly graves whither was followed one after another good man, 'that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus' and the gospel's sake, and borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor, persecuted church, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling;' and even those specimens of elegiac poetry which this rich volume furnishes, though doubtless not the most harmonious offspring of the muse, have to our view the better merit of breathing the solemn, hopeful, affectionate spirit of noble natures.

Art. XI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Oration delivered by Col. James Gadsden to the Florida Institute of Agriculture, Antiquities, and Science, at its First public Anniversary, on Thursday, the 4th of January*, 1827. Tallahassee. Printed at the Office of the Florida Intelligencer.

The acquisition of Florida is one of the most important and honorable occurrences in our history. Till the acquisition was made, the far more extensive one of Louisiana was incomplete. The security of our South Western frontier could never be regarded as perfect, not even with the right bank of the Mississippi in our possession, while Florida remained in the hands of a foreign power, and thus opened an easy access to one of the most vulnerable parts of the United States. The acquisition of this important and valuable region, on terms most reasonable and advantageous to the United States, in the result of a negotiation which had hitherto baffled the skill of our ablest statesmen for thirty years, entitles the present chief magistrate of the United States, by whom the negotiation was conducted, to a praise second only to that which is justly due to Mr Jefferson for the purchase of Louisiana.

It is gratifying to witness the rapidity with which the territory of Florida is coming into a state of improvement. More has probably been done toward exploring, settling, and improving it, since it became a part of our Republic, than for two centuries before. The progress of settlement would have been still more rapid, but for the embarrassed state of the land titles in a considerable portion of the territory. The facilities for frauds of every kind, arising out of the political condition of the territory for near twenty years, have covered a good deal of the best land with fraudulent claims, which it is a work of time and difficulty to detect and vacate; nor will it finally be accomplished, we suppose, before great loss has accrued to the nation by the waste and strip of what will eventually be proved to be public lands, and which are plundered of their live oak, while the title is *sub judice*.

Every effort meantime to hasten the progress of improvement deserves encouragement. We have perused with satisfaction the address of Colonel Gadsden, before an association which has been instituted in Florida for the most laudable purposes. It is intended to discharge the duties of an agricultural, historical, and scientific society; and if a due activity and zeal are exercised by its members, it will unquestionably prove a public benefit to the territory.

Colonel Gadsden's discourse begins with a brief description of the natural features of the territory and of the agricultural products for which it is adapted. From the enumeration of the latter, we extract the following interesting list.

'Florida is no less remarkable for the natural, than the foreign productions which have been found congenial to her soils. All the varieties of pulse, the tuberous and the esculent roots, the farinaceous grains, the indian and guinea corns, wheat, barley, rye, oats, and the millets, peas, beans, yams, and potatoes, have been cultivated to great advantage. Cottons, the black and the green seed, produce, as if natural to the climate, and the experiments in sugar cane have been crowned with no ordinary success. The Banana, the plantain, the pine apple, the cocoanut, and most of the tropical fruits flourish near the southern extremity, and may, it is believed, be gradually naturalized to the northern limit; some few experiments near St Augustine have been very encouraging. Figs, oranges, limes, lemons, and all the varieties of citrons, nectarines, peaches, olives, and pomegranates, thrive in the eastern section of the territory, as if indigenous; and if any conclusions to equal results from similarity of soils and climate can be relied on, a well grounded expectation may be entertained, that almonds and the palms, all the varieties of the grapes and the oleaginous grains, which have contributed alike to the luxury, the comfort, and wealth of the South of Europe, and of the countries washed by the Mediterranean, may be successfully introduced in Florida.'

After alluding to the causes which retarded the growth of Florida under the Spanish government, and to the prospect of its rapid improvement under the United States, Colonel Gadsden remarks upon the important agency of agricultural societies in diffusing information of the greatest moment, both as respects the revival of exhausted soils and the introduction of new articles of agricultural produce. The discourse closes with a few judicious observations on the other functions, which the Florida Institute proposes to itself, as an Academy of Sciences and an Antiquarian Society.

It is truly gratifying to receive an Address like this from the press of a settlement, which, if we mistake not, was commenced but three years ago, and is now rising rapidly into importance. Our readers are probably aware that the township of land granted by Congress to General Lafayette adjoins that of Tallahassee. It must be a grateful association to this beloved veteran to see the domain, which has been bestowed upon him for his precious services in the infant struggles of the Republic, thus assigned to him in the centre of a fruitful region, which at that eventful period did not even form a part of the United States. May the

laudable measures, proposed by the Florida Institute at Tallahassee for the benefit of a territory destined to become a most important member of our confederacy, be crowned with entire success. When the great Florida canal shall have been completed, the position of the territory will be one of the most important in all North America, and its citizens will possess every incentive to emulation which a free and enterprising people can wish.

2.—*An Oration before the Washington Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania, delivered in the Hall of the Musical Fund Society, on the 22d of February,* 1827. By W. T. Dwight. Philadelphia.

In this Oration Mr Dwight has treated a very noble and comprehensive theme with no inconsiderable success. His subject is *the character of the American revolution, and its influence upon mankind.* He illustrates the character of the revolution under the heads of the country where it happened, its era, the character of the people who accomplished it, the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, the character of its hero. The influence of the American revolution upon mankind is discussed, in reference to the political maxims which have been promulgated to the world in the successful result of the American revolution (such as that all power resides in the people; that all men are born free and equal; that the rights of conscience are inviolable; and that the press shall be absolutely and for ever free), and in reference to the example of America, in the points of written constitutions, free representative governments, and the entire and triumphant success with which our institutions have gone into operation. The discourse closes with a brief survey of the effects which have actually resulted from the revolution in reference to its influence on foreign nations.

The reader will perceive that Mr Dwight has brought a rich variety of topics under consideration and distributed his subject with skill. Much originality of remark could not be expected on any of these topics, which within a few years have been so variously and amply illustrated, not only in this country but in Europe. Mr Dwight has not aimed at the most fervid style of eloquence. His statements are clear and distinct, and many of them made with decisive effect. As a whole, the Oration holds a respectable rank among the performances of the class to which it belongs.

3.—*Address delivered before the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, at their Anniversary, Oct. 9th*, 1826. By Joseph L. Tillinghast. Providence.

This is the production of a man of taste, genius, and right feeling. The principal feature of the discourse may be considered as agricultural, and the measures proper to be adopted and pursued for the improvement of our agriculture are succinctly indicated, but with emphasis and power. The observations on manufacturing industry and the mineral wealth of the state of Rhode Island are not less important and well timed. It is such doctrine, from first to last, with very trifling exceptions, as we should be glad to have inculcated at all our rural meetings, our cattle shows, and our agricultural anniversaries, from one end of the union to the other. Not often can this be done in more expressive and beautiful language, than that of Mr Tillinghast's discourse.

The public education of America, if we may so express ourselves, has, till within a few years, been *partial* and limited to a portion only of those things, which promote the public welfare. From the settlement of the country down to the revolution, all manufacturing industry was proscribed. This was an unnatural restriction, imposed by a foreign power, not for the good of the colonies, but for her own good. It operated consequently to depress one whole branch of industry. Of the two others, agriculture was deprived of all the advantages growing out of a denser population and a nearer market, which manufactures would have produced, and navigation alone was stimulated. After the establishment of our independence, the peculiar state of the world perpetuated to a certain degree the same state of things. The carrying trade (amply shown by Adam Smith to be naturally the least favorable to the prosperity of a country) was made, by circumstances, highly attractive and lucrative to our merchants and the navigating interest in general. Then followed the disturbed condition of our political relations, which applied an unnatural stimulus to some branches of industry, and brought an equally unnatural depression on others; and to this succeeded the reaction consequent upon shutting the gates of the temple of Janus. It is only, therefore, within a few years that the country has been left open to the natural action of those influences which ought, in all respects, to decide its policy as a nation, and regulate the pursuits of its citizens as individuals.

There is, however, now no cause of complaint or apprehension, that the public feeling of the country will be restricted or confined to one or two leading pursuits. The natural attractions

and facilities of commerce remain, and there is no fear that our citizens will not engage in it, to say the least, as far as the state of things abroad will permit them to do so to advantage. Manufactures have now received a full share of the disposable capital of the country. Agriculture is daily receiving advantage from the lights diffused by our associations for the promotion of husbandry, and what are called *internal improvements* are pursued with intense and growing zeal. The mind of the country is awake, is daily informing itself, and is acting with mighty energy. Prejudices are clearing up, a feeling and policy conformed to the condition and situation of the country are daily acquiring friends; and the character of America is forming in all its departments.

We beg leave warmly to recommend Mr Tillinghast's discourse. It is on important subjects; they are ably treated; it can scarcely be read by any one without imparting to him good views, kindled feelings, and new lights.

4.—*Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of Common Schools, made to the Legislature of the State of New York, January 23d,* 1827. pp. 61.

It is generally admitted by those who have paid any attention to the state of the various seminaries of education in this country, that they are in the rear of the progress of society in other respects. To whatever cause this deficiency may be owing, and however much it may be, as it often unquestionably is exaggerated, it is obvious that the first step towards correcting it is to ascertain its precise nature and extent. To this end, it is important to obtain a full and minute account of the state of the schools and other places of instruction, with regard to the numbers and ages of the pupils, the subjects taught and books employed in teaching, the modes of instruction and discipline, and the moral and intellectual qualification of teachers.

On several of these subjects of inquiry the excellent report of the New York schools gives very satisfactory information. With regard to others, it did not fall within the province of the Superintendent to say anything.

The numbers attending the public schools are given with great apparent accuracy, and exhibit a very remarkable result. There are 431,601 children taught at the public schools only, without including those belonging to 570 school districts from which no reports were received. If we allow the same average to these, the number will rise to above 464,000. This is a most remarkable result, although the children may be taught only the bare elements of knowledge, merely to read, write, and cipher. A

child who is taught no more than this, is placed in a situation of comparative independence. In thousands of cases it depends on himself to go farther when he has been enabled to go so far. On the late establishment of schools for the scientific instruction of mechanics, in the several maritime departments of France, it was found that more workmen presented themselves to take advantage of the new instruction in Brittany, one of the least industrious and enlightened provinces in the kingdom, than in Normandy, which is noted for its general advancement and civilization. This unexpected result is attributed to the existence, in the former province, of schools established entirely by private munificence, for the instruction of 32,000 children in the simple elements abovementioned.*

In the New York schools, children are allowed to attend, from the age of five to fifteen and over, an average term of eight months annually. Now, in these ten years, incomparably more might be weekly done by tolerably competent instructers and tolerably good books, than is done. We learn from the report, that the teachers are generally poor, and poorly paid. What indeed can we expect them to be, when they receive 'frequently one third less than the amount paid to experienced clerks and journeymen mechanics in the same vicinity.'

On the subject of books the report must be somewhat imperfect, or we are obliged to conclude that reading and writing are the only branches taught in all the towns; that in more than one third of the towns grammar or geography is neglected, and that there are very many towns in which no text book is employed for arithmetic. As to the books used, the names being given, there is no room for mistake; and in this respect the prospect is as sad, as it is agreeable in relation to numbers. Woodbridge's Geography, however, is used in a hundred and ten towns, and Colburn's Arithmetic in *one*. From these points light may perhaps break in.

The remarks of the Superintendent upon the introduction of better school books, better teachers, and improved modes of teaching are deserving of the most serious attention, and we cannot but believe that they will do much towards producing the desirable effects which he has in view.

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* Rapport sur l'Enseignement Industriel, par C. Dupin. *Revue Encyclopédique*, Sept. 1826.

5.—*Nature Improved, or a New Method of Teaching Languages, exemplified by its Application to Latin, Greek, and French.* By Samuel Jackson, M. D. of Northumberland. Philadelphia. Robert H. Small. 12mo. pp. 166.

Though the subject here announced seems to be sufficiently definite, yet the author has taken a pretty excursive range; and desultory as his tractate is, we shall be excused if, in the few observations we shall make upon it, we shall appear to have caught a little of the same spirit. A small part of the book only is taken up with the subject proposed in the titlepage, and much of it is occupied with the old quarrel about the study of Latin and Greek, and with speculations intended to lead to a decision of what it is most useful for boys and young men to learn; a decision which never has been and never can be made. One man weeps over the supposed tender victims of that tyrannical custom which claims so many years of youth for the Latin and Greek classics. Another is tormented with anxiety for such as are made to delve in mathematics, thinking that mere abstract truth is wholly worthless. A third trembles with alarm for those who have had the misfortune to acquire a taste for chemistry and mineralogy, because it diverts them from all that is valuable and beautiful in the world of intellect. But these are idle prejudices. All knowledge is useful; and a boy is none the less fitted for a chemist, or a mathematician, or an engineer, when the season arrives for the display of his peculiar talent, because he has employed his memory in learning his grammar, and his wit in the interpretation of Latin sentences.

We have seen enough of weariness in children produced by tasking their memory and attention in various ways; but not more perhaps in learning grammar, and the meaning of foreign words and phrases, than in learning to repeat their hymns and early lessons in geography, or obtaining the answers in Pestalozzi, or Colburn's Arithmetic. It will be conceded on all hands, that their memory and attention must be cultivated early, in order to secure the full value of these faculties. To this end, too, they must find some reward in the results to encourage future exertion. Now we undertake to say, that there are as many infant scholars delighted with finding that *caput* means head, and *manus* hand, as there are embryo mineralogists who are pleased to learn for the first time, that such a substance is *quartz*, and such another is *anthracite*. And we have seen the face of the child glow with more pleasurable animation in catching the meaning of a good saying of a grave Roman, whether emperor, patrician, plebeian, freedman, or slave, than could be produced by all the elements of physical science which he was capable of comprehending.

There is no great charm to the youthful mind in the elements of any kind of knowledge; but there is time and capacity in early years for some progress in a great variety of things. A decided preference for any pursuit of learning or science, where it exists, will not fail in due time to be developed; and where such a preference does not exist, which is the case with much the larger portion of mankind, there is no hazard from storing the mind with a variety of learning, not knowing which portion will ultimately come to most account. We have no wish to dogmatize on this subject; nor have we any ambition to enter the lists in favor of the ancient classics; for, though the enemies of classical learning have the popular side of the argument, yet they have long since said all that they have to say, and the more learned among them have had all the aid that they can receive from the endless pratings of sciolists and pretenders. The merits of the question concerning the utility of Latin and Grecian learning remain just where they did a century ago, and this kind of learning will no doubt continue to constitute an important part of early education.

Dr Jackson is himself, we perceive, not a little conversant with the classic writers of antiquity, and not wholly unapt to show his acquaintance with them; and if we mistake not, we can see, through the veil of contempt which he has thrown around him, a little self complacency produced by the worthless and contaminating knowledge he has derived from their works. For the most part, one is prone to value what he has taken pains to acquire, in some proportion to the cost. But on the other hand, a pride of character for boldness and independence, and for extricating one's self from the shackles of prejudice and false education, often becomes paramount; and though the person thus influenced would not lose the credit of his learning, he is willing himself to call it naught,

We had well nigh forgotten to speak of this 'New Method of Teaching Languages,' which, however, it seems to us, is no new method at all. It is substantially the same that we find in Latin primers, and Latin and Greeks readers; except that the master is to be the grammar and dictionary, instead of sending his pupil to his vocabulary, and etymology, and syntax. Whether this is any advantage or not, the experienced must judge. Classification must begin at some time; and while we would not keep a boy on his grammar till he turns from it with utter disgust, yet we cannot but think it an advantage to have learnt so much of it, that he may be advanced, by easy gradations, in the combined process of literal translation and grammatical inflexions and construction. We are aware that too much may be, and often is expected of a child; and, therefore, while we would not teach

him as we would teach a parrot, we would avoid with equal solicitude all exactions in solitary study, which it is beyond his power to meet.

We have grown very suspicious of the modern *arcana* in education. And after all, the whole mystery in the school discipline of youth, is to procure masters of competent learning, who are *apt to teach*, who know when to encourage and when to coerce their pupils, and who, in fine, are so fond of their work, as to excite the sympathy and cooperation of those who attend their instructions.

6.—*Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenæum Gallery, consisting of Specimens by American Artists, and a Selection of the Works of the Old Masters, from the Various Cabinets in this City and its Vicinity.* Boston. William W. Clapp. 1827.

This Exhibition will close about the time at which these remarks will be published; and it calls for some notice, although it comes not precisely within our usual course of criticism. It is really a fine collection. We think no one can enter the room without surprise at the number of good pictures, drawn there from the private cabinets of Boston and its immediate vicinity. With such resources, and with the artists, eminent and fast rising into eminence, whom we have among us, this course of exhibition should have begun long ago. It is obviously the best mode of encouraging the art; and we suppose few will doubt the great importance of cultivating such sources of liberal and refined pleasure. We think there are peculiar circumstances, which call on us in this country to do all we can in aid of such pursuits. Public amusements are and must be a part of the system of civilized life; and the character and condition of a country cannot fail to be much affected by the nature of them. They are a part of the education of youth, as well as of the relaxation of mature life; and it cannot be for a moment thought a matter of indifference, whether those hours which the gravest and the busiest spare from labor, and the time which the idle and trifling find it so hard to kill, are spent in galleries of painting and sculpture, in concerts and public gardens, or in bull baitings, bear baitings, and prize rings, not to name other and more odious scenes of dissipation. And the individual who devotes his superfluous wealth to the purchase and enjoyment of works of art, is certainly more likely to pass though life in health and innocence, than one who, for want of other tastes, resorts to the grosser physical indulgen-

ces. With these views, which are common enough, but yet little thought of, we are glad to see any new attempt to direct the public taste into useful, or even harmless channels. Music and painting probably interest a larger portion of the community than any other arts, and there is reason to hope that this success in attracting attention to the one, will be followed by a corresponding exertion in the same city to promote the other. A scheme for that purpose was some time since proposed, and we understand, needs but a reasonable effort to afford ample means of producing so desirable an end.

The Athenæum exhibition consists of above three hundred paintings, a great proportion of which are of uncommon beauty and value. Among them are about one hundred genuine old pictures by celebrated masters; about the same number by the living artists of America, and twenty by those of other countries. Among the remainder are many old paintings of doubtful origin, and of various degrees of merit, and a few copies of masterpieces. Of the good old pictures, the greater number are of the Dutch and Flemish school. We have not room to enumerate the principal pieces, but, of this class, the best in our judgment are, in still life, the Dead Game by Weenix, which may be called perfect in its kind; and, in figures, the Love Letter by Schalcken. Besides these, there are many beautiful interiors by Teniers, Ostade, and Douw; Fruit and Flowers, by Van Leen; Sea Pieces, by Vander Velde; Moonlights, by Vanderneer; and Landscapes, by both the Ruysdaels and Swanefeldt. In the other schools, Rebecca at the Well, by Murillo; a Landscape, by Bolognese, which has been ascribed to Titian; several by Cannaletto, one very beautiful; a Portrait, by Angelica; a Fancy Head, by Greuze, and the Guingette, by Le Prince, may be named as the most distinguished.

We notice with peculiar pleasure, among the works of the living artists of England, Quixotte in his Study, by Newton; the best thing we have ever seen from his pencil. With some of the faults of which Newton will never mend, it has a high degree of merit, both in conception and execution. We have never seen a Quixotte which we thought would so well have satisfied Cervantes; (we never saw Leslie's.) There is no farce or buffoonery about it; it is the sober and genuine insanity of the old Hidalgo; mad from his own honest enthusiasm, and not to amuse the bystanders.

We regret not to see any of Leslie's beautiful compositions; his portraits do him no justice. The view on the Avon, by Stanley, and five or six pieces by the two Barkers, are all very pleasing pictures.

After having looked over this fine collection of old and foreign

paintings, we turn with pride and pleasure to the works of our own artists. Placed in immediate comparison with those, they hold a rank, at least as high as we have been accustomed to claim for them.

The splendid full length of Washington, by Stuart, is beyond all price; and it is a source of high gratification, that the idea which posterity will receive of the form and presence of this first of human kind, will be derived from a representation so worthy of the subject. Mr R. Peale's Washington, which has been brought into competition with Stuart's, now hangs by the side of it. No one can resist the mass of respectable testimony that has pronounced Mr Peale's an accurate likeness, but we do not perceive that it throws the least doubt on the resemblance of Stuart's. They may both be very like the same man under different circumstances and at different periods. One is the chief on the field of battle, in the pride and bloom of manhood, flushed by the instant and awful struggle for the liberty of his country; surrounded by all the 'pomp and circumstance of glorious war,' yet calm, deliberate, and dignified in his attitude and expression. The steady gaze of his eye, the firm closing of his lips, show that he is mastering the enthusiasm that burns on his cheek. His hand is on his horse ready for instant motion, but there is no hurry or impatience in his look. It is the *beau idéal* of a great captain in action. Mr Peale's picture may well be the same man in the retirement of his farm, when a southern climate had sicklied over the ruddiness of his complexion, and ease and increasing years had dulled the energy of his features and the fire of his eye. Both are, no doubt, good likenesses; those who knew Washington have pronounced Peale's to be eminently so, and we who know Stuart, know that he could not have failed in such a trial.

Stuart has painted several portraits of the late John Adams; but his last, taken in his ninetieth year, is the one with which he has most cause to be satisfied. It is a very extraordinary picture. While we speak of Peale, it would be injustice not to mention, in terms of high praise, his beautiful Portrait of a Little Boy.

We have no room to speak of Allston as we wish; his Jeremiah brings back the great age of painting. The Prophet has a grandeur of design worthy of Michael Angelo, and the Scribe is as beautiful as the imaginations of Titian. If any objection can be made to it, we think it is, that the principal figure has a rigid strength of frame which reminds us too much of the effect of great bodily labor. The Prophetess, and Saul and the Witch of Endor, are something of the same character with the Jeremiah, and we can but name them with great admiration. But his Bea-

trice is the loveliest creation of his mind; it is the tender, thoughtful beauty of one that might well be man's guide to Paradise.

Allston's Landscapes are very peculiar. They are full of fine feeling, poetical imagination, and nice observation; but whether they are not too much labored; whether they have as much of the ease and careless gracefulness of nature, as they have of her brilliant lights, tender glooms, and beautiful forms, we do not feel quite assured. We cannot repress our regret, that the Desert, the best of his, indeed one of the best landscapes that was ever painted, has been suffered to leave the country. We fear, even he cannot repair the loss.

Harding has several fine portraits in the Exhibition. To make him a first rate artist, we think he wants only courage and a little more freedom of pencil.

Fisher, who has lately returned from Europe, has made wonderful advances by his voyage. His landscapes are very brilliant and beautiful. We should be better pleased, individually, if he would turn his attention entirely away from fat cattle and blood horses, which are, after all, but vulgar things for painting.

Doughty's Landscapes, especially those owned by Mr Dowse, which were painted for Mr H. Pickering, are very attractive and deserve great praise.

Sully's reputation is too well established to suffer by this Exhibition; but there is nothing here to do him justice.

We should be glad to speak of several young artists, whose works give great promise of excellence; but we have exceeded our limits.

7.—1. *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of John Adams, read March 16th, 1827, in the Capitol in the City of Washington, at the request of the Columbian Institute, and published by their order, by* William Cranch.

2. *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of Thomas Jefferson; delivered in the Capitol, before the Columbian Institute, on the Sixth of January, 1827, and published at their request, by* Samuel Harrison Smith.

3. *Eulogium on Thomas Jefferson, delivered before the American Philosophical Society, on the 11th day of April, 1827, by* Nicholas Biddle. *Published at the request of the Society.*

The three Memoirs, which we have now named, are severally too valuable to pass without a particular notice. They are of the

first class of the productions, which have commemorated the decease of Adams and Jefferson. We regret not to have it in our power, to add to them, as a subject of the present brief notice, a fourth Eulogium, delivered like the three mentioned, before a literary institute, and every way worthy of being placed, with them, on a level with the most successful obituary tributes to the memory of the deceased benefactors of the country. We allude to President Kirkland's Memoir on Adams and Jefferson, delivered on the anniversary of the birthday of the first, before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; a learned and philosophical memoir, full of curious matters of fact, even on a theme already so amply treated, and enriched by profound remarks on the two great characters portrayed. We sincerely hope that it will not long be withheld from the press.

Of these Memoirs before us, each has its distinctive character. The first is exclusively appropriated to President Adams, the two last to President Jefferson. Judge Cranch prepares the way for his account of Adams, by a glance at the history of the country, from the time of its settlement, and a sketch of its condition at the time of his birth. Regarding the performance as a discourse delivered before a philosophical society, such an introduction is exceedingly appropriate. It is peculiarly so in the present case. The principles and fortunes of the Pilgrims lie at the basis of the national character of their descendents, the New Englanders; and it may perhaps also be correctly affirmed, that it is absolutely necessary to the highest order of individual character, that a man should have the love, the habits, and the feeling of his country born in him. For this reason, it is an all important fact, in the biography of John Adams, that he was descended from one,* who, as early as 1630, emigrated to America with seven married children, thus embarking life and all its connexions and hopes, in the glorious cause of the Puritans. Born on the spot, where his fugitive ancestors found an asylum from civil and religious persecution, and which they had transmitted as a frugal and honorable competence through generations of the sterling yeomanry of New England, John Adams was, from his first entrance into life, a fair model of the pure New England character. In like manner Washington and Jefferson sprang from some of the earliest settlers in Virginia, and this circumstance undoubtedly, in their case as in that of Adams, accounts in part for the extraordinary ascendency of all these men in the affections of their countrymen.

Judge Cranch relates with accuracy the incidents in Mr Adams's life; and several periods of his public career are treated

* Henry Adams.

with greater fullness, than in any other of the numerous biographies, which we have seen of him. This is particularly true, in respect to his negotiations in Holland; in which the fertility, perseverance, and independence of his mind were greatly illustrated. Familiarity with these great men, who achieved the American Revolution, destroys a little of the effect on us of the narrative of their lives. Hereafter our posterity will peruse with astonishment the history of that period; and dwell with admiration on the displays, not merely of native power, but of address, intellectual skill and aptitude, in the highest deliberative, diplomatic, and military functions, evinced by men, who rushed without training upon the great theatre of the Revolution; showed themselves expert without practice; and derived a power of execution from the same source, whence they drew the resolution to act,—the cause itself.

The limits of this notice do not admit an analysis of Judge Cranch's Memoir. But it may fairly be preserved as a performance of elevated character, the production of a pure and cultivated mind, employed on a grateful theme and doing ample justice to it. It is enriched with learned notes. Among them is the whole of the letter written from Worcester at the age of twenty; a perfect intellectual phenomenon.

Mr Smith's discourse upon Thomas Jefferson was, like the preceding Memoir of Judge Cranch, delivered at the request of the Columbian Institute, of which the two venerable men were honorary associates. Mr Smith was intimately acquainted with Mr Jefferson during the whole of his political career, in the various offices which he filled, under the Constitution of the United States. He has preserved some interesting anecdotes of his illustrious friend, not found in the other biographical notices, and has given a picture of his personal and private life, evidently dictated by unmingled affection toward his memory. In the latter connexion, we find the following incident, which, believing it to be precisely a specimen of the uniform character of the man, we quote with pleasure.

'The stature of Jefferson was lofty and erect; his motions flexible and easy; neither remarkable for, nor deficient in, grace; and such were his strength and agility, that he was accustomed in the society of children, of which he was fond, to practise feats which few could imitate. His countenance was open as day, and its general expression that of good will and kindness, which, as occasion offered, was lit up by a beaming enthusiasm. His benevolence and kindness had no limits. All that mortal could do to lessen the mass of human distress, he did. On one occasion,

when President, passing on horseback a stream in Virginia, he was accosted by a feeble beggar, who implored his aid to help him over it. Without hesitation, he carried him over behind him ; and, on the beggar telling him that he had neglected his wallet, he as good humoredly recrossed the stream, and brought it to him.' pp. 35, 36.

Mr Smith's Memoir is written in an animated and flowing style, and must by no means be omitted in the collection of the most valuable of the discourses delivered on the occasion of the decease of the Presidents.

Mr Biddle's is probably the last in the series of these productions. 'Be it our office,' he exclaims, in his introductory address to the Philosophical Society, 'as their more immediate associates in this society, to close this mournful procession ; to give the last look down that tomb, into which we shall all soon follow them, and then, pausing from the pursuits of the world, dedicate a few moments to the memory of Jefferson.'

Mr Biddle's discourse, in addition to the narrative of the events of the life of Jefferson, in which, as the successor of so many others in that field, no very copious gleaning of new facts was within his reach, presents a philosophical estimate of his works and character. The different writings of Mr Jefferson are estimated by the eulogist, with affectionate discrimination, which, justly assigning the highest merit to them all, gives each its proper character. Mr Jefferson was, upon the whole, the best writer of the revolutionary age ; we mean the man whose writing, upon the whole, was calculated to produce the greatest effect. He was certainly a less learned and emphatic writer than Adams ; less correct than Franklin in his diction, and less conspicuous than Franklin for a miraculous felicity, in giving point to important truisms and homely maxims of common life. He united, however, more than either, learning, point, and elegance. It may most justly be said of him, as in fact it might have been of either of his illustrious associates just named, that had he devoted himself exclusively to philosophy and letters, he would have stood on a level with the most renowned of their votaries. Some may exclaim of such a one,

'How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost!'

A compliment brilliant enough when uttered, but which, even in reference to Lord Mansfield, became, before his glorious career was closed, little better than burlesque. Who would exchange the solid practical praise of one of Lord Mansfield's great decisions, in which the law ascertaining the rights, and protecting the interests of nations and unborn generations of men is defined,

and, as it were, promulgated out of the council chambers of a master mind, for all that Ovid ever wrote? Had Jefferson followed what, by a very natural and amiable self delusion, he thought the natural bent of his mind, and devoted himself exclusively to science and letters, even allowing that others would have been raised up to do for his country what he did, it is high praise to suppose, that he might have written as famous a history as Hume, or Gibbon, or Livy; and possibly have preceded Sir Humphrey Davy in ascertaining that potash and soda have a metallic base, or have forestalled Laplace in detecting an equation for eccentricity of eleven seconds per century. He did neither of these; but as a compensation, he is to go down to the latest generations of mankind, as the author of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr Biddle's discourse concludes with a parallel between Jefferson and Napoleon; a contrast, which, if not obvious, is well imagined, to illustrate the opposite qualities of a despotism won, preserved, and lost by violence; a military victory over mankind; and those of a spontaneous deference, gratefully yielded by admiring equals to one, who rises above his generation, by no other art or power than that of a more comprehensive identification of himself with them.

Mr Biddle's delineations of character and expressions of sentiment are occasionally shaded off into a hue of poetical melancholy; and his language is throughout eloquent and pathetic. His performance brings the long, heartfelt, varied strain of national eulogy to a rich and harmonious close.

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The character and value of these papers, and the plan proposed for publishing them, may be understood from the following letters to the Hon. Joseph Story.

LETTER I.

Mount Vernon, May 4, 1827.

Dear Sir,

Since I have been at this place, engaged in examining General Washington's papers, I have thought it advisable to defer replying to your kind inquiries, respecting the progress and probable results of my investigations, till I should be able to speak with some degree of certainty and confidence. After two months of assiduous application to the task, I am now prepared to state such particulars as will give you an outline of the subject, both in regard to the extent and character of the papers, and to my own plan for bringing them before the public. You are already apprised of my arrangement with Judge Washington, by which I am to have access to all the papers in the archives at Mount Vernon, that belonged to General Washington, and to select and prepare for the press such parts as shall be best suited for that purpose. With this view I have been employed in a general

survey of the materials, and in arranging them for future examination and use. It was a habit, adopted by General Washington at an early stage of his life, to preserve copies of all his important letters, as well those of a private, as of a public nature. Before the Revolution this was a troublesome labor to him, as the copies were usually taken by his own hand, and this even during the active years of his military command on the Virginia frontier; but, after the Revolution, he was seldom without a secretary, who transcribed his letters into letter books as they were written. For several of the latter years of his life he used a copying press, and the impressions thus taken are still preserved, although these letters also are, for the most part recorded in volumes, so that, in many cases, duplicate copies are retained. Such having been his habit during a long life of extraordinary activity, a large portion of which was devoted to pursuits various in their character, and of the highest moment, it may reasonably be supposed, that his papers accumulated rapidly under his hands, and that amongst them are many materials worthy of a better fate, than that of being shut out from the eyes of the world, and of a more lasting preservation, than can be secured to them in the condition of perishable manuscripts.

The earliest written document of much importance from the hand of Washington, was the journal of his tour to the Western country, performed by the order of Governor Dinwiddie. This was printed at the time, both in this country and England, and was much applauded, as indicating a discretion, and a spirit of uncommon enterprise in so young a man, he being then hardly twentyone years old. For several years previously to this period, he had followed the profession of a practical surveyor, in the employment of Lord Fairfax, and had surveyed numerous tracts of wild lands in the upper counties of Virginia, on both sides of the Blue Ridge. In this occupation he seemed to have peculiar pleasure, and in the end it proved of essential service, as it opened to him a knowledge of the country, which was afterwards to be the theatre of his early military career; and it inured him to hardships and privations. There are now remaining journals, and fragments of journals, in his own handwriting, of some of these surveying expeditions. A small volume, in particular, re-

cords the events of a tour of this kind among the Allegany mountains, when he was but sixteen years old. In addition to a diary of the principal incidents of each day, this volume contains his field book, or minutes of surveys, and original drafts of letters to his friends.

But the time at which his papers begin to assume an importance worthy of special notice, as claiming a rank in history, is when he engaged in the campaign with General Braddock. He had already returned from the affair of the Great Meadows, and been appointed, by the governor of Virginia, to command a body of new forces immediately to be raised, and despatched to the frontier. But as the Assembly broke up without appropriating any money to carry the scheme into effect, Washington resigned the command, and went back to his farm. Braddock shortly after landed in Virginia, and invited him to join his family as volunteer and aid-de-camp. From this date his papers have been preserved in detail, to the last day of his military services under the Virginia authorities.

These papers were recorded in letter books, and copied out by himself when written. They consist of his correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie, the Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, the Earl of Loudon, General Forbes, Governor Sharpe, Colonel Stanwix, Lord Fairfax, and with the subordinate officers under his command; also with his mother, brothers, and other private friends. There is, moreover, in Washington's handwriting, an entire copy of Braddock's General Orders, as they were issued daily, from the time he entered Virginia till the fatal defeat, except a few days, while Washington was confined with a fever, and unable to be on duty. After his return from that expedition, and appointment to the command of the Virginia forces, his letters, orders, and instructions, are minutely and fully recorded. The whole collection extends through four volumes, embracing not only his public but private letters; and exhibiting a complete history of the operations in which he was engaged. The value set by Washington on these papers may be inferred from the circumstance that, several years afterwards, he corrected the

language by erasures and interlineations, and had them all transcribed anew. Both the originals, thus corrected, and the transcripts are preserved.

From the end of these military services, till the first movements of the Revolution, Washington lived in retirement, at Mount Vernon, not otherwise mingling in public affairs than as an occasional member of the House of Burgesses, in Virginia. He was devoted to the cultivation of his farms. During this space of fifteen years, therefore, few papers are found of much general interest or value, except as showing the nature of his pursuits, and the traits of mind and character that marked his private life. There are several volumes pertaining to this period, chiefly in his own handwriting, which contain letters to his mercantile correspondents in London, invoices of articles shipped and ordered, journals of daily accounts, ledgers, letters to tenants and agents, and entrances of all the minute details of business, incident to a personal management of his large plantations. In those days it was the custom of the Southern planters to ship their produce directly to the London market, and receive from that place, once or twice a year, by special order, all the articles of importation necessary for family use, thus acting in the double capacity of merchant and farmer. This practice was followed many years by Washington, and his papers will show, that he pursued it with a skill and attention, that proved him not less acquainted with the various branches of business, than prompt and diligent in prosecuting them.

We are now arrived at the opening scenes of the Revolution, after which, almost every day of Washington's life affords matter for history; and, happily, from that date, the records of the great events in which he bore so conspicuous a part, the testimonials of his acts, opinions, and motives, are numerous, well preserved, and attested by the sanction of his own hand. Being actuated by a single aim to public good, which left him nothing to conceal, and apparently anticipating the eagerness with which posterity would trace his footsteps, and search into his deeds, his habitual caution to preserve every document that could in any

manner help to lay open his conduct to the broad inspection of the world, seemed to increase with the responsibility of his station, and the wider sphere of his duties. There was probably no important public act, either performed by himself, or with his counsel or approbation, for which his motives and purposes may not be easily gathered from some of his papers; and so regardless was he of any discoveries, which the prying eye of curiosity might make in this respect, that he seems to have taken no pains to separate private, from what might be more properly called public papers, any further than circumstances might suggest to him the prudence of such a measure, for a temporary period. In whatever station he was placed by Providence, listening to no other monitor than his conscience, and obeying no other guide than the rectitude of his own heart, he never sought to shield his conduct from the most rigid scrutiny of mankind, nor to withhold or disguise any testimony that might be used in a faithful narrative of his actions. This brilliant gem in the crown of Washington's glory, this stern virtue, and unmingled purity of motive, at the same time it exalts his name above every other that has been called great, communicates to his historical character a reality peculiar to him alone, and stamps the records he has left behind him with indelible marks of truth. As no country has been so fortunate as our own, in the hero that achieved its national existence and greatness, so none could rely with such assurance, on the facts which narrate the story of its early struggles and growing renown.

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These volumes are arranged with a remarkable exactness of method, copied with elegance and care, and written throughout in a uniform and neat style of penmanship. Each class of subjects is brought together in a strict chronological order, and a copious index is added to every volume. The whole was executed under the immediate direction of Mr Richard Varick, who was appointed, towards the close of the war, Recording Secretary to the Commander in Chief. He was employed nearly two years and a half, with the aid of three assistant Clerks, in arranging and transcribing these Papers. It hence appears that there are two distinct copies of every letter, and other paper, from the beginning to the end of the Revolution. The originals, or copies of first drafts, which were preserved by Washington for occasional reference in camp, and from which the above volumes were

transcribed, are mostly on separate sheets of paper; they are now filed in perfect order, with such labels and directions on each, that any one, in the whole series, can be immediately consulted.

When the revolution had terminated, and Washington was settled on his farm, although relieved from public duties, his correspondence continued to be very extensive with eminent persons in this country and Europe, and frequently on subjects of much interest and moment. From this period, till the time of his accepting the Presidency, his copied letters fill six folio volumes. Scarcely any of them have been printed, and on many accounts they may be considered among the most valuable of his written remains. Notwithstanding he was closely occupied with his agricultural pursuits, and visited by crowds of company from all parts of the United States, and from the old world, yet he claimed to himself hours of seclusion, and evidently bestowed no little pains on the letters he wrote to a large circle of friends, and to a few eminent strangers, who had courted his correspondence. To the prominent statesmen of this country, he repeatedly pointed out the defects of the old confederation, lamenting the evils that were daily undermining the body politic, and which were to be ascribed to a badly organized system of government, calling loudly on all to suggest and apply a remedy, to rouse the people to a sense of their danger, and to bring the reflecting part of the community to unite in energetic measures to stop the tide of ill fortune, that threatened to sweep away the fair fabric of liberty, which has been erected at so dear a sacrifice of blood and treasure. These were perpetual themes with him in his letters to those, who, from their weight of character, or public station, exercised a commanding influence; and when these letters shall be published, it will be seen, that the agency of Washington, in preparing the way for the new constitution, was much more efficient, than has generally been supposed. Another subject, upon which he often dwelt with apparent fondness, was the internal improvement of the country, and particularly the importance of water communications between the East and the West. His correspondence with Mr Jefferson and other gentlemen, on this subject, is full of information, combined with

sound views of policy, that have since been successfully acted upon by the wisest men of the nation. Soon after the war was closed, he visited the internal lakes of New York, and in one of his letters, he emphatically predicts, that a water communication would at no distant day be opened through the western parts of that state, and enlarges on the benefits that would be derived from such a work. In short there were few topics of much interest at that time, on which he was not led more or less to touch in his letters, and especially such as related to the political condition and prospects of the country.

By his foreign correspondents he was made acquainted with the impressions entertained in Europe of the American States, and he was thus enabled to render some service by communicating intelligence and correcting errors. His numerous letters to Lafayette, are fraught with a warmth of friendly feeling and kind recollection, which impart to them an uncommon charm; and his correspondence with Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, Count de Grasse, and other French officers, with whom he had shared the toils of war and the triumphs of victory, is highly honorable to the parties, and replete with incidents that may be perused with pleasure at the present day.

The following are the names of a very small number only of the persons, with whom he habitually corresponded during the period to which I have been alluding. In this country, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Randolph, Patrick Henry, Jay, Knox, Lincoln, Moultrie, Clinton, Charles Carroll, Benjamin Harrison, Humphreys, Gouverneur Morris, Grayson, George Mason, Arthur Lee, Boudinot, Robert Morris, Trumbull, Henry Lee, Marshall, Pinckney, Rutledge, Hopkinson, Thomas Johnson, Dr Ramsay, General St Clair, Baron Steuben. In Europe, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, Count de Grasse, Duke de Lauzun, Chevalier de Chastellux, Chevalier de la Luzerne, Count de Noailles, Marquis de la Rouière, Count de Moustier, Dumas, Don Diego Gardoqui, Count de Florida Blanca, Paul Jones, Countess of Huntington,

Mrs Macaulay Graham, Arthur Young, Lord Fairfax, Dr Gordon, Sir Edward Newingham, and numerous others.

When Washington entered upon the arduous office of the Presidency, he was of course obliged to relinquish a portion of his private correspondence; yet his early formed and long continued habits of industry, procured him leisure from his public duties, and within the years of his Presidential labors are seven volumes of recorded private letters, besides many others of which press copies were taken, and which were not entered in books. A long letter he regularly wrote, once a week, and sometimes oftener, to the manager of his plantation, press copies of which he retained; and he kept up a spirited correspondence on agricultural subjects with Sir John Sinclair, Arthur Young, Mr Anderson, and other persons. His European correspondents rather increased than diminished, but his answers became brief and formal. Many, indeed, were turned over to his secretary. It appears to have been a fixed principle with him, all his life, never to receive a letter of any description, respectful in its language, without replying to it, and, commonly, with great promptness.

The number of letters which came to him from all quarters, on subjects having no relation to his own concerns, would hardly be credited, without ocular proof. Letters from persons in distress, asking charity; letters from old soldiers and soldiers' widows, making claims on the government; letters suggesting projects of improvement; letters innumerable from Europe, desiring information as to the inducements for emigrating to America, and inquiring about lost relatives or friends, supposed to be in this country, or about lands or other property in some of the states; these are but a few of the topics upon which he received almost daily communications. All the world seemed to think, that, if they wished to know anything concerning America, or what was in America, they had only to write to Washington. In no instance did he treat such applications, obtrusive as they were, with harshness or neglect. In acts of charity, he was open-handed, to an extreme; where information was desired, he frequently submitted to a good deal of trouble in collecting it;

where claims were presented, over which he had no control, he would put the petitioner into the proper channel for having them examined and adjusted. To all letters of this sort, whether he could return a favorable answer or not, and however humble a rank in life the writer might sustain, he never failed to reply in a condescending and friendly manner.

Among the letters demanding particular attention, while he was President, are those of a private and confidential nature, to our ministers abroad—Gouverneur Morris, Pinckney, Jay, Monroe, King; and those to the members of the cabinet, Jefferson, Hamilton, Randolph, Pickering, Knox, during his absences at Mount Vernon, and while he was on the western expedition, caused by the insurrection in Pennsylvania. Morris was in France at the first movements of the revolution, and the correspondence with him goes largely into a discussion of principles and events then showing themselves in that country. But in all the papers left by Washington, there is nothing which can be read with more satisfaction than his private correspondence with Mr Jay, while the British treaty was in agitation and progress. Such a flame did that instrument kindle in the nation, when it was promulgated, that, even at the present day, it is almost impossible to touch upon it, without stirring up some of the slumbering embers of party. Could the private letters of Washington and Jay have been exhibited in broad daylight to the public, when the treaty was laid before the senate, there would have been but one loud and undivided voice, as to the motives of these men, their unsullied patriotism and ardent efforts for the best interests of the country, whatever might have been thought of any features in the treaty itself. In fine, I take it upon me to say, without qualification, that, among the mass of Washington's private and confidential papers, pertaining to the stormy seasons of his administration, there is no record that dreads the light, none that would, in the smallest degree, detract from the brightness of his character, by being exposed. The early dissensions between Hamilton and Jefferson, he endeavored to soothe and quell; for he was a sincere friend to them both. He gave every facility to Randolph that he could possibly claim or desire, for making a full and fair

vindication; and in all times of trial and excitement, he maintained a dignity, firmness, and composure, which, at the same time they proved the integrity of his heart, calmed the troubled elements of party, and reared the pillars of government on a solid and durable foundation.

In addition to the volumes of letters just mentioned, as pertaining to the period of the Presidency, there are fourteen other volumes, in which are recorded the transactions of the President with Congress, and the heads of the departments, and which consist of letters that passed between him and the secretaries, on special subjects; also, opinions, reports, and intelligence, from the secretaries. Among other records, is a private journal kept by the President, in which his official acts and intercourse with the departments are daily noted down.

After Washington had again retired from the scenes of a public station, his letters were still numerous and important to the end of his life, especially those written to President Adams, Pickering, Hamilton, Pinckney, Knox, and McHenry, on the concerns of the provisional army. Nor were his old correspondents forgotten or neglected. At this period, also, he wrote on agricultural subjects, and gave minute instructions in writing to his managers for the cultivation of his farms.

I have only to add, that, besides the papers hitherto mentioned, there are three volumes of Addresses received by him at different times from states, cities, towns, religious societies, colleges, academies, masonic lodges, benevolent institutions, civil, political, and military associations, and other corporate bodies without number. Some of these were sent from Europe. They are all methodically recorded, together with the answers to them, and the originals are for the most part preserved.

Having thus presented you with a brief sketch of General Washington's papers, as they are now found at Mount Vernon, I shall defer to another letter an exposition of the method, by which I propose to arrange and prepare them for the press.

LETTER II.

Mount Vernon, May 7, 1827.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with a promise in my former letter, I now proceed to explain the manner in which it is contemplated to prepare Washington's papers for the press, and send them out to the public. You will recollect, that it was stated to have been his custom from early life to retain copies of his letters and other papers. These copies amount to more than *sixty manuscript folio volumes*, besides others on file, which were never transcribed, the whole embracing his public and private letters, nearly all he wrote, in fact, on military, political, civil, agricultural, and miscellaneous subjects.

It is obvious, that it would be quite inexpedient to print, in detail, such a mass of papers, which the public can neither spare money to purchase, nor time to read; yet, every American will desire to have preserved, in a durable form, such portions of the writings of Washington, as illustrate his own great deeds and character, and reflect honor on the country, whose national existence and prosperity his services contributed so much to create and establish. A judicious selection from the whole, therefore, is all that can, with propriety, be attempted. Limits should be fixed, which will not be so narrow as to exclude anything of essential value, nor yet so broad as to incumber the work with materials that will add more to its bulk and expense, than to its interest and utility. At this medium it is my intention to aim. Amidst such a multitude of papers, treating on topics so various, and relating to events of the first magnitude, as well as to the innumerable incidents of private life, the task of selection and classification will not be without its embarrassments. How far these may be effectually overcome, must remain to be proved by the experiment.

Notes and historical additions will be inserted throughout the work, tending to elucidate the text, and to place in the clearest

view the motives, opinions, and actions of Washington. In discharging this duty, however, special care will be taken to avoid prolixity, and to introduce nothing which shall not have a direct bearing on the subject in hand, for it is not my purpose to connect with the writings of Washington a history of the times, any farther than that history may be developed by the writings themselves, and by the introduction of such facts as have an intimate alliance with them. But to lead you to a more exact understanding of my plan, I shall descend somewhat to particulars, and draw out the scheme which, upon mature reflection, I have concluded to follow. A general method, by which the materials may be thrown into proper classes, is the first requisite; and the next is a skilful arrangement of these materials in their respective divisions, accompanied by appropriate notes and historical elucidations. To compass both these ends, the work will be divided into six parts, in each of which, papers of a similar description will be included, according to the order now to be specified.

PART I.—Letters and other Papers relating to Washington's early Military Career, in the French War, and as Commander of the Virginia Forces.

This period will occupy a comparatively small portion of the work; yet it will by no means be the least valuable. When it is recollected, that Washington was then a mere youth, engaged in hazardous enterprises, to which he was led by his native ardor and spirit; that, from the age of twentytwo to twentyseven, he held a very responsible command over the united forces of the largest colony on the continent, and was required to defend a dangerous frontier, where he was exposed to the perpetual incursions of the French and Indians; that he acquitted himself honorably on all occasions, and received the public thanks of his government, and the unanimous applause of his fellow citizens, for his good conduct; when these circumstances are brought to mind, the conviction cannot be resisted, that an account of such a train of occurrences, written by his own hand, while these were taking place, must have much in it worthy to

be treasured up among the permanent records of the country, for the inspection of the present and of future generations. Neither should it be forgotten, that this was the theatre in which he gained the knowledge and experience, that carried him successfully through the great revolutionary contest. In conducting these early campaigns, he rested mainly on the resources of his own mind, and was driven by necessity, as well as inclination, to familiarize himself, not more with the tactics and skill of military science, than with the intricate and embarrassing duties of providing supplies for an army. Hence it was, that, sixteen years afterwards, when he took command of the continental forces at Cambridge, he was prepared to enter at once upon the charge of a station beset with difficulties, which, it is probable, no other man in the country had experience to surmount, however well armed he might have been with prudence and fortitude. Regarded in this light, as affording the best history of the events to which they refer, and of the formation of Washington's military character, these papers come to us with high claims. But they have other qualities in their own merits, not less to be esteemed; they are written in a plain, but perspicuous and energetic style, replete with sound observations, and everywhere showing the same elevation of mind, the same insight into human nature, the same undeviating sense of justice, and stern regard for moral principle, the same perseverance in the discharge of duty, which marked his future years. Some of the distinguished persons, with whom he corresponded at this period, were mentioned in my former letter.

In making the selection for this part, regard will be had to the substance and historical character of the papers, so as to exhibit the intellectual habits, moral feelings, and special views, of the writer, together with as regular a narrative of occurrences, as can be attained by such a method. The notes will be designed chiefly to explain allusions in the text to particulars necessarily omitted, to fill out breaks in the narrative, and occasionally to trace the connexion between the proceedings on the Virginia frontier, and operations in other colonies, with remarks on the colonial policy of the English government then prevailing.

PART II.—Letters and other Papers relating to the American Revolution.

Here is opened a wide field, but the papers are so admirably classified, accordingly to Washington's directions, that little difficulty will be felt in exploring it. All the letters, whether private or public, the orders, instructions, addresses, and other documents, which may find a place under this division, will be printed in strict chronological order. In some respects a classification by subjects and campaigns would be preferable, but, taking the whole together, this would create a confusion and transposition of dates, that would overbalance any advantage that might be derived from such an arrangement. By keeping in the order of time, the thread of history will be preserved entire, although sometimes obscured by extraneous matter. Letters to the president, members, and committees of Congress, to the governors of states, officers of the army, and private individuals, will be inserted collectively in the exact order of their dates. Subjects, particular trains of events, distinct military operations, the doings of the states in relation to the army, proceedings of committees of Congress while visiting the army, defence of fortifications and military posts, correspondence of the Commander in Chief with the French officers, accounts of detachments and of the separate lines of the army; all these and similar subjects, which extend through a considerable space of time, may be easily examined by the aid of an Index, which will be added at the end of the work.

To make a choice of the best materials, from so voluminous a mass as fortyfour volumes of manuscripts, is the main difficulty to be encountered in preparing this part. The two volumes of Washington's official letters, which have been printed, embrace those only to the president of Congress, for about three years and a half of the war. Some of the others to the same officer were also printed in the newspapers. Yet, all these together constitute a very small part of the revolutionary letters, and hardly any of the remainder were ever made public. In selecting papers under this large division, I shall be guided by one rule only, that of choosing such as shall seem most worthy of lasting

preservation in the shape of historical annals. These will not always be the letters to persons highest in office ; on the contrary, many of the private letters are more valuable than the public ones, because the writer utters his thoughts more fully and with less reserve. There is, for instance, a letter from Washington to his brother, soon after the battle of Germantown, which gives a more satisfactory account of that affair, for a reader of the present day, than his public communication to Congress. The same may be said of a similar letter, concerning the capture of Fort Washington. His private letters to the officers of the army, particularly to Green and Lafayette, and indeed to most of the Major Generals, often throw light upon his official despatches, by expressing his opinion and purposes with more freedom and confidence. No distinction will be made, therefore, between official and private letters during the Revolution, but whatever is most pertinent will claim the preference.

The notes to this division will be frequent, growing out of a fruitful stock of materials. Four abundant sources of these exist among Washington's papers; first, the books of orders, in which the daily proceedings of the army through the whole war are entered ; secondly, the results of Councils of War, and the opinions of the general officers in writing, on important topics submitted to them by the Commander in Chief; thirdly, the letters received by the Commander in Chief from the officers of the army, which are all preserved ; fourthly, returns of the army weekly and monthly, reports of the inspectors, the quarter masters, and other officers for superintending the various departments of the army, and minutes respecting the arrangements of the different lines. Use will also be made of a large and valuable collection of materials, which I have obtained by a personal inspection of the revolutionary papers in *the public offices of all the old States*. As these are manuscripts, and have never been printed, it may be presumed, that they will not be consulted without profit. The private papers of several of the Major Generals of the army, and members of the old Congress, have likewise been examined, and the results will be rendered subservient to the same purpose. The papers of the old Congress itself have

all been kept, and are now in the office of the Secretary of State. They are of the highest importance in connexion with this subject, and will be carefully consulted. To guard against the danger of redundance, where the theme is so fertile and matter so full, I shall endeavor to confine the notes strictly to facts, and plain deductions illustrative of the text, keeping clear of conjectures, speculations, and theories, which may safely be left to the imagination of the reader. A few incidents, which produced considerable excitement when they took place, and in which the character of Washington was concerned, will perhaps be examined anew, such as the cases of André and of Asgill, the affair of Conway and Gates, and that of General Charles Lee. The original papers, relating to these subjects, some of which were never published, are on file. The policy of Washington, in a few of his military movements, may also receive further investigation. But these are only hints, and to what extent they will be verified, it may not be wise now to predict.

PART III.—Private Correspondence on Public Affairs.

You are already informed, that, after the Revolution, Washington took a deep interest in public concerns, although living and acting in retirement. His letters betray the secret workings of his mind, and the painful emotions with which he contemplated the prospects of the country under the Old Confederation. To his friends in Europe and America, he wrote much and feelingly on this subject. His letters upon the internal navigation of the states may likewise be considered of a public nature; and particularly his correspondence with several persons on the Convention for forming the new Constitution, and the progress of the State Conventions for adopting the same. To the letters of this description, which will come under this third division, may be added his private letters to our ministers in foreign countries, to the members of the cabinet, and to several of his other intimate friends, while he was President. If there were any such thing as a secret history of Washington's administration, it might be expected to be developed in this correspondence; but, in truth,

there is no such thing. The contents of these letters, it is true, have not been made known, and this is the whole amount of their secrecy; when taken in connexion with one another, no caution is required in submitting them to the public eye; and to withhold them, would be to keep out of sight some of the strongest testimonies of his singular virtue and patriotism. Another class of letters, which may be ranked under this head, are those written to President Adams, Colonel Pickering, and the other heads of departments; and, also, to Hamilton and Pinckney, during the two last years of his life.

Parts of this division will require a good many notes, especially the letters to ministers abroad and the members of the cabinet. These involve topics, that will need some farther explanation than is contained in the letters themselves; but this may often be derived from the answers, and other documents. The records of intercourse between the presidents and the departments, mentioned in my last letter, will be consulted for the same purpose, and also the official correspondence during Washington's presidency, on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

PART IV.—Messages and Addresses.

In the first years of the new government, the President's communications at the opening of the sessions of Congress were called Speeches, and those transmitted afterwards, till the end of the session, were denominated Messages. All these will come into this fourth part, together with proclamations, and a selection of some of the best addresses, or rather replies to addresses, that were made to Washington at different periods of his life.

To this part free additions will be contributed by way of notes. In the character of Washington, there was not a more predominant practical trait, than his extreme care to possess himself of the views of persons, in whom he had confidence, respecting any public measure, before he proceeded to act. This was his uniform practice in the army, and one to which he adhered more

rigidly, if possible, after he was placed at the head of the government. A speech or message was rarely composed before he had consulted the members of the cabinet, and solicited their opinions separately in writing, both as to the points suitable to be introduced, and the manner of introducing them. When these opinions had been compared, deliberately examined, and weighed, he would construct his message according to the dictates of his judgment, thus enlightened, sometimes making free use of what had been furnished, at others choosing in preference the suggestions of his own mind. It was a rule with him, however, to adopt what he deemed the best thoughts, words, and expressions, from whatever quarter they might come. Several of these elements of messages are preserved, and are curious, as showing the steps by which a mind like Washington's was gradually led to results on subjects of delicacy and magnitude, and the invariable caution with which he submitted his views to the public. Among the persons, whom he appears to have consulted with special confidence, were Hamilton, Jefferson, Randolph, and Pickering of the cabinet, and also Jay and Madison. Even after Hamilton retired from the cabinet, he was applied to with scarcely less freedom and frequency, than while in a public station.

The opinions of the members of the cabinet, commonly written out with care and labor, on various important subjects brought up from time to time for discussion, possess much value as connected with the history of the events of that day. It was a period when some of the most interesting points relating to the intercourse between the United States and other countries had not been settled, and when our infant republic was not of an age to have gained wisdom and character by experience. On the question whether a minister from France, during the distracted state of that country, should be received without qualification, it is well known the cabinet were divided, Hamilton and Knox being on one side, and Jefferson and Randolph on the other. This involved another question, whether the treaty with France was binding on the United States, or whether the dissolution of the old French government had made it null. This question was argued with great ability by Hamilton and Jefferson, on opposite

sides. Other important opinions of the respective members of the cabinet, were those relative to the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain; also, respecting the recall of the American minister from France; and a series of opinions on the resolution of the House of Representatives requesting papers from the President, which he refused to grant. In these subjects, and others of a similar kind, the public took a deep concern, and the papers in question afford the fullest testimony, that they were not acted upon by the President without earnest inquiry and deliberation, and the use of all the means that could be obtained for informing and guiding his judgment. These papers will be freely consulted as occasion may require.

PART V.—Miscellaneous Private Letters.

Compared with the other materials, the number of letters strictly private, and suited for publication, is not large. It is presumed that letters of this sort, being deemed less important, were not copied with so much scrupulous care as others. Taking in the whole series, however, there will be found not a few, which are, in all respects, worthy of the writer, and will add to the value and dignity of the work. The benevolence and kindness of his nature, which could hardly be manifested in the correspondence of a public man, sent out from a camp or the highest office of state, will here be disclosed. His remarks on human life, in its connexions with retirement and the social principle, his interchange of feelings and sentiments with relations, friends, and neighbors, his advice to the young, counsels to the imprudent, consolations to the afflicted, his reflections and practical hints on the proper economy of time and means—all these have attractions, which will make his private letters highly valued. They present his character, as a private man, in an engaging light, and one which will not be eclipsed by his public virtues.

PART VI.—Agricultural Papers.

There was no station in which Washington took more delight, or the duties of which he discharged with more zeal and activity, than that of a practical farmer. His achievements in this walk were prodigious. It may be fairly questioned, whether any other individual in the country, not excepting the most industrious and enterprising, who has been devoted to this pursuit alone, has ever accomplished so much. He was commander of an army, and at the head of a nation, for a few years only at a time; but a day never passed, in which his farm was out of his mind. During the whole war he was planning improvements, directing them, and often writing letters of minute instructions to his manager. While President of the United States it was his standing custom to write weekly, and to receive weekly returns, in which he required great particularity and exactness in specifying occurrences, and the employment and progress of the laborers. I have before me a volume of press copies of letters, written in one year, during the presidency, to his manager and overseers. Some of them extend to several pages, and they average more than one a week. They are written in his own hand, with its usually fair and regular character, and bear every mark of having been as much studied in expression and style as any of his compositions. In some cases, and probably in most, they were written and copied out by himself before the press impressions were taken. Such was his habit for years amidst the burden of his public cares. There is also before me a curious agricultural document, dated four days before his death. It is a manuscript pamphlet of twenty four folio pages, written in a close hand, containing instructions to his manager for the cultivation of three farms, on the estate at Mount Vernon, the following year. Each farm was divided into lots, which were numbered. In the pamphlet very full instructions are given how to cultivate *every lot* in the three farms during the next year, stating the crops, with remarks on the soil, the products of former years, and the results of former experiments. Washington died, you will recollect, in the middle of December, and this pamphlet, drawn up evidently with much

labor and reflection, was already prepared to be handed to the manager at the beginning of the year, prefaced by a letter of general directions on the importance of method and forethought in farming operations, and this, notwithstanding he was himself to be on the plantation, and exercise a daily supervision.

These instances are mentioned only as examples; they indicate the habit, and it is unnecessary to add more. For a time he kept an agricultural journal, and was engaged in experiments on a rotation of crops, noting down for a series of years the crops of each lot, with remarks on the comparative success of different rotations. He was at much pains to stock his farms with the best breeds of animals, and his grounds were adorned with rare and curious trees and shrubs, collected from various parts of the United States, and from foreign countries. His correspondence with Sir John Sinclair, Mr Anderson, and Arthur Young, on agriculture, has been printed. It is not my intention to select much for publication under this head, but such papers will be included, and such illustrations appended, as will exhibit, in their due proportions, the character of Washington on his farm, and his attention to the humbler concerns of life.

Here I bring to a close what I proposed to say in reply to your inquiries, and if your patience has carried you along with me thus far, you will possess as full and accurate an account of the present condition of the papers of General Washington, and the manner in which they are to be prepared for publication, as I have been enabled to embrace within the limits which I prescribed to myself. You will observe, that the great object is to publish such a collection of Washington's writings, as will hold a permanent place in the historical literature of the country, and transmit to posterity in one body the best memorials of his character and actions, and the best fruits of his mind, that were recorded by himself. I will add, that the letters *received* by him constitute a mass of materials more extensive and important than would be inferred from the casual manner in which I have alluded to them, and that they will afford me very essential aid throughout the work. They amount in number to more than

twenty thousand, and the literary merits of a portion of them are of a much higher order than is common in letters of the same promiscuous character; comparatively few persons wrote to Washington on trifling subjects, and few without more than ordinary care in regard to ideas and style. At no distant day it is presumed a selection from these letters will be published. Each volume of the work in contemplation will probably have an appendix, in which extracts from them will occasionally be inserted. I hardly need to repeat to you what you know already, that Chief Justice Marshall most cordially approves my undertaking, and will favor me with such assistance by his counsel and otherwise, as his intimate knowledge of the papers will make it easy for him to render.

If you ask me how large the work will be, when finished on the above plan, I cannot reply with certainty to your question. I may venture to predict however, that it will not be less than eight volumes nor more than twelve; and these bounds have suggested themselves in accordance with the principle heretofore stated, that it will not be advisable to print so much as to encroach on a proper economy of purse and time in the reader, nor so little as to leave materials of substantial value behind. If you ask again, when the publication will be closed, I am equally at a loss for a definite answer. I have nearly completed a general assortment of the papers, and prepared them for a removal to Boston, where I shall apply myself to the task with as much expedition as the nature of the undertaking and my other pursuits will admit.

As the work is of a kind to have an equal interest with readers in every part of the United States, it will be published by subscription, and every person so disposed will have an opportunity of procuring a copy with facility from the hands of agents to be employed for the purpose. Within a few weeks a prospectus will be issued and put in circulation. It is intended that the style of printing shall be handsome, and worthy of the subject, but not so expensive as to impose an unreasonable tax on the purchasers. The volumes will be published one, two, or three, at a

time, and at such periods as circumstances may render convenient.

A work thus comprising the best of Washington's writings, faithfully prepared in its literary execution, and published in the form and manner here described, will have claims, it is hoped, to general approbation, and to a liberal patronage from the American public.

I am, sir, &c.

JARED SPARKS.

Hon. Joseph Story.

No. 108, BROADWAY, NEW YORK, June, 1827.

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OCTOBER, 1827.

ART. I.—*The Debates, Resolutions, and other Proceedings in Convention, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th of September, 1787; with the Yeas and Nays on the Decision of the main Question.* Collected and revised by JONATHAN ELLIOT. Vol. I. Containing the Debates in Massachusetts and New York. 8vo. pp. 358. Washington. 1827.

THE increasing interest, which is daily manifested by the people of the United States, in the history of our political institutions, is one of the best evidences, that they understand and value their privileges. It is in the common course of nature for time to sanctify past events, and particularly such as have had an influence on the condition and destiny of mankind. This is a wise provision in the order of Providence, since it is the basis of experience and the guide to action. To emulate the noble deeds of ancestors, who have been instrumental in securing the freedom and happiness of their posterity, is equally the dictate of patriotism and gratitude; and the character of such ancestors is the richest inheritance, that any nation can receive. In the distractions of party, or faction, it is the polestar to which all may look for safety, as presenting an object to be regarded with the same respect and confidence by all. However discordant or repulsive the different branches of our republican

family may be among themselves, here is an unchangeable centre of union, an attractive power that draws every part to itself with an irresistible force. The virtues and sacrifices, the wisdom and integrity, the labors and successes of the authors of our independence, and the founders of our government, constitute a theme, that calls forth the involuntary and undivided admiration and applause of every inhabitant of this land. On this topic there is a unanimity and a fellowship, which the ephemeral politics of party can neither weaken nor turn from their purpose.

Viewed in this light, the spirit of inquiry that prevails so extensively, and acts with so lively a zeal, in regard to the incidents of our revolutionary history, is a favorable omen. It is a safeguard for the present, and augurs well for the future. All efforts to gratify and cherish this zeal in the community deserve commendation and encouragement. The field for research is a wide one, containing treasures that will amply reward the most ardent inquirer, and which the industry of years will not exhaust. The manuscript materials are more numerous, than could be conceived by any one, who has given but a casual attention to the subject. It would be an idle waste of time, indeed, to write the history of this country, in any stage of its progress, from printed books alone, and above all the history of that brilliant era, in which our national existence, independence, and glory were achieved. The papers, which have been left behind, in public archives and private depositories, by the actors themselves, are not only the most copious, but the surest fountains of historical knowledge. A more valuable labor can hardly be performed, than that of rescuing these precious remains from the fate, to which from their perishable nature they must ere long be destined, and of selecting for the public eye such parts, as are worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance. Societies, individuals, and even our national and state legislatures, might honorably contribute to the execution of such an enterprise.

Next in importance to an undertaking of this sort, is that of republishing the more rare and valuable pamphlets, and works of higher dignity, which appeared at the time when the events they recount were taking place. There are many revolutionary records of this description, which have become scarce, and in some instances almost unattainable, but which must be consulted by every one, who would make himself familiar with

events, and the spirit that led to them. The work before us comes under this class, and pertains to the closing period of our revolutionary history, that is, the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is the editor's intention, as expressed in his preface, to publish in a series of volumes the Debates in the Conventions of all the States for adopting the Constitution. The first volume is occupied with the Debates of Massachusetts and New York, as they were reported at the time. The editor's project we deem of great public utility, not merely as perpetuating important facts of history, but as collecting into one body the opinions entertained by the framers of the Constitution, and other statesmen who approved it, in regard to the construction and sense of its various parts. It is impossible to peruse these debates with attention, and have any doubts on this head, for every point was fully discussed in each of the thirteen conventions. Talents of the first order, experience, and knowledge, were arrayed on both sides in favor of the Constitution and against it; every imaginable objection was raised and answered; not a flaw escaped its enemies, nor passed without an elaborate explanation by its friends. In short, these debates afford a complete commentary on the Constitution, and whatever language it may have been made to speak by implication, constructive license, legislative enactments, or judicial decisions, there can hardly be a shadow of doubt as to the meaning affixed to any of its essential parts by those who formed and adopted it. The voice of the whole nation is uttered with the utmost distinctness, in these records of the deliberations and solemn acts of the several states.

On many accounts it is deeply to be regretted, that the debates of the grand Convention at Philadelphia have not been preserved. The advantage, which might have been derived from the arguments of the members, was thus lost to the public. The Journal of Proceedings, as recently published, is meagre beyond description, and hardly fills a blank in history. Yates's volume of the proceedings and debates of the convention, together with Luther Martin's speech, supplies the deficiency but very imperfectly. These gentlemen were warm opposers of the Constitution, and wrote and spoke as partisans. The expediency of a secret session of that body is more than problematical at this day. Had the deliberations been public, and reported daily in the newspapers, we apprehend no evil, but much good, would have resulted. The fact,

however, that nearly all the delegates to the general convention were afterwards members of the conventions of the states, to which they respectively belonged, diminishes in some degree the magnitude of the loss, that might otherwise have been sustained. It is probable, that these members shed around them all the light, which they had acquired at the first convention, repeated the arguments there advanced, and communicated the views received by them during a protracted discussion of every topic involved in the Constitution. Yet if these arguments and views had gone out to the people from the original fountain, it cannot be doubted, that they would have had a better understanding of the principles of the Constitution, and been better prepared to accord with them, when that instrument came to be acted upon by the states.

Our present purpose is not to examine the history of the Constitution, however curious or profitable such an investigation might prove; we aim only to introduce a few particulars throwing some light on the general subject, and touching especially the conventions of Massachusetts and New York, the debates of which are contained in the volume just referred to. Having in our possession several original letters of the highest authority, bearing directly on the points in question, we shall use them freely, not presuming that any matter of our own would be equally acceptable to our readers.

The defects of the Old Confederation, entered into by the states in the year 1778, were soon discovered, and seriously deplored. Common sufferings, and a pressure from without, that operated with nearly equal force on all the states, contributed to cement the confederacy during the war, but as soon as these causes ceased, the structure began to crumble to pieces. The federative principle was too weak to sustain itself; the states were jealous of a sovereign power over them, and took care to impose upon it so many shackles, as almost to deprive it of the ability of doing either good or harm. This quality of the confederacy, together with the terrifying phantom of a standing army, which seemed to haunt the minds of all classes of persons throughout the country, nearly paralyzed the strongest efforts that were made for prosecuting the war, and was unquestionably a chief cause of protracting the contest. Congress was cautious and wavering, fearful of encroaching on the prerogatives of the states, doubtful of its own power, and tardy in exercising the little which it claimed, and which the people

were disposed to allow. This state of things is feelingly described in a letter from General Washington to his brother in law, Mr Fielding Lewis, dated on the 6th of July, 1780, two years after the confederation had gone into effect. He first alludes to the evils, which the army and country had sustained, from the narrow and jealous policy of Congress in filling up the ranks by short enlistments; and then says,

'To these fundamental errors may be added another, which I expect will prove our ruin, and that is, the relinquishment of congressional powers to the states individually. All the business is now *attempted*, for it is not done, by a timid kind of recommendation from Congress to the states; the consequence of which is, that instead of pursuing one uniform system, which in the execution shall correspond in time and manner, each state undertakes to determine, first, whether it will comply or not; secondly, in what manner it will do it; and, thirdly, in what time; by which means scarcely any one measure is, or can be executed, while great expenses are incurred, and the willing and zealous states ruined. In a word, our measures are not under the influence and direction of one council, but thirteen, each of which is actuated by local views and politics, without considering the fatal consequences of not complying with plans, which the united wisdom of America in its representative capacity has digested, or the unhappy tendency of delay, mutilation, or alteration.

I do not scruple to add, and I give it decisively as my opinion, that unless the states will content themselves with a full and well chosen representation in Congress, and vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of war and of general concern (by which the states unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local and internal polity for the regulation of order and good government), we are attempting an impossibility, and very soon shall become, if it is not already the case, a many headed monster, a heterogeneous mass, that never will or can steer to the same point. The contest among the different states *now* is not, which shall do most for the common cause, but which shall do least; hence arise disappointments and delay; one state waiting to see what another will or will not do, through fear of doing too much, and by their deliberations, alterations, and sometimes refusals to comply with Congress, after that Congress have spent months in reconciling jarring interests in order to frame their resolutions, as far as the nature of the case will admit, upon principles of equality.'

The commander in chief reiterated the same complaints in letters to Congress, to individuals high in office, and to

his private friends. In answer to Dr Gordon, the historian, who had congratulated him on the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace between France and Great Britain, and on the prospects then opening to the country, he wrote as follows, in July, 1783.

'It now rests with the confederated powers, by the line of conduct they mean to adopt, to make this country great, happy, and respectable; or to sink it into littleness; worse, perhaps, into anarchy and confusion; for certain I am, that, unless adequate powers are given to Congress for the general purposes of the Federal Union, we shall soon moulder into dust, and become contemptible in the eyes of Europe, if we are not made the sport of their politics. To suppose that the general concerns of this country can be directed by thirteen heads, or one head without competent powers, is a solecism, the bad effects of which every man, who has had the practical knowledge to judge from, that I have, is fully convinced of; though none perhaps has felt them in so forcible and distressing a degree. The people at large, and at a distance from the theatre of action, who only know that the machine was kept in motion, and that they are at last arrived at the first object of their wishes, are satisfied with the event, without investigating the causes of the slow progress to it, or the expenses which have accrued, and which they now seem unwilling to pay; great part of which has arisen from that want of energy in the Federal Constitution, which I am complaining of, and which I wish to see given to it, by a convention of the people, instead of hearing it remarked,—that, as we have worked through an arduous contest with the powers Congress already have (but which, by the bye, have been gradually diminishing), why should they be invested with more?

To say nothing of the invisible workings of Providence, which has conducted us through difficulties where no human foresight could point the way, it will appear evident to a close examiner, that there has been a concatenation of causes to produce this event, which in all probability will at no time, nor under any circumstances combine again. We deceive ourselves, therefore, by this mode of reasoning, and what would be much worse, we may bring ruin upon ourselves by attempting to carry it into practice.

We are known by no other character among nations, than as the United States. Massachusetts, or Virginia, is no better defined, nor any more thought of by Foreign Powers, than the County of Worcester in Massachusetts is by Virginia, or than Gloucester County in Virginia is by Massachusetts (respectable as they are); and yet these counties with as much propriety might oppose themselves to the laws of the state in which they

are, as an individual state can oppose itself to the federal government, by which it is or ought to be bound. Each of these counties has, no doubt, its local policy and interests. These should be attended to and brought before their respective legislatures, with all the force their importance merits; but when they come in contact with the general interest of the state, when superior considerations preponderate in favor of the whole, their voices should be heard no more. So should it be with individual states, when compared to the Union. Otherwise I think it may properly be asked, for what purpose do we farcically pretend to be united? Why do Congress spend months together in deliberating upon, debating, and digesting plans, which are made as palatable, and as wholesome to the constitution of this country, as the nature of things will admit, when some states will pay no attention to them, and others regard them but partially? By these means all those evils, which proceed from delay, are felt by the whole; while the compliant states are not only suffering by these neglects, but in many instances are injured most capitally by their own exertions, which are wasted for want of the united effort. A hundred thousand men coming one after another cannot move a ton weight; but the united strength of fifty would transport it with ease. So has it been with great part of the expense, which has been incurred this war. In a word, I think the blood and treasure which have been spent in it, have been lavished to little purpose, unless we can be better cemented; and that is not to be effected while so little attention is paid to the recommendations of the sovereign power.'

In Washington's circular address to the governors of the several states at the close of the war, so remarkable for its wisdom, its sound policy, and the deep concern expressed by the author for the welfare of the nation, he urges 'an indissoluble union of the states under one federal head, as essential to the well being, and even the existence of the United States.' He was then in habitual correspondence with Hamilton, who had left the army more than a year before, and become a member of Congress from New York. To Hamilton he laid open his mind with perfect unreserve, and from him received in return a cordial interchange of feelings, opinions, and confidence. They were both equally impressed from experience with the feeble and decaying state of the federal compact, and used all their influence with Congress to bring about a more energetic system of action, and a more prompt use of the powers necessary for discharging the duties incumbent on that body, particularly so far as to render justice to the claims, and

relief to the sufferings of the army. But their arguments and eloquence were unavailing. Hamilton had indulged the hope, that some salutary change might be produced through the instrumentality of Washington, by a direct appeal from him to the people, on resigning the command of the army. Before communicating his thoughts to him, however, Washington had in part anticipated his purpose in the circular letter to the governors of the states, though not to the extent which Hamilton had desired. We next insert a letter from Hamilton to Washington, dated September 30th, 1783, and bearing on this subject.

'In a letter which I wrote to you several months ago, I intimated that it might be in your power to contribute to the establishment of our Federal Union upon a more solid basis. I have never since explained myself. At the time, I was in hopes Congress might have been induced to take a decisive ground, to inform their constituents of the imperfections of the present system, and of the impossibility of conducting the public affairs with honor to themselves and advantage to the community, with powers so disproportioned to their responsibility; and having done this in a full and forcible manner, to adjourn the moment the definitive treaty was ratified.

In retiring at the same juncture I wished you, in a solemn manner, to declare to the people your intended retreat from public concerns, your opinion of the present government, and of the absolute necessity of a change.

Before I left Congress I despaired of the first, and your circular letter to the States had anticipated the last. I trust it will not be without effect, though I am persuaded it would have had more, combined with what I have mentioned. At all events, without compliment, sir, it will do you honor with the sensible and well meaning, and ultimately it is to be hoped with the people at large, when the present epidemic phrenzy has subsided.'

Notwithstanding the evils which were felt, from the defects of the Old Confederation, while the war lasted, these became increased tenfold after the peace. A sense of common danger no longer acted on the states, to induce them to comply with the recommendations of Congress, or make any sacrifice to promote the interests of the Union. It was the spirit of that compact, that Congress could recommend certain measures, but had no power to compel obedience. The war had hardly ceased indeed, when it became a question whether Congress could raise troops in time of peace. In May, 1794, Knox

wrote to Washington from Annapolis, where Congress was then in session.

'I have now been here nearly one week, and nothing of importance has been decided upon, owing to the contrariety of sentiments concerning the powers vested in Congress to raise troops in time of peace for any purpose. There appears but one sentiment respecting the necessity of having troops for the frontiers, but the difficulty is how to obtain them. The southern states are generally of opinion, that the confederation vests Congress with sufficient powers for this purpose, but the eastern states are of a different opinion. The eastern delegates are willing to *recommend* the raising of troops for the Western posts, but the gentlemen from the southward say, this would be giving up a *right*, which it is of importance to preserve, and they cannot consent to *recommend*, when they ought to *require*; so that for this cause it is to be feared, that there will not be any troops raised.'

What could be expected from a system which thus failed in a fundamental principle, that of providing against foreign invasion? Among the primary objects of the union may be reckoned, first, a mutual protection against the encroachments of foreign powers; secondly, a defence against local and internal commotions; thirdly, the encouragement of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. If each of these objects could have been attained as well by the states in their separate capacity, as when acting with their united strength, it is obvious that a union could have conferred little benefit. But no argument is necessary to show, that such could not have been the case; and hence the union was desirable, just in proportion as it secured the advantages above enumerated. We have seen, however, that the first could not be secured, because it was a disputed point whether Congress had power to do it. The second was equally unattainable, for if a force could not be raised to resist invasion, neither could it to quell insurrections. The same principle applied to each of these acts of sovereign power. A government, which carried with it such marks of imbecility, whether federative or independent, must in the nature of things very soon become a nullity; and to this was the confederation rapidly tending.

If we look at this form of government in its facilities for promoting commerce, we shall find its deficiency still more remarkable. The general government had no power to adopt regulations of commerce, which should be binding on the

states. The consequence was, that each state made its own regulations, its tariff, and tonnage duties. These clashed with each other in the different states; one nation would be more favored than another under the same circumstances; and one state would pursue a system, that would be injurious to the interests of another.* Hence, the confidence of foreign countries in our commercial integrity and stability was destroyed; they would not enter into treaties of commerce with the confederated government, as these were not likely to be carried into effect. 'What,' said Mr Davie, in his speech to the convention of North Carolina, 'what was the language of the British Court on a proposition of this kind? Such as would insult the pride of any man of feeling and independence. "You can make engagements, but you cannot compel your citizens to comply with them; we derive greater profits from the present situation of your commerce, than we could expect under a treaty; and you have no kind of power, that can compel us to render any advantage to you." This was the language of our enemies; and while our government remains as feeble as it has been, no nation will form any connexion with us, that will involve the relinquishment of the least advantage. What has been the consequence? A general decay of trade, the rise of imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and an uncommon decrease of the value of lands.' This is a gloomy picture, but it was drawn in colors more or less impressive by the principal speakers in all the conventions, particularly by Ames in Massachusetts, and Hamilton in New York.

Some states infringed the rights of others, and violated the articles of the confederacy, by granting exclusive privileges to their own vessels. Others again entered into compacts between themselves, which was expressly prohibited by the sixth article of the confederation. Virginia and Maryland united in such a compact, and also Pennsylvania and New Jersey. When the war ceased, there was a heavy national debt, which it was incumbent on the states to pay, each in its due proportion.

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* For a view of the laws of the several states regulating commerce, their mischievous tendency and unlucky interference with each other, especially as relating to the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, see a 'Report of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed for all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, 28th of January, 1791;' published in *Atcheson's Collection of Interesting and Important Reports.* p. 55.

Requisitions were accordingly made by Congress, but with small effect. Even during the war, similar requisitions had been tardily complied with, when the salvation of the country depended on them; and now that the danger was past, neither gratitude nor justice afforded a motive sufficiently strong to conquer the bias of interest. Some states paid absolutely nothing, and not one came up to the full demand. Congress was obliged to borrow money to pay the interest of its loans, and what rendered this state of things peculiarly alarming, the aspect of affairs grew every year worse and worse. The habits of self government and disobedience in the states had become so much confirmed, as to be no longer regarded in the light of an offence against the Union; and the powers of Congress, originally curtailed and inoperative, were so enfeebled by these encroachments, that no hope of a remedy was left, except by a thorough change and renovation of the system.

We again quote, with great satisfaction, a letter from General Washington on this subject, written in January, 1784, to Governor Harrison of Virginia.

'That the prospect before us is, as you justly observe, fair, none can deny; but what use we shall make of it is exceedingly problematical; not but that I believe all things will come right at last; but like a young heir, come a little prematurely into a large inheritance, we shall wanton and run riot, until we have brought our reputation to the brink of ruin, and then like him shall have to labor with the current of opinion when *compelled*, perhaps, to do what prudence and common policy pointed out in the first instance, as plainly as any problem in Euclid.

The disinclination of the individual states to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body, and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being allwise and allpowerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as the A, B, C, and I think we have opposed Great Britain, and have arrived at the present state of peace and independency to very little purpose, if we cannot conquer our own prejudices. The powers of Europe begin to see this, and our newly acquired friends, the British, are already professedly acting upon this ground; and wisely too, if we are determined to persevere in our folly. They know that individual opposition to their measures is futile, and *boast* that we are not sufficiently united as a nation to give a general one! Is not the indignity alone of this declaration, while we are in the very act of peacemaking and conciliation, sufficient to stimulate

us to vest more extensive and adequate powers in the Sovereign of these United States ?

For my own part, although I am returned to, and am now mingled with the class of private citizens, and like them must suffer all the evils of a tyranny, or of too great an extension of federal powers, I have no fears arising from this source in my mind ; but I have many and powerful ones, indeed, which predict the worst consequences from a half starved, limping government, that appears to be always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step. Men, chosen as the delegates in Congress are, cannot officially be dangerous ; they depend upon the breath, nay, they are so much the creatures of the people, under the present constitution, that they can have no views, which could possibly be carried into execution, nor any interests, distinct from those of their constituents. My political creed therefore is, to be wise in the choice of delegates, support them like gentlemen while they are our representatives, give them competent powers for all federal purposes, support them in the due exercise thereof, and, lastly, to compel them to close attendance in Congress during their delegation. These things, under the present mode of elections and termination of them, aided by annual, instead of constant sessions, would, or I am exceedingly mistaken, make us one of the most wealthy, happy, respectable, and powerful nations, that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe ; without them, we shall in my opinion, soon be everything which is the direct reverse of it.'

Many other private letters from General Washington, written between the ratification of peace and the formation of the new government, might be quoted, which enter feelingly into these subjects, and indicate alike the purity of his patriotism, and his deep concern for the welfare of his country.* The calamities brought on the people by the disordered state of the government, and the darkness that hung over the future, were the unceasing burden of his thoughts. To his former compatriots in arms, to his intimate friends, to persons high in station and of commanding influence in different parts of the United States, he made known his apprehensions and sentiments without reserve, calling on them to be wakeful and active in the good cause of reformation. The time at length came, when the public mind gave tokens of being prepared for a change. Evil had accumulated upon evil, till the mass became too op-

* A remarkable letter of this kind to Mr Jay, is contained in *Marshall's Life of Washington.* Vol. V. p. 94.

pressive to be endured, and the voice of the nation cried out for relief. The first decisive measures proceeded from the merchants, who came forward almost simultaneously, in all parts of the country, with representations of the utter prostration of the mercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the advantages of this most important source of national prosperity were flowing into the hands of foreigners; that the native merchants were suffering for the want of a just protection and a uniform system of trade; and, in short, as expressed in the speech of Mr Davie, that 'everything presented to view a spectacle of public poverty and private wretchedness.' The wise and reflecting were convinced, that some decided efforts were necessary to strengthen the powers of government, or a dissolution of the union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, would be inevitable.

The first step towards a general reformation was rather accidental, than premeditated. Certain citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and the Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, and devise some plan of operation. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, and while there, it was proposed among themselves, that more important objects should be connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners with enlarged powers, instructed to form a plan for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and also to fix upon some system of duties on exports and imports in which both states should agree, and that in the end Congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. This project was approved by the legislature of Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution recommending the design to other states, and inviting them to unite by their commissioners in an attempt to establish such a system of commercial relations, as would promote general harmony and prosperity.

Five states only, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. From these states commissioners assembled at Annapolis, but they had hardly entered into a discussion of the topics, which naturally forced themselves into view, before they discovered the powers with which they were intrusted to be so limited, as to tie up their hands from effect-

ing any purpose that could be of essential utility. On this account, as well as from the circumstance that so few states were represented, they wisely declined deciding on any important measures, in reference to the particular subjects for which they had come together. This convention is memorable, however, as having been the prelude to the one which followed. Before the commissioners adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which the necessity of a revision and reform of the articles of the old federal compact was strongly urged, and which contained a recommendation to all the state legislatures for the appointment of deputies to meet at Philadelphia, with more ample powers and instructions. This proposal was eventually carried into effect, and, in conformity with it, a convention of delegates from the several states met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, at which the new constitution was formed, and a foundation laid for the permanent liberty, union, and happiness of the American people.

The history of this convention has never been written, nor shall we attempt it within the space now at our command. The causes which led to it, may be easily ascertained and traced out, but the opinions and private movements of the great political leaders of the day, the precise share of merit due to each for the part he acted in enlightening the public mind, and preparing it for the issue of events, the previous interchange of thoughts and sentiments, the exposition of motives, the ultimate hopes, and above all, the proceedings of the convention itself, the views, arguments, and designs of individuals, and the general voice of their constituents, as expressed by them; all these topics and numerous others are yet in the dark, and must remain so, till the papers left by the departed actors in the scene, and such as are still held by the few venerable worthies that remain of that dignified assembly, shall come under the eye of the faithful historian, and receive a patient inspection, and a discriminating award. It is to aid in such an object, that we introduce into this article so many original papers, which relate to the periods and events in question, and which have proceeded from the highest sources.

We are now about to insert a document, which we possess, in General Washington's handwriting, and which is a summary of three letters received by him from Jay, Knox, and Madison, not long before the convention at Philadelphia. It will show at the same time the opinions of these eminent persons, as to

the plan of a constitution, and the earnest attention, which Washington bestowed on the subject. After obtaining the views of others in detail, it was his custom to draw out, arrange, and note on paper the prominent points, that he might bring them into a compass, which his mind could more easily grasp. The following quotation is an exact transcript of such a summary.

Mr Jay

'Does not think the giving any further powers to Congress will answer our purposes,

Because some of the members will have partial and personal purposes in view, which, and ignorance, prejudice, and interested views of others, will always embarrass those who are well disposed.

Because secrecy and dispatch will be too uncommon, and foreign as well as local interests will frequently oppose, and sometimes frustrate, the wisest measures.

Because large assemblies often misunderstand, or neglect the obligations of character, honor, and dignity, and will collectively do, or omit, things which an individual gentleman in his private capacity would not approve.

The executive business of sovereignty, depending on so many wills, and those wills moved by such a variety of contradictory motives and inducements, will, in general, be but feebly done; and

Such a sovereign, however *theoretically* responsible, cannot be effectually so in its department and officers, without adequate judicatories. He, therefore,

Does not promise himself anything very desirable from any change, which does not divide the sovereignty into its proper departments. Let Congress legislate; let others execute; let others judge. Proposes

A Governor General, limited in his prerogatives and duration; that Congress should be divided into an upper and lower house, the former appointed for life, the latter annually; that the Governor General (to preserve the balance) with the advice of a council, formed, for that *only* purpose, of the great judicial officers, have a negative on their acts.

What powers should be granted to the government so constituted, is a question which deserves much thought; the more [powers], however, he thinks, the better; the *states* retaining only so much as may be necessary for domestic purposes, and all their principal officers, civil and military, being commissioned and removed by the national government.

Questions the policy of the Convention, because it ought to

have originated with, and the proceedings be confirmed by, the people, the only source of just authority.

General Knox.

It is out of all question, that the foundation of the government must be of republican principles, but so modified and wrought together, that whatever shall be erected thereon should be durable and efficient. He speaks entirely of the Federal Government, or, what would be better, one government, instead of an association of governments.

Were it possible to effect a government of this kind, it might be constituted of an assembly, or lower house, chosen for one, two, or three years; a Senate chosen for five, six, or seven years; and the executive under the title of Governor General, chosen by the Assembly and Senate for the term of seven years, but liable to an impeachment of the lower house, and triable by the Senate.

A judiciary to be appointed by the Governor General during good behavior, but impeachable by the lower house, and triable by the Senate.

The laws passed by the General Government, to be obeyed by the local governments, and if necessary, to be enforced by a body of armed men.

All national objects to be designed and executed by the General Government, without any reference to the local governments.

This is considered as a government of the least possible powers, to preserve the confederated government. To attempt to establish less, will be to hazard the existence of republicanism, and to subject us either to a division of the European powers, or to a despotism arising from high handed commotions.

Mr Madison

Thinks an individual independence of the states utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty, and that a consolidation of the whole into one simple republic, would be as inexpedient as it is unattainable. He, therefore, proposes a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful.

As the ground work, he proposes that a change be made in the principle of representation, and thinks there would be no great difficulty in effecting it.

Next, that in addition to the present federal powers, the national government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity; such as the regulation of trade, including the right of taxing both exports and imports, the fixing the terms and forms of naturalization, &c.

Over and above this positive power, a negative *in all cases*

whatever on the legislative acts of the states, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative, appears to him absolutely necessary, and to be the least possible encroachment on the state jurisdictions. Without this defensive power he conceives that every positive [law ?], which can be given on paper, will be evaded.

This control over the laws would prevent the internal vicissitudes of state policy, and the aggressions of interested majorities.

The national supremacy ought also to be extended, he thinks, to the judiciary departments; the oaths of the judges should at least include a fidelity to the general as well as local constitution; and that an appeal should be to some national tribunals in all cases, to which foreigners or inhabitants of other states may be parties. The admiralty jurisdictions to fall entirely within the purview of the national government.

The national supremacy in the executive departments is liable to some difficulty, unless the officers administering them could be made appointable by the supreme government. The militia ought entirely to be placed in some form or other under the authority, which is interested with the general protection and defence.

A government composed of such extensive powers should be well organized and balanced.

The legislative department might be divided into two branches, one of them chosen every —— years by the people at large, or by the legislatures; the other to consist of fewer members, to hold their places for a longer term, and to go out in such a rotation as always to leave in office a large majority of old members.

Perhaps the negative on the laws might be most conveniently exercised by this branch.

As a further check, a council of revision, including the great ministerial officers, might be superadded.

A national executive must also be provided. He has scarcely ventured as yet to form his own opinion, either of the manner in which it ought to be constituted, or of the authorities with which it ought to be clothed.

An article should be inserted expressly guarantying the tranquillity of the states against internal, as well as external dangers.

In like manner, the right of coercion should be expressly declared. With the resources of commerce in hand, the national administration might always find means of exerting it either by sea or land; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a state, render it particularly desirable that the necessity of it might be precluded. Perhaps the negative on the laws might create such a mutual dependence between the general and particular authorities as to answer; or

perhaps some defined objects of taxation might be submitted along with commerce to the general authority.

To give a new system its proper validity and energy, a ratification must be obtained from the people, and not merely from the ordinary authority of the legislatures. This will be the more essential, as inroads on the *existing constitutions* of the states will be unavoidable.'

In connexion with these opinions respecting the principles of a constitution, it may not be amiss to state some of the chief features of Hamilton's plan of government, as presented by him to the convention. He proposed,

'That the supreme legislative power of the United States of America should be vested in two distinct bodies of men, the one to be called the Assembly, the other the Senate.

That the assembly should consist of persons elected by the people to serve three years.

That the senate should consist of persons elected to serve during good behavior, their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people.

That the supreme executive authority of the United States should be vested in a governor, to be elected to serve during good behavior; his election to be made by electors, chosen by electors, chosen by the people in the election districts; and that he should have a negative upon all laws about to be passed, and the execution of all laws passed.

That the senate should have the sole power of declaring war, and the power of advising and approving all treaties.

That all laws of particular states, contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States, should be utterly void; and the better to prevent such laws being passed, the governor or president of each state should be appointed by the general government, and should have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state of which he is governor or president.' *

Thus we may be led by degrees to the elements, the first germs of that constitution, which was perfected by the united wisdom of the men, who adorned the nation, and which has stood firm and gained strength amidst the concussions of parties and the trying perils of war. Such an experiment of forty years may safely be taken as a pledge of its durability, and of its fitness for the great ends of a free government. One thing

* For Hamilton's *Plan of Government* entire, see 'Journal, Acts, and Proceedings of the Convention assembled at Philadelphia, May 14th, 1787.' p. 130.

should be treasured up in perpetual remembrance, as reflecting the highest honor on the patriots, who signed the constitution in the convention, and that is, the readiness with which they abandoned their former individual prepossessions, and the ardor with which they united heart and hand in defence and support of the constitution, as it went out to the world. Notwithstanding the differences in the original impressions of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton, as they appear in the above abstracts, yet this illustrious trio were the joint authors of the FEDERALIST, a work which this nation to its latest posterity will regard as a legacy, next in value to the instrument itself, of whose principles it affords so beautiful an elucidation and so masterly a defence. If we look into the conventions of the states, we shall find the same liberal and self denying spirit, the same active and unwavering patriotism, the same union of purpose and exertion, on the part of those, who approved the constitution in the main, although they objected to some of its particulars. It was by this sacrifice of private feeling and opinion to public good, that the constitution was at last adopted; for, after all, this great charter of our liberties was never pretended to be the best, that human wisdom could devise, but a compromise of conflicting interests, in which small points were yielded to secure large ones, till the whole structure was as perfect as imperious circumstances would admit.

Mr Jefferson was absent in France during the whole period in which the constitution was agitated, but his opinions were communicated freely in letters to his friends. The result was, that he differed from others on some of the principal features of the constitution, but after it had passed the general convention, he no longer urged these differences as essential, but was a strenuous advocate for its adoption by the states. While he was secretary of state under Washington, it is known that he was accused of having been hostile to the constitution; and the rage of party magnified this charge into a suspicion of his patriotism and political integrity. Thinking the president might be influenced by reiterated assertions to this effect, he wrote him the following letter, dated at Philadelphia, on the 17th of October, 1792, soon after his return from a short journey to Virginia.

'In a letter from Monticello I took the liberty of saying, that, as soon as I should return here, where my letterbooks were, I would take the liberty of troubling you with the perusal of such parts of my correspondence from France, as would show my gen-

uine sentiments of the new constitution. When I arrived at Philadelphia, the 5th inst. I found that many of my letters had been already put into the papers, by the gentlemen possessed of the originals, as I presume, for not a word of it had ever been communicated to me, and the copies I had retained were under a lock of which I had the key. These publications are genuine, and render it unnecessary to give you any further trouble, than to see extracts from two or three other letters, which have not been published, and the genuine letter for the payment of the French debt. Pardon my adding this to so many troubles as you have. I think it necessary you should know my real opinions, that you may know how to make use of me; and it is essential to my tranquillity not to be misknown to you. I hope it is the last time I shall feel a necessity of asking your attention to a disagreeable subject.'

Washington's reply to this letter is contained in the fifth volume of Marshall's Life [p. 359], in which the president expresses himself perfectly satisfied on the point in question, and assures Mr Jefferson that he did not require any testimony to be convinced of his attachment to the constitution. The extracts are here inserted merely as memorials of Jefferson's opinions. We transcribe them from the originals in his own hand. The first was written to Mr A. Donald.

'*Paris, Feb. 7th*, 1788. I wish with all my soul, that the nine first conventions may accept the new constitution, because this will secure to us the good it contains, which I think great and important; but I equally wish that the four latest conventions, whichever they be, may refuse to accede to it till a declaration of rights be annexed. This would probably command the offer of such a declaration, and thus give to the whole fabric, perhaps as much perfection as any one of that kind ever had. By a declaration of rights, I mean one which shall stipulate freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of commerce against monopolies, trial by juries in all cases, no suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus*, no standing armies. These are fetters against doing evil, which no honest government should decline.

There is another strong feature in the new constitution, which I as strongly dislike, that is, the perpetual reelegibility of the President. Of this I expect no amendment at present, because I do not see that any body has objected to it on your side of the water. But it will be productive of cruel distress to our country, even in your day and mine. The importance to France and England to have our government in the hands of a friend or a foe, will occasion their interference by money, and even by arms. Our President will be of much more consequence to them, than

a king of Poland. We must take care, however, that neither this nor any other objection to the new form produce a schism in our union. That would be an incurable evil, because near friends falling out never reunite cordially; whereas, all of us going together, we shall be sure to cure the evils of our new constitution, before they do great harm.

Paris, May 27th. To Colonel Edward Carrington.—My first wish was that nine states would adopt it, in order to ensure what was good in it, and that the others might, by holding off, produce the necessary amendments. But the plan of Massachusetts is far preferable, and will, I hope, be followed by those who are yet to decide. There are two amendments only, which I am anxious for. First, a bill of rights, which it is so much the interest of all to have, that I conceive it must be yielded. The first amendment proposed by Massachusetts will in some degree answer this end, but not so well, it will do much in some instances and too little in others; it will cripple the federal government in some cases where it ought to be free, and not restrain it in some others where restraint would be right. The second amendment, which appears to me essential, is the restoring the principle of necessary rotation, particularly to the senate and presidency; but most of all to the last. Reeligibility makes him an officer for life, and the disasters inseparable from an elective monarchy render it preferable, if we cannot tread back that step, that we should go forward and take refuge in an hereditary one. Of the correction of this article, however, I entertain no present hope, because I find it has scarcely excited an objection in America, and if it does not take place ere long, it assuredly never will.

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield, and government to gain ground. As yet our spirits are free, our jealousy is only put to sleep by the unlimited confidence we all repose in the person, to whom we all look as our President. After him, inferior characters may perhaps succeed, and awaken us to the danger, which his merit has led us into. For the present, however, the general adoption is to be prayed for, and I wait with great anxiety for the news from Maryland and South Carolina, which have decided before this, and wish that Virginia, now in session, may give the ninth vote of approbation. There could then be no doubt of North Carolina, New York, and New Hampshire.

Paris, July 8th. To J. B. Cutting.—The first vessels will probably bring us news of the accession of South Carolina and Virginia, to the new confederation. The glorious example of Massachusetts, of accepting unconditionally and pressing for future amendment, will, I hope, reconcile all parties. The argument is unanswerable, that it will be easier to obtain amendments from nine states, under the new constitution, than from thirteen after rejecting it.'

Notwithstanding the constitution had been carried through the general convention, and signed by a large majority of the members present, yet there were names of weight in the opposition, who refused to sign it, and much anxiety was felt respecting the manner in which it would be received by the states. It was required to pass through the ordeal of nine states, and be approved by them, before it could go into operation, and its adversaries were extremely active in concerting measures to procure its defeat. Among the members of the convention, who did not sign the instrument, were George Mason, Wythe, Edmund Randolph, Luther Martin, Ellsworth, Yates, Lansing, Gerry, Strong, Davie. It was presumed that these men would feel bound to resist its adoption in their respective states, and for the most part such was the result. An exception is to be made, however, in favor of Strong and Davie, for they were both warm advocates of the constitution in the state conventions, the former in Massachusetts, and the latter in North Carolina. Before the general convention was dissolved, resolutions were agreed upon to lay the constitution before Congress, with a recommendation that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of each state, composed of delegates chosen by the people. This course was approved by Congress, and the request was formally communicated from that body to the legislatures of the states, by whom the people were authorized in each respectively to choose delegates to meet in convention, for the purpose of deliberating on the constitution, and determining whether it should be accepted. Within a year the constitution was adopted by eleven states, and ratified by Congress, as the national bond of union. These eleven states were Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, in the order in which they are here enumerated. North Carolina did not come into the confederacy till nearly two years after the general convention; Rhode Island, two years and a half; and Vermont, more than three years.

Seven states ratified the constitution unconditionally, that is, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Maryland, and Vermont; the other six proposed amendments for the future consideration of Congress; and four, namely, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, urged the importance of a bill of rights. Such a bill was drawn up

in due form by Virginia,* and the same was literally adopted by North Carolina. This was modelled anew by New York and Rhode Island, but the substance was retained in a different arrangement of parts. The amendments proposed were nearly the same in the several states. In the form of expressing them, New Hampshire followed Massachusetts very closely; and North Carolina adopted the same language as Virginia, adding four or five articles to the list, which had been reported by that state.

The entire proceedings and debates of the conventions of of Massachusetts and New York, are contained in the volume whose title is placed at the head of this article. From the eminent names comprised in the list of members, it may be presumed, that the arguments on both sides of the question are here stated with as much force and ability, as are to be found in any other statement of them. The convention in Massachusetts was looked upon with solicitude, by the friends of the new system of confederacy, as it was supposed the decision would have an essential influence on New Hampshire and New York. The recent disturbances in Massachusetts had also thrown a cloud of uncertainty over the real state of things, and made it doubtful what turn they would take. Public opinion had become unsettled to such a degree, and the spirit of disorder had run so high in open rebellion to the laws, that the wisest did not venture to predict the events of the future, and none to confess himself free from the apprehension of an unfavorable issue. So deep a concern did General Washington feel in the subject, that scarcely a mail arrived, during the deliberations of the convention, which did not bring him intelligence of its proceedings from two or three sources. Mr Madison was then at the Congress in New York, and corresponded almost daily with Mr King, who was in the Massachusetts convention. Copies of the letters, which he received, he forwarded immediately to Washington. We select one written on the twenthfifth of January, 1788, which depicts in lively colors the aspect of the convention in the first week of its session.

'The information from Boston by the mail, on the evening before last, has not removed our suspense. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr King, dated on the 16th inst.

* This bill of rights was nearly a literal copy, with some enlargement, of that before prefixed to the Constitution of Virginia.

"We may have three hundred and sixty members in our convention, not more than three hundred and thirty have yet taken their seats. Immediately after the settlement of elections, the convention resolved that they would consider and freely deliberate on each paragraph, without taking a question on any of them individually, and that on the question whether they would ratify, each member should be at liberty to discuss the plan at large. This resolution seems to preclude the idea of amendments; and hitherto the measure has not been suggested. I, however, do not from this circumstance conclude that it may not hereafter occur. The opponents of the Constitution moved that Mr Gerry should be requested to take a seat in the Convention, to answer such inquires as the convention should make concerning facts, which happened in the *passing of the* Constitution. Although this seems to be a very irregular proposal, yet, considering the jealousies which prevail with those who made it, and the doubt of the issue, had it been made a trial of strength, several friends of the Constitution united with the opponents, and the resolution was agreed to, and Mr Gerry has taken his seat. Tomorrow, we are told, certain inquires are to moved for by the opposition, and that Mr Gerry under the idea of stating facts is to state his reasons, &c. This will be opposed, and we shall on the division be able to form some idea of our relative strength. By the men, who are in favor of the Constitution, every reasonable explanation will be given, and arguments really new, and in my judgment most excellent, have been, and will be produced in its support. But what will be its fate, I confess I am unable to discern. No question ever classed the people of this state in a more extraordinary manner, or with more apparent firmness."'

The method of discussing the constitution by paragraphs, which was agreed upon in the first stage of the proceedings, had an excellent effect in the end, as it kept the violent opposition members to a definite point, and prevented a repetition of all the imaginary dangers and alarms, that were supposed to lie hid in the constitution, ready to break forth with destructive sway, as soon as this new yoke of bondage should be once fixed upon the people's necks. Armies of monsters were conjured up, but they were arrayed with so little concert and skill, and brought into action in such detached parties, that they were easily discomfited. Two or three weeks passed in this kind of skirmishing, before any probable conjecture could be formed, how the conflict would terminate. Both parties claimed the superiority of numbers, and if there was any time when the opposition had grounds for doubt, they made up in confi-

dence what they lacked in the deficiency of their forces. The leaders could detect no good thing in the constitution, but saw, or fancied they saw lurking in it, a host of enemies to the rights, liberty, peace, and happiness of every well disposed citizen. A letter from Mr Madison to Washington, written nearly four weeks after the former, touches upon the subject as unfolded in its progress.

'Another mail has arrived from Boston, without terminating the conflict between our hopes and fears. I have a letter from Mr King of the 27th, which, after dilating somewhat on the ideas in his former letters, concludes with the following paragraph. "We have avoided every question, which would have shown the division of the house. Of consequence we are not positive of the numbers on each side. By the last calculation we made on our side, we were doubtful whether we exceeded them, or they us in numbers. They, however, say, that they have a majority of eight or twelve against us. We by no means despair."

Another letter of the same date from another member gives the following picture. "Never was there an assembly in this state in possession of greater ability and information, than the present Convention; yet I am in doubt whether they will approve the Constitution. There are unhappily three parties opposed to it. 1. All men who are in favor of paper money and tender laws. These are more or less in every part of the state. 2. All the late insurgents, and their abettors. In the three great Western Counties they are very numerous. We have in the convention eighteen or twenty who were actually in Shays' army. 3. A great majority of the members from the Province of Maine. Many of them and their constituents are only *squatters* upon other people's land, and they are afraid of being brought to account. They also think, though erroneously, that their favorite plan, of being a separate state, will be defeated. Add to these, the honest doubting people, and they make a powerful host. The leaders of this party are Mr Widgery, Mr Thompson, and Mr Mason, from the the Province of Maine, Dr Taylor from the county of Worcester, and Mr Bishop from the neighborhood of Rhode Island. To manage the cause against them are the present and late Governor, three Judges of the Supreme Court, fifteen members of the Senate, twenty from among the most respectable of the Clergy, ten or twelve of the first characters at the Bar, Judges of Probate, High Sheriffs of counties, and many other respectable people, merchants, &c., Generals Heath, Lincoln, Brooks, and others of the late army. With all this ability in support of the cause, I am pretty well satisfied we shall lose the question, unless we can take off some of the opposition by amendments. I do not mean such

as are to be made conditions of the ratification, but recommendatory only. Upon this plan, I flatter myself we may possibly get a majority of twelve or fifteen, if not more.'

Among the persons in favor of the constitution, who made strenuous exertions in the convention to procure its adoption, may be named Rufus King, Ames, Cabot, Dawes, Dana, Gore, Gorham, Sedgwick, Parsons, Sumner. These gentlemen spoke frequently, and answered with great ability the objections advanced by their opponents. The debates continued on the separate sections and articles of the constitution for about three weeks, when a motion was made to ratify it, and its general merits came under discussion. The result was still doubtful. Till this period Hancock, who was president of the convention, had been prevented by ill health from attending its sessions. He took his seat just as the debate was brought to bear upon the main question, and immediately proposed what was called a 'conciliatory proposition,' by which the constitution was to be adopted with a recommendation of certain amendments. In this proposition he was warmly seconded by Samuel Adams, who had thus far remained silent, contrary to his usual custom in deliberative bodies, for, as he said, 'having doubts and difficulties respecting some parts of the proposed constitution, he chose rather to be an auditor than an objector.' He thought a door was now open, however, for reconciling all serious difficulties, and, as only five states had ratified the constitution, he believed the others would be influenced by the example of Massachusetts, and that ultimately the desired amendments would be effected by the method pointed out in the constitution itself.

This proposition was not cordially relished by either party. Each had taken too decided a stand to be willing to meet the other on a middle ground. The friends of the constitution fell in with it, as the less of two evils, for they wisely deemed it better to accept the constitution with this incumbrance, than to run the hazard of having it rejected altogether. A few of the opposition may possibly have been brought over by it, but the number was very small. The point was gained, however, in the deciding vote, and the motion for ratification was carried by a majority of nineteen. The conjecture of Adams, as to the effect of this proposition on the other states, was verified. Two of the states only adopted the constitution after Massachusetts, without a similar recommendation; and it was doubtless owing

to this general expression of the public mind, that the early amendments were introduced.

The success of the constitution in New York was not less doubtful than it had been in Massachusetts. The convention assembled at Poughkeepsie on the seventeenth of June, 1778. The following letter from Mr Jay to General Washington, written two weeks before, will show that the friends of the constitution were by no means sanguine in their anticipations.

'I was two days ago favored with yours of the fifteenth instant. It gives me pleasure to find that the probability of Virginia's adopting the proposed Constitution rather increases. Such an event would undoubtedly disarm the opposition. It appears by recent advices from Charleston, that we may count on South Carolina, and the New Hampshire delegates assure me that their state will come into the measure.

There is much reason to believe, that the majority of the convention of this state will be composed of antifederal characters; but it is doubtful whether the leaders will be able to govern the party. Many in the opposition are friends to union, and mean well, but their principal leaders are very far from being solicitous about the fate of the Union. They wish and mean, if possible, to reject the constitution with as little debate and as much speed as may be. It is not, however, certain that the greater part of their party will be equally decided, or rather equally desperate. An idea has taken air, that the southern part of the state will at all events adhere to the Union, and if necessary to that end seek a separation from the northern. This idea has influence on the fears of the party. I cannot find that they have as yet so looked forward to contingent events, or even to those the most probable, as to have united in, or formed any system adapted to them.'

To this we subjoin another letter written shortly after the convention had met.

'The complexion of our convention is such as was expected. They have hitherto proceeded with temper and moderation, but there is no reason to think that either party has made much impression on the other. The leaders in opposition seem to have more extensive views, than their adherents, and until the latter perceive that circumstance, they will probably continue combined. The greater number are, I believe, averse to a vote of rejection. Some would be content with recommendatory amendments; others wish for explanatory ones to settle constructions, which they think doubtful; others would not be satisfied with less than absolute and previous amendments; and I am mistaken if there be not a few, who prefer a separation from the Union to

any national government whatever. They suggest hints of the importance of this state, of its capacity to command terms, of the policy of its taking its own time, and fixing its own price, and they intimate that an adjournment may be expedient, and that it might be best to see the operation of the new government before they receive it.

The people, however, are gradually coming right, notwithstanding the singular pains taken to prevent it. The accession of New Hampshire does good, and that of Virginia would do more.'

The debates in convention were conducted in some respects differently from what they had been in Massachusetts. The speakers were much fewer in number, and more discursive in their harangues. It was agreed to discuss the constitution by paragraphs, and this plan was followed as a general guide in the order of debate, but not so rigidly as to restrict any speaker from taking into his argument the whole range of topics, when such a method suited his convenience. Chancellor Livingston opened the discussion by an elaborate speech on the preamble to the constitution, in which he brought under notice the main principles of the instrument itself, and was in favor of the adoption. He was followed by Mr Lansing, the leader of the opposition in debate, whose range was not more limited than that of his predecessor. Ground was now fairly broken, and the contest was kept up by the different speakers for more than a month, when every topic had been fully canvassed, and all the light seemed to have been derived from this collision of opinion and intellect, which the subject would admit. The members, who took a chief part, were Hamilton, Jay, Chancellor Livingston, George Clinton, Duane, Lansing, and Melancthon Smith. Among these Hamilton was the moving and guiding spirit, thoroughly possessed of the merits of the case, and prompt to explain, vindicate, or confute, as occasion might require. Lansing and Clinton were decidedly in the opposition; and Melancthon Smith found himself embarrassed with innumerable difficulties, although he voted for the ratification at last.

Another of Jay's letters to Washington will not be unacceptable in this place.

'*July 4th.* I congratulate you, my dear sir, on the adoption of the constitution by Virginia. That event has disappointed the expectations of opposition here, which nevertheless continues pertinacious. The unanimity of the Southern District, and their

apparent determination to continue under the wings of the Union, operates powerfully on the minds of the opposite party. The constitution gradually gains advocates among the people, and its enemies in the convention seem to be much embarrassed.

July 8th. We have gone through the constitution in a committee of the whole. We finished yesterday morning. The amendments proposed are numerous. How we are to consider them is yet a question, which a day or two more must answer. A Bill of Rights has been offered, with a view, as they say, of having it incorporated in the *ratification*. The ground of *rejection*, therefore, seems to be entirely deserted. We understand that a committee will this day be appointed to arrange the amendments.

From what I have just heard, the party begin to divide in their opinions; some insist on *previous* conditional amendments; a greater number will be satisfied with subsequent conditional amendments, or, in other words, they are for ratifying the constitution on condition that certain amendments take place within a given time. These circumstances afford room for hope.'

Intelligence of the ratification by New Hampshire and Virginia arrived previously to this date, and essentially affected the prospects of the opposition, for it rendered certain the requisite number of nine states. However New York might decide, therefore, it could have no weight in frustrating the ultimate adoption of the new constitution in its actual form, as a pledge and bond of a national confederacy. To dismember the Union by deserting its ranks, or to follow the example of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Virginia, and ratify the instrument with the recommendatory amendments, was now the only alternative. The latter was chosen, but with no approach to unanimity. When the motion was put to insert the words *in full confidence*, instead of *on condition*, it was carried by only two votes, even after the bill of rights and the amendments had been accepted.

Mr Lansing made a last effort, which was to obtain a resolution, that unless the proposed amendments should be submitted to a general convention within a certain number of years, New York should reserve the right to secede from the Union. The motion was lost. The constitution was finally ratified, on principles similar to those that prevailed in Massachusetts, by a majority of only three votes, there being thirty in the affirmative, and twentyseven in the negative. Fortunately every important end was gained by this sanction, partial as it was in New York and some of the other states, and after

a thorough trial the constitution has proved itself a monument of the wisdom of its framers, the bulwark of our liberties, and the dispenser of happiness to millions, who have submitted to its guidance and control.

Art. II.—1. *Observations Critiques sur le Roman de Gil Blas de Santillane;* par J. A. Llorente, Auteur de l'Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition, &c. 8vo. pp. 310. Paris. 1822.

2. *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana, robadas a España y adoptadas en Francia por Monsieur Lesage, restituidas á su Patria y á su Lengua nativa por un Español zeloso que no sufre se burlen de su Nacion.* [J. F. de Isla.] 4th edition. 4 vols. 12mo. London. 1815.

Our ingenious countryman, Geoffrey Crayon, has somewhere noticed the singular inconsistency in the conduct of certain pedants, who affect to despise the light and popular literary productions of their own time, while they pass their days and nights in studying and illustrating the similar works of the ancient authors. By the same rule, the poems which these critics now reject as immoral or frivolous, will become the favorite objects of investigation with future Hemsterhuises and Ruhnkenii two or three milleniums hence. Such personages, for example, as Sweet Fanny of Timmol, and Tam O'Shanter, however obnoxious at present to the graver part of the community, may then be as interesting to the learned, as the Pyrrhas and Glyceriums of antiquity have always been to the most exemplary modern scholars. There seems, in fact, to be no fixed principles in these matters. St John, surnamed for his eloquence the Golden Mouth *(Chrysostom)*, who habitually thundered from his patriarchal pulpit against everything licentious in word or action, regularly slept with an Aristophanes under his pillow; and as another instance of the same incongruity, we have here two learned Spanish priests vindicating the claims of their country to the authorship of the popular and not very straitlaced novel of Gil Blas, with as much zeal as if the question concerned the Alcalá Polyglott or the *Acta Sanctorum.* They both indeed enter upon the inquiry with a sort

of patriotic enthusiasm, which appears at first view ridiculous enough upon such a subject, but which we are half tempted to excuse, when we recollect the somewhat excessive movements of indignation into which we have been occasionally betrayed ourselves by the remarks of certain meddling foreigners upon the weak points in the character of our own country.

Father Isla, the Spanish translator of Gil Blas, was himself an original writer of merit. His works are mostly of a gay and humorous cast; but on this subject he is as stern as the Roman Cassius, and will bear no raillery. His wrath at the supposed act of larceny committed by Lesage upon the literary property and reputation of one of his countrymen overflows, as the reader will have seen above, even in the titlepage, where he declares himself to be a zealous Spaniard, who will not suffer his nation to be trifled with, and affirms, that he has restored to it a treasure of which it had been robbed by a mauraud-ing Frenchman. Llorente, the author of the 'Critical Observations,' is pretty well known to the general reader by several preceding publications, and especially by his history of the Inquisition. He had for forty or fifty years acted as secretary to the branch of this far famed institution which once existed in Spain,* and, after it was abolished by the Cortes, revealed to the world the secrets of the prisonhouse of which he had so long kept the keys and records. As respects the question now at issue, Llorente, whose passions, at the time when he wrote upon it, had been cooled by the frosts of seventy or eighty winters, discusses it with rather more moderation that Father Isla, but still with evident and very deep feeling. He takes at times a tone bordering on the pathetic, and appeals to the generosity of the French; representing it as a thing below the

* It is rather remarkable that Sir John Copley, lately appointed Lord Chancellor of England, (son of our countryman, the celebrated painter) in a speech on the Catholic question, delivered in Parliament in the month of March last, should have represented the Inquisition as now existing in Spain. Unwearied efforts have been made by the clergy ever since the overthrow of the constitution to obtain the re-establishment of this tribunal, but hitherto without effect. In the winter of 1825—6, the Council of Castile and the Council of State, the two highest political corporations in the kingdom, both under the influence of the clergy, joined in three successive representations to the king in favor of the measure, with which the king as often refused to comply. These circumstances were commented upon at the time in all the newspapers in Europe, and ought not to have escaped the attention of the attorney general of Great Britain.

magnanimity of a great nation, abounding in all sorts of literary riches, to despoil a comparatively poorer neighbor of this pearl of great price. Assuming at the close an air of solemnity, he asserts, that whatever may be the verdict of contemporary critics, the grand tribunal of posterity will certainly decide the question in favor of the claims of Spain.

We are not sufficiently versed in the details of this controversy to be able to say exactly at what period it arose, or to mention all the various alternations of opinion, and successive triumphs of one party or the other, which have probably marked its progress. We believe, however, that the contemporaries of Lesage entertained some doubts as to his full and exclusive right to be considered the original author of Gil Blas. The compilers of a French biographical dictionary, published in 1771, mention the work with the *Bachelor of Salamanca*, *Guzman de Alfarache*, and *Le Diable Boiteux*, among the author's imitations or translations from the Spanish, as if he had himself acknowledged it to be so, as he did the others. It would seem, however, that an opinion expressed in this way without explanation or qualification, must have arisen from the carelessness and ignorance of the person who gave it, rather than the probability of the fact, which, if true, was certainly not so notorious or undisputed as this article would make it appear. The assertion proves nevertheless, that there was a current report of this description. Voltaire has somewhere thrown out hints of the same kind; but we are not aware that any formal disquisition had been published on the question until the appearance of the Spanish translation of Father Isla, preceded by a preliminary discourse, in which the worthy Jesuit boldly and peremptorily pronounces Lesage to be a literary pirate.

It must be owned, however, that the learned Father deals in round and angry assertion rather than argument; and upon looking a little narrowly into the substance of his reasoning, we do not find any distinct objection whatever to the claims of the French author, excepting the authority of the abovementioned biographical dictionary. This is quoted and much relied upon by Isla, but amounts in reality to nothing; because it is perfectly evident that the compiler had paid no attention to the subject, possessed no precise information upon it, and did not mean to treat it as a questionable point. He obviously had in his mind the idea, that the work was an avowed translation or

imitation from the Spanish. Father Isla, notwithstanding his confident tone, has no direct proof whatever to support his assertion; nor has he attempted even to make it out by internal evidence, as he naturally should have done, and as Llorente very properly has. The system of Isla is, therefore, wholly baseless as presented by him. In order to show in what manner Lesage became possessed of the Spanish manuscript of Gil Blas, he mentions a report that he had been for several years attached to the French embassy in Spain; and that during this time he formed an acquaintance with an Andalusian lawyer, who confided to him this and some other manuscripts, which were too free in their remarks on political subjects to appear in Spain. The first of these facts, if true, would rather serve to confute, than to establish the system of Father Isla, since a long residence in Spain under such circumstances would furnish the most plausible account that could be given of the manner in which a foreign writer might have obtained the rich mass of Spanish materials employed in this novel. The story of the Andalusian lawyer and his manuscripts is too vague to deserve much attention. On the whole, our Jesuit seems to have given proof of zeal in a great measure without knowledge; and to have, in fact, done little or nothing towards establishing the claims of his country to the authorship of Gil Blas. The extreme confidence which he felt in an opinion in favor of which he had so little to say, may perhaps be thought to make it probable that there prevailed among the literary men with whom he associated a general presumption to this effect, which formed the real ground of his belief in a proposition which he evidently had not taken the trouble to examine.

In the midst of the graver collisions that came on soon after in both hemispheres, and fully occupied the attention of the French and Spanish nations, the public lost sight for a time of this dispute about the origin of Gil Blas, and we do not find that anything of note was published respecting it until the year 1818. When Count François de Neufchâteau read to the French Academy a memoir, entitled, *An Investigation of the Question whether Lesage was the Original Author of Gil Blas, or whether he borrowed it from the Spanish.* In this work, which was printed in the following year, 1819, the Count sustains the claims of his countryman; and in the year 1820, he published in Paris a new edition of Gil Blas, with notes, in which he defends the same system. Llorente was then resid-

ing at Paris, deeply engaged in his history of the Inquisition and other literary labors of a very serious and important character. His patriotism (generally most sensitive in persons away from home) took the alarm at this inroad on the national glory of Old Castile, and he immediately undertook the work now before us, which he submitted to the Academy in the year 1820, and not long after printed. The Count replied in a subsequent memoir, presented to the Academy on the 20th of January, 1822, and entitled, *An Examination of the New System in regard to the Authorship of Gil Blas, in answer to the Critical Observations of M. Llorente.* This production was also printed, and here the controversy appears to have come to a close, both parties having made out their respective opinions to their own satisfaction, and left the decision to the public. We regret to say, that we have not seen either of the memoirs of the Count de Neufchâteau, and that we have no other knowledge of the nature of his arguments, excepting such as we have derived from the work of Llorente. We are aware that this is an extremely suspicious source; and while we candidly admit, that we feel a strong leaning towards the conclusions of the worthy secretary of the Inquisition, we also freely allow, and even exhort the reader to make any deductions from the weight of our authority on the subject which he may think proper, on account of our imperfect and partial acquaintance with the argument. A defence of almost any proposition, drawn up by a careful and able writer, will appear pretty plausible until the other side has been heard. Such, indeed, is the *prestige* produced by a powerful and acute logician, that the celebrated Henry the Fourth of France, after listening to the opposite counsel on the two sides of some important case, declared that he did not know how it came about, but that they must certainly both be right.

Having thus cleared our consciences by apprising the reader of the real extent of our knowledge, and putting him fairly on his guard, we proceed without further preliminaries to state concisely, but as we hope with clearness and, as far as may be, a rigorous impartiality, the tenor of the argument on both sides of this question. It may perhaps appear to some as of too trifling a character to engage the attention of a journal habitually devoted to graver subjects. Let those who think so pass at once to the next article, and take their fill of Rail Roads, Fortifications, Claims on France, South American Politics, or whatever

it may happen to treat upon. For ourselves, we think we may well venture to review what two Spanish priests and a Count of the French empire were not afraid to write, nor the first Academy in Europe to listen to; and we know not why the question, *Who wrote Gil Blas?* should not be as interesting to the public as, Who wrote *Eikon Basilike?* Who wrote Junius, Ossian, Chatterton, Homer? or, finally, Who wrote Waverley? the impenetrable riddle that so long baffled the curiosity of the present age, and has lately been so happily solved by the great unknown himself.

To the question, Who wrote Gil Blas? the natural answer is undoubtedly, in the first instance, Lesage. A man must be held to be the writer of his own books, as he is considered in law the father of his wife's children, until the contrary be proved. *Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant;* and a titlepage affords the same presumption of authorship as a marriage register of paternity. The burden of proof rests, therefore, in this case upon those who endeavor to invalidate the pretensions of the French dramatist.

The first and principal argument which they allege, is the strong and deep Spanish coloring which pervades every part of the work, down to the nicest and most minute details. It is no very difficult thing for a poet or a novelist to lay the scene of his fictions in a foreign country, and to borrow a few outlandish names, dresses, and decorations, to give his localities an air of probability. This is done every day by writers of moderate as well as first rate talent. It is perfectly natural that an Englishman should have produced the play of Julius Cæsar, or a Scotchman the romance of Quentin Durward. But the case changes, when the familiarity with foreign objects and manners supposed by the style and fable goes beyond a certain point, and when the substance, as well as the form and coloring, displays in a strong manner the peculiar characteristics of some remote age or distant nation. If such a work, for example, as Mr Hope's Anastasius, the very tissue of which seems, as it were, to be wrought out of innumerable minute observations on foreign objects, in which every chapter and paragraph exhibits unquestionable proof that the author was an eyewitness of the scenes he describes; if, we say, a work of this kind were to be published by a person who had never been abroad, the world would conclude without much hesitation, that he had imposed upon them as his own the production

of some other pen. We readily believe that Mr Moore may have written the poem of Lalla Rookh, in which the substantially European train of thought and feeling is discovered at every turn, through the thin texture of oriental imagery with which it is covered. But if Galland had published the Arabian Nights, or Sir William Jones his translation of the Indian drama of Sacontalá as his own, the public, we imagine, would have easily detected the fraud. And in all such cases the presumption of a foreign original would be much heightened, if a writer had brought out other works of a very similar kind, as avowed translations, or close imitations of foreign models. If two or three volumes of the Arabian Nights had appeared as acknowledged translations from the Arabic, and the rest had been afterwards published by the French editor as his own, it is hardly probable that any competent judge would have been so far deceived by this pretension, as not to see that they were all parts of the same collection. Now, in this respect, the present case is precisely similar. Lesage published in the course of his life a considerable number of novels and tales, long and short, all of which, excepting Gil Blas, are avowed translations or imitations from the Spanish. They also all suppose, in general, the same materials and resources that must have belonged to the author of that work. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that they are all fruits of one common stock. The weight of an argument of this kind depends wholly, in each particular case, upon the extent to which the work in question is essentially foreign in form and substance, and upon the greater or less degree of difficulty with which the defect of personal observation might have been supplied by study. In some instances the presumption amounts to a certainty. No Frenchman or Englishman could have possibly identified his whole intellectual nature so completely with one resulting from a different condition of society, as to have written the Arabian Nights, or Sacontalá. In the case before us the argument has less force, because the state of civilization is nearly the same in France and Spain, and the knowledge of mere facts, however minute and intimate, might possibly be obtained abroad. The presumption would therefore hardly exceed a strong probability; but if the conclusion were corroborated by any direct evidence, it might be received as nearly certain.

Llorente, aware that this is the main point in the argument, enlarges upon it a good deal, and, as we think, makes out a

very strong case. It would of course be impossible to recapitulate here all the particular passages in the novel, which prove the minute acquaintance of the author with the political, geographical, and statistical situation of Spain, and with the manners of its inhabitants. We shall note a few of the most striking examples.

It is well known that the description of the character and conduct of the Duke of Lerma and the Count Duke of Olivares, successively prime ministers and confidential favorites of Philip the Third and Fourth, is historically correct. It is given with a degree of minuteness, that almost supposes of itself a personal acquaintance with the concerns of the Spanish Court. The face and person of Olivares are painted with a spirit and discrimination which must have required very close, accurate, and often repeated personal observation. Nor are there even now anywhere in print any materials which would supply to a foreigner the defect of such observation for this purpose. The same conformity to historical truth pervades the minor incidents of the story, and even such as are probably supposed in general to be wholly fictitious. The adventures of Philip the Fourth and Lucretia, daughter of the Marquis of Marialva and the actress Laura, are said to be historical. The fruit of this intrigue was the Prince Don John of Austria, second of the name, and not the celebrated champion of Christendom, who arrested the progress of the Turkish arms at the seafight of Lepanto, and who was an illegitimate son of Charles the Fifth. The mother is represented in the novel as being seized with compunctions of conscience on account of her illicit connexion with the king, and as retiring from the world and taking the veil in the convent of the Incarnation. This institution was founded at Madrid by Philip the Third, in fulfilment of the last will of his deceased queen, Margaret; and no persons were admitted into it but such as were in some way connected with the royal family. A foreigner could hardly have been aware of this curious little circumstance, or if he had known it, would have probably mentioned it in connexion with the story. Gil Blas, on the contrary, merely states the fact, that Lucretia entered this convent, without giving the reason why she preferred it to any other. The account of the domestic occurrences in the family of Olivares, of his natural son Don Julian de Valcarrel, afterwards legitimated under the name of Don Henry Philip de Guzman, and married to the daughter

of the Duke of Frias, is also conformable throughout to facts. Nor was it so easy, in the time of Lesage, to become acquainted with private incidents of this description, occurring in a distant country, as it is now, when, thanks to the newspapers, every man of any note in the world lives in a glass house, and regularly finds in the morning's gazette a detailed history of his own transactions of the preceding day.

The other characters of this work are treated with equal fidelity. Don Rodrigo de Calderon is a real personage, though not mentioned by his title of Marquis de Siete Iglesias. Thirty or forty of the principal Spanish and Portuguese noblemen are introduced in the course of the work, and their titles and dignities are described with perfect accuracy. This is a point of learning of which we may appreciate the difficulty and delicacy, when we recollect that the mass of French writers have never been able, up to the present hour, to obtain any distinct notion of the proper application of the common English appellatives of *Master* and *Sir*, but constantly confound and misapply them at every turn. Real names of persons in the lower walks of life are also employed, where we should hardly expect to find them. Thus, among the patients of Dr Oloroso of Madrid, is mentioned the bookseller, *Fernando de Buendia;* and it appears, in fact, from the titlepages of the books printed in the reign of Philip the Fourth, that a person of this name was then one of the principal booksellers at Madrid. Most of the names that are not historical are significant in the Spanish language; and this circumstance proves, perhaps still more strongly than the correct use of Spanish names and titles, the Castilian original of the book. It would be next to impossible for a foreigner to manufacture thirty or forty names of this kind, which would completely satisfy a Spanish ear; and Llorente assures us, that they are all perfectly idiomatical, and of a natural construction. Of this number are the Doctors *Sangrado*, *Oloroso*, *Cuchillo;* the innkeepers, *Forero (stranger*, more commonly *forastero)* and *Majuelo;* the apothecary, *Apuntador (prompter)*, who advises Doña Mergelina to exchange her *escudero* for a *dueña;* the swindler of Toledo, Don Vicente de *Buenagarra (Gripewell)*, and so forth. The Count de Neufchâteau remarks upon the great number of these significant names, but affects to consider them as of little importance to the question. We must beg leave to differ from him upon this point, for the reason just mentioned. Let the Count

attempt to fabricate thirty or forty significant English proper names, in such a way that they shall appear idiomatical and natural to the English; and if he succeeds, we shall admit that he is in the right; and shall further admit, that he has done thirty or forty times as much as any one of his countrymen ever did before. The extraordinary ill success of the French writers in inventing names for their English personages, and even in transcribing English names of great notoriety, is perfectly well known, and clearly shows the intrinsic difficulty of what M. de Neufchâteau seems to think a very simple affair. Among the names which he regards as significant, the Count enumerates that of *Catalina*, alias Sirena, mistress of Don Rodrigo de Calderon. This fact does not argue a very intimate acquaintance with the Spanish language. Llorente justly remarks, that *Catalina* is frequently used in Spain as a christian name for females, but even he does not mention, and apparently did not recollect at the moment, that it is the Spanish form of *Catherine*.

The knowledge of the geography of Spain, and of the manners and customs of the people supposed in Gil Blas, is very extensive, and the details appear to be, in general, perfectly exact, and almost affectedly particular. Remark, for instance, the description of the inkhorn purchased by the hero of the story and his associates, when they were preparing to enact the part of inquisitors at the expense of the Jew, Samuel Simon. It consisted of two pieces of horn attached to each other by a cord, one to hold the ink and the other a separate one to contain the pens. 'Every Spaniard,' says Llorente, 'knows that this is a correct description of what is called a notary's inkhorn, because notaries always take such a one with them whenever they go out, for use if occasion should offer.' Again; Gil Blas describes himself as walking in the streets of Valencia, and seeing a crowd of persons collected round a particular house, where, upon approaching nearer, he read the inscription in gold letters upon a black marble tablet, *La posada de los Representantes*. This building was the theatre; and the nature of the inscription, which means *Lodging of the Actors*, is explained by the circumstance, that in the time of Philip the Third and Fourth, the company was in fact usually lodged in the theatre itself. This usage never existed in France, and had been discontinued in Spain long before the time of Lesage. Once more; the chambermaid of Anna de Guevara, nurse to Philip the Fourth,

obtains from the king, through the influence of her mistress, the archdeaconry of Granada, for Don Ignacio de Ipiña; *which benefice*, says the author, *being situated in a country acquired by conquest was in the gift of the king*. This passage supposes an accurate knowledge of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish monarchy. 'In fact,' says Llorente, 'the king, prior to the concordat of 1753, conferred no church dignities whatever, excepting those of which the patronage belonged by some specific title to the crown. Such, by the effect of a special bull from the Pope, was the case with those which lay within the territory conquered from the Moors.' Now we do not mean to say, that Lesage might not accidentally, in the course of his Spanish reading, have made himself acquainted with any, or all of these particulars, and a hundred others of the same kind. But these are only specimens of the general manner of the work, which is wrought up in this minute and highly finished style, like a fine Dutch painting, from one end to the other. A Frenchman might have met with a description of a notary's inkstand, or learned the fact that the actors in Spain formerly lodged in the playhouse; but could hardly have written four volumes, of which almost every line is pregnant with some allusion nearly as precise and pointed as these. A writer who studies the manners and history of a foreign nation for the purpose of employing them as materials in works of fiction, commonly makes the most of his acquisitions, and tells the world nearly all he knows. Mr Thomas Moore and Mr Robert Southey, wrought up, we imagine, in their Lalla Rookhs and Thalabas, their whole stock of oriental learning; and that nothing might be lost, they carefully set down in the notes what they could not find room for in the body of the poem. In Gil Blas, the knowledge supposed is not less copious and accurate, than that which is actually brought out. The most curious circumstances, or those which a foreigner would infallibly consider such, are often suppressed, as in the instance of the convent of the Incarnation, alluded to above. We conclude, on the whole, that the fidelity of costume is carried in this novel to such an extent in all its branches, as to create a strong presumption that it could only have been written by a native Spaniard.*

* We will add here another example of this minute exactness, taken from concerns of a lower order. Gil Blas, in giving his account of the interior of the cavern inhabited by the robbers, remarks,

The nice observations of the critics have nevertheless discovered in Gil Blas a considerable number of errors, more or less obvious, principally in the manner of writing the names of places and persons. Some of these are so glaring, that it is difficult to reconcile them with any theory in respect to the author, and they must be viewed by all as wholly accidental. The rest rather tend to confirm the supposition, that the work is a translation from the Spanish, because they are most naturally accounted for by considering them as the errors of a person transcribing names with which he was not perfectly familiar. We shall mention one or two of each class.

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that he saw in the stable an ample provision of *straw* and *barley*. The reader would probably pass over this trifling circumstance without perceiving that it indicated any local peculiarity; but if he were called upon to describe the contents of a stable from his own knowledge, he would find, perhaps, that instead of *straw* and *barley*, he had written *hay* and *oats*. Every one who has been in Spain will recollect, that the former articles are universally employed as the food of horses and mules, to the exclusion of the latter; but the fact is probably known to very few foreigners, especially of the character and habits of Lesage.

The habits of the robbers, as described in Gil Blas, are the same with those which still prevail among the persons who exercise this adventurous profession in the Peninsula. In proof of this, we add the following extract from a letter addressed by one of our countrymen, a lieutenant in the navy, to an American gentleman residing at Madrid, under date of Córdoba, April 17, 1827, in which he gives an account of a robbery of the diligence at Manzanares, a few days before. The letter was of course not intended for the press, but is written in a spirited style, and does credit to its author, whose name, not having his authority to publish it, we suppress.

'My dear Sir,—I arrived here yesterday with sound ribs and a whole skin, but sadly out of pocket, and with my trunk in a very emaciated condition. I need not tell you that we have been robbed, for this you will have either heard or surmised already; but there will be no harm in saying something of the where and the how, so that when you come to the same spot, you may enjoy the pleasures of anticipation, and know exactly the formalities that are to be gone through on such occasions. It was, then, about three leagues before reaching Manzanares, that this robbery took place, on Thursday at two o'clock. We were going along very quietly, with our guard of four men in advance, and the conductor, who was in the *rotunda*, was talking with me, when we were suddenly interrupted by the discharge of muskets, followed immediately by the clattering of hoofs and loud and confused cries. The next moment the cause of this tumult was in sight, and the guards and their pursuers were seen flying rapidly past us, the latter discharging their carabines upon the guards, and urging their horses to come up with them. It was an animated scene this,

In giving an account of his journey from Madrid to Oviedo, at the beginning of the fourth volume, Gil Blas mentions that he slept the first night at Alcalá de Henares, and the second, at Segovia. This is an error of the same kind, as if a man should say, that in travelling from Boston to New York, he slept the first night at Newburyport, and the second at Providence. Alcalá de Henares and Segovia are both among the most considerable and noted cities in Spain. The former is well known for its university, which is one of the first in the country, and familiar to scholars as that where the Complutensian Polyglott (so called from *Complutum*, the Roman name of

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such as I had frequently seen on canvass in the spirited little pictures of Wouvermans. The robbers were eight in number, and were variously dressed, many in sheep skins, some in montero caps, and others with handkerchiefs on their heads; they each, however, had two pair of pistols stuck into the front of the saddle, a sabre at the side, and a carabine in the moment of preparation thrown over the saddle in front. Besides this ornament, some had a second carabine hung to their saddles, with a long knife stuck in their belts.

'In the mean time one of the guard had fled the field entirely, and the other three men were off at a respectful distance. One of the robbers, who had remained beside the postillion, now made us get down into the road, so that if the diligence advanced it would have to pass over us. The conductor, as more experienced in these matters, placed himself on his hands and knees, like a frog when he is about to jump, and we all, by order of the fellow who was taking such good care of us, imitated his example; the more readily, because he was a young man of not more than twenty, a kind of Gil Blas at the business, and was a good deal agitated, and for that reason the more dangerous to unarmed men. On the coming up of the captain, who returned to the diligence, leaving five of his party to keep the guard in check, we were told to get up and not to be uneasy, that no harm was intended to our persons. He called for the hat of the conductor and told us to put our money and articles into it; he then ordered the conductor to mount upon the diligence and throw down the baggage. Our keys were then called for, and a curious and inquisitive sort of fellow commenced overhauling the trunks. Another fellow stood by with a long bag which opened in the middle, into which the accepted articles were stowed. In this way my *go-a-shore* watch went to look after the parade one, and most of the contents of my trunk followed the same example. When this fellow had finished his investigation, and the other passengers were stowing away their things, I asked, if what was left was mine, and being told, yes, I began to pack up, and no longer encountered that resistance in shutting my trunk, that I had met with the day before at Madrid. Down it went at the first push. The captain of the band allowed the trunk of the lady who was with us to pass unexamined, and began a long apology to us for the trouble he was giving us; he said, that it was not his fault,—that

Alcalá) was printed by order of Cardinal Ximenes. The latter was distinguished in its better days, as a great manufacturing town, and is now remarkable for its Moorish Alcázar, its Roman aqueduct, and its Gothic cathedral. The first of these edifices derives some little additional celebrity from being the place in which the author of Gil Blas has laid the scene of his hero's imprisonment.* Alcalá is about ten English miles east of Madrid, and Segovia about thirty west. The critics are sadly at loss to imagine for what reason, or by what accident Gil Blas should have been made to pass through the former

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they had refused to pardon him, and to employ him in conveying the diligence. "*Soy Felipe Caro*," says he, "*y por mal nombre el Cacaruco*." He told the conductor to tell his employers, that if they would procure his pardon and receive him into their service, he would guard the diligence for three months gratis.

'When they had completely gone through with their undertaking, they went quickly off in sight of several *galeras* that had halted at no great distance from us, and in about a quarter of an hour disappeared in a hollow that lay to the right of the road. They had at first taken away the two horses that led the team, but the postillion followed them and begged the captain to give him up the poorest, to which he at last consented. When the robbers had disappeared our guard returned, and commenced railing at the authorities of the neighboring villages, who, they said, were protecting the robbers openly; the three guards had behaved extremely well, for we could distinctly hear them challenge the assailants to come to them man for man and that they would meet them. Glory, however, was not the object of these sturdy *Manchegos*, and they were content to have succeeded in their enterprise. On arriving at Manzanares, among the crowd that came out to hear the story of our disaster, was a little girl of seven or eight years old, the daughter of Cacaruco. She was well dressed and clean; the poor little thing was very much disconcerted by the attention she attracted, and hid herself from our observation behind the door of the stable. Though we were not much indebted to Mr Cacaruco for the service he had done us, there was no feeling of animosity towards this innocent child, who seemed entirely ignorant of her father's vocation. It appears, that the innkeepers have taken a hatred to the diligence from its carrying travellers, who used frequently to loiter from inn to inn, so rapidly through the country, that only a few of the public houses gain anything by their passage; and it is thought that their instigations have as much to do with the frequent robbery of the diligence, as the necessities of the robbers themselves. This may, at least, account for the impunity with which Cacaruco might have returned, and perhaps did return, to his own house, situated in a village, on the very night of having committed so bold an offence, and of having so publicly avowed it.'

* The Alcázar of Segovia, as the name indicates, was originally a Moorish palace. It has also been occupied as a residence by the

place in his way to the latter; as it is impossible to suppose that the author, whether native or foreign, could have fallen into a geographical error of this magnitude. Father Isla believes that Lesage introduced this blunder on purpose, in order to *mystify* the public, and make it appear improbable that the

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kings of Spain, and large additions were made to it in the time of Philip the Second, under the direction of Herrera, the architect of the Escurial. It is still in perfect preservation, and is now appropriated to a military school, the only one in Spain. The writer of this article visited the Alcázar of Segovia in the summer of 1826, and had an opportunity of witnessing from its upper windows what Don André de Tordesillas represented as *the flowery banks of the Eresma, and the delicious valley that separates the two Castiles;* but he found the view, as Gil Blas is said to have done, very much embellished by the warder's description. The Eresma is a meagre stream, and the country through which it passes, like the greater part of Old and New Castile, is wholly bare of wood, and presents a monotonous and melancholy aspect. The aqueduct of Segovia is one of the most remarkable Roman works of the kind in existence. It is in perfect preservation, and is still employed to supply the city with water. It consists of two lines of arches, one above the other, constructed with large square masses of granite, without cement, and in the highest part is a hundred and two feet high. The Gothic cathedral is one of the finest in Spain; so that the three nations who within the memory of man have successively possessed the Peninsula, have each left at this particular spot a specimen of the very best manner of its peculiar style of architecture.

Every thing at Segovia, excepting these three monuments, has an air of decay, or rather of complete ruin. This city formerly contained the greatest cloth manufactories in Spain. These are said to have employed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, no less than seventytwo thousand persons, a number which would give, on the usual principles of calculation, a population of at least three hundred thousand souls. The present population is not thought to exceed five thousand, who depend for subsistence upon the military academy and the church. The decay of industry in this and the other once flourishing and wealthy cities of the interior of Spain, took place with almost inconceivable rapidity soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century. Seville, which contained sixteen thousand looms for weaving silk in the preceding century, had in the year 1636, only sixty. Segovia sunk at the same time. The quantity of wool washed at Cuenca fell off, between 1620 and 1640, from sixtytwo thousand five hundred quintals, to two thousand five hundred. This unexampled revolution in the economy of the country was the real cause of the decline of the political consequence of Spain; but it is not very easy to account for the fact itself. No satisfactory reason has yet been assigned for it; and it must apparently have been owing to a combination of disastrous accidents. The expulsion of the Moors, in 1614, probably did more than any other single circumstance.

work could be a translation from the Spanish; but this system, though ingenious, is not to us completely satisfactory. Count de Neufchâteau makes no attempt to account for the circumstance, and declares it to be wholly mysterious and incomprehensible. It is evident, however, that the error must have been either voluntary or accidental. If we reject the supposition that it was voluntary, and also regard it as too glaring to have been accidental in the author, the only possible remaining theory is, that it was an error of the transcriber. This is accordingly the one adopted by Llorente; and though not unattended with difficulty, is infinitely less improbable than either of the others, especially if we suppose the transcriber to have been a foreigner. Admitting this solution, it is of no great importance what may have been the word which the transcriber had thus metamorphosed into *Alcalá de Henares*, for the name is unfortunately written out in the French work with a most distressing fulness and accuracy. Father Isla, in his translation, substitutes *las Rosas*, a village about half way between Madrid and Segovia. Llorente prefers *Galapagar*, another station on the same route. Either of these names might easily enough be transformed by a foreigner into Alcalá, but we do not see how it could have branched out into the fatal addition *de Henares*. Gil Blas is represented in two other several passages, as taking the same journey from Madrid to Segovia, and as changing horses at *Colmenar*. This is at least as near to Alcalá as either of the other names, and is, to our minds, the one which offers the highest degree of probability; but like them, it leaves the *de Henares* wholly unaccounted for. In these cases it is not to be expected that every difficulty should be explained. Our private opinion, which we propose with all proper diffidence, is, that this is a piece of work botched up at two successive operations. We believe that Lesage, in the first place, wrote *Alcalá* by mistake, for *Colmenar*, and at some other time when comparing his localities with a map, where the name is commonly laid down at full length, inserted the addition *de Henares*. We are not, however, unduly tenacious of this theory, and shall freely relinquish it, if any of our exegetical readers will propose a better one.*

* Since writing the above, we find, on looking into a more detailed map of the country round Madrid, that *Colmenar* is laid down with the addition *el Viejo*, which gives a little more latitude to the transcriber. The next station on the same road is *Manzanares*, which is

In attempting to detect and correct the errors of Lesage, the worthy secretary of the Inquisition has fallen into one himself, which is the more remarkable, as it concerns the geography of Madrid, the place of his habitual residence. Gil Blas informs us, that on his first arrival in that metropolis he brought a letter of introduction from a merchant of Segovia, with whom he had made acquaintance on the road, to the *Seigneur* (a strong Spanish idiom) Matthew Melendez, a cloth merchant, who lived in the *Puerta del Sol*, at the corner of the *Rue des Bahutiers*, or *Trunkmakers' Street*, in Spanish, *Calle de los Cofreros*. The Puerta del Sol, or Gate of the Sun, as our readers are aware, is the principal place of public resort at Madrid, being used as an exchange, like the upper part of State Street in Boston, which it sufficiently resembles in extent and shape. One of the gates, which bore this name, formerly stood at this spot; but in consequence of the enlargement of the city, the entrance to this quarter was removed, in the reign of Charles the Third, to another point about half a mile off, where a new gate called the *Puerta de Alcalá* was erected, which is considered the most elegant construction of its kind in Europe. In this description of the residence of the cloth merchant, Melendez, Llorente conceives that he has detected an error. All the inhabitants of Madrid, he assures us, well know, that of the streets opening on the Puerta del Sol, there is none which bears the name of *Calle de los Cofreros*. Having thus stated the difficulty, he endeavors to solve it by supposing that the transcriber wrote by mistake Puerta del *Sol* for Puerta de *Guadalajara;* and affirms, that by substituting the latter name for the former the description may be made to agree exactly with the reality; by which he must be supposed to mean, that there is such a street as the *Calle de los Cofreros*, near the Puerta de Guadalajara. If it be rather hard to imagine how *Colmenar* or *las Rosas* could bloom out into *Alcalá de Henares*, it is still more puzzling to conceive in what way *Guadalajara* could dwindle into *Sol*. This *sun*, it must be owned, would be shorn of his beams to an alarming degree.

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perhaps quite as near to *Alcalá de Henares*, as either of the others. The two places suggested by Father Isla and Llorente, are both upon another road that also leads from Madrid to Segovia; but as Gil Blas on two other occasions is made to take the one which passes through Colmenar, it is more natural to suppose that this was intended here also.

But this is not the only, nor the strongest objection that may be made to the justice of this somewhat hypercritical sally of the worthy secretary of the Inquisition. In the first place, there is no such gate at Madrid as the *Puerta de Guadalajara*. This latter city lies beyond Alcalá, on the banks of the same river Henares, and the road that leads to it from Madrid passes through the *Puerta de Alcalá*. There is, it is true, a small place or *plazuela*, called *Plaza de la Puerta de Guadalajara*, near the *Plaza Mayor*, and this may perhaps have been meant by Llorente; but unluckily for him, there is no such street opening upon the square, as *Calle de los Cofreros*. Finally, notwithstanding his assurance that it is a thing well known to all the inhabitants of Madrid, that there is no such street opening upon the Puerta del Sol, it appears that the street of this name does in fact open upon that place, and is still to be found there precisely where Gil Blas left it, and where it escaped the observation of our clearsighted critic during the forty or fifty years of his residence in its neighborhood. In the list of the streets given in the Madrid Directory, it is mentioned in the following terms. '*La Calle de los Cofreros es un callejon que sale á la Puerta del Sol entre la calle de Preciados y la del Arenal.*' Hardly knowing which of two such imposing authorities as the Directory and *ci-devant* secretary of the Inquisition, ought to be regarded as the more trustworthy, and happening at the present moment to enjoy (in our personal capacity) the advantage of a residence at Madrid, we felt it a duty to verify the state of this important fact, by our own immediate observation; and are now able to inform the public, that upon repairing to the Puerta del Sol for this purpose, we read at the corner of a narrow street opening upon that place in the exact spot indicated by the Directory, the words, *Calle de los Cofreros*, inscribed in black letters upon a white stone placed in the wall of the house on the left hand, which is doubtless the identical building, or its successor, formerly occupied by the Signor Matthew Melendez, cloth merchant, and tenanted temporarily by his worthy guest, the Signor Gil Blas. It may be proper to add, in justice to the eyesight of the Signor Llorente, that of all the streets and lanes (eight in number), which open upon the Puerta del Sol, this is by much the smallest, and may not unnaturally have escaped the notice of an observer whose vision was probably at the time a good deal obscured by continually groping about the blind passages and subterra-

nean dungeons of the Inquisition, of which, during his residence at Madrid, he kept the keys, and has since revealed the secrets. So much for the infallibility of criticism.

The other errors in the writing of names and places are, in general, pretty easily accounted for, on the supposition that they were made by a foreign transcriber not familiar with the geography and history of the narrative, and therefore tend to confirm the supposition that the work is of Spanish extraction. Thus the reputed father of the natural son of the Count Duke de Olivares, is mentioned by Lesage under the name of Don Francisco de *Valeasar*, and not, as Llorente states, *Valdeazar*. His real name was Don Francisco de Valcarcel, and his reputed son accordingly bore, as above mentioned, previously to his legitimation, that of Don Julian de Valcarcel. It is easy to see that this is an error of transcription, and that Lesage was not only not sufficiently familiar with the history of the period to have written this part of the narrative himself, but that he did not feel interest enough in the question of the historical truth or falsehood of the story to verify even this singular anecdote, by reference to authority. The young man in question was created on his legitimation, Duke of *San Lucar*, a well known place near Cadiz, which Lesage writes *San Lucat*. In the curious account of the marriage of the Count Duke's daughter, there are two or three errors of the same kind. The principal suitors for her hand are the sons of the two chief branches of the house of Guzman, to which Olivares himself belonged. One of them, son of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, is mentioned by Lesage under the title of Count de *Niebles*, by mistake, for *Niebla*. The person preferred by the Count Duke is represented by Lesage, as belonging to the family of Guzman de *Abrados*, by mistake, for *Abiados*. These are both obviously errors of transcription. Several others of the same kind are mentioned by Llorente, but these will serve as specimens.

There is also a passage not alluded to by either of the critics before us, containing, as we think, a fault of this class, which we are induced to note, as the correction of it considerably increases the effect of one of the pleasantest anecdotes in the book. The passage in question, is the epitaph on the soul of the Licentiate Pedro Garcias, which is given in Spanish, by Lesage, in the following form. '*Aquí está encerrada el alma del Licenciado Pedro Garcias.*' It is quite evident, that the true

reading is *enterrada*, the inscription being a parody on the common epitaphial formula, *Here lies interred the body, &c.* Lesage, mistaking the *t* for a *c* has introduced a word which is unsuitable to the context, and is never employed in an epitaph. The corrected reading justifies the mirth of the thoughtless student, who is represented as having been greatly diverted with the idea of *une âme enfermée; a soul imprisoned or shut up.* There is nothing in this notion particularly pleasant; but the contrast of the inscription, *Here lies interred the soul of the licentiate*, with an ordinary epitaph, might naturally be expected to excite the laughter of a shallow pated youngster, like the one supposed. We observe that Father Isla, though he makes no remark upon this error, has corrected it in his translation.

Llorente endeavors to substantiate his proposition, that the work is of Spanish extraction by another sort of internal evidence, which, as he thinks, fixes the date of its composition at a period anterior to that of Lesage, and somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century. On this head, however, his reasoning does not appear to us to be quite satisfactory. The principal passages relied upon are those which allude to an existing war between Spain and Portugal. In one of them, Gil Blas speaking in the person of a fictitious character, which he had assumed for a particular purpose, mentions that his father was killed fifteen years before in a battle that took place on the frontiers of Portugal. This battle, according to Llorente, was fought in 1640, and the date thus given would be that of 1655. He believes that the author inserted the passage expressly, in order to determine the exact time when the novel was written; but this can hardly be admitted, unless it be first made out on other grounds that it was in fact written at about this epoch, and not at the later one, when Lesage lived. The passages in question indicate in form only the period when the action is supposed to take place, and have no direct tendency to fix that when the work was composed.

Count de Neufchâteau, on the other hand, attempts to establish by a similar mode of reasoning, the claims of Lesage; and as far as we can judge from the work of Llorente, the argument derived from this topic is almost the only one of any real force, which he is able to bring in aid of the natural presumption in favor of his client, resulting from his having published the work as his own. Neufchâteau cites a number of passages

containing allusions to events that had occurred at Paris a short time only before the novel was published, which serve, as he thinks, to prove that it must have been written by an inhabitant of that city about the time when it appeared, and of course to refute the theory of Llorente. Thus, Roger de Rada is said to have listened to the recital of his father with the same attention which was given by the Prince of Ithaca to that of Ulysses; and at the close of the episode containing his adventures, Gil Blas says, that he sent back this new Telemachus to rejoin his Ulysses and Penelope. These passages are thought to suppose the previous publication of Fenelon's Telemachus. Again; the story of Valerio de Luna appears to be founded upon the adventure of the Chevalier de Villiers, who committed suicide at Paris, in the year 1671, for the love of his grandmother, Ninon de l'Enclos. The anecdote of the two physicians, *Andros* and *Oquetos*, evidently alludes to a dispute which had occurred between the two French doctors, Andry and Hecquet, whose names are slightly disguised under these Greek appellations. They even quote, in the course of their controversy, a work published by Hecquet, under the title, *Le Larcin de la Médecine*. These and several other passages of a similar kind, corroborate the *primâ facie* evidence in favor of the claims of Lesage; nor do we conceive that Llorente has succeeded in the attempt which he has made, as respects most of them, to controvert the reality of the allusion. The true answer is, that these passages, though entitled to attention as arguments in favor of Lesage, cannot be regarded as decisive against a considerable mass of direct evidence to the contrary, because their introduction is easily reconciled with the theory of a Spanish original. A man of talent and a fine writer, in dressing up a foreign work which he intended to publish as his own, would naturally modify the form of it, and insert a good deal of original matter. An occasional allusion to late publications, or events that had really occurred at Paris, would be an easy method of removing for the moment any suspicion of fraud. Such allusions no doubt strengthen, in some degree, the natural presumption resulting from the mere fact of publication; but as they can easily be accounted for on the supposition that the work is of Spanish extraction, they cannot be considered as refuting the positive arguments which establish the latter supposition, and which cannot be reconciled with the contrary one.

This evidence, as far as we have hitherto considered it, results directly from the substance of the work; but if the book be in fact a translation from the Spanish, it would be natural to expect to find in the form, that is, in the style and language, some distinct and undoubted traces of the primitive dialect. A writer of taste and talent, no doubt, has it in his power to give to a translation something of the idiomatical and easy manner of an original composition; but in a work of this extent, it would be next to impossible to keep up such a manner uniformly from one end to the other; or even to avoid the frequent recurrence of a foreign phraseology. In this important particular, the fact corresponds with the expectations which result from the theory in question. The work, though written in a style in other respects remarkably pure, as well as correct and easy, presents throughout a mixture of Spanish idioms, and even pure Spanish words and phrases, which it would be difficult to account for on any other supposition, but which coincide with and strongly confirm the one maintained by Llorente. We shall cite some of these *Hispanicisms*, which constitute the most palpable, and perhaps the most decisive proof, that the work is a translation from the Spanish.

The one which from its nature occurs the most frequently, and to which we have already alluded, is the constant use of *Seigneur*, as the common style of personal address, instead of *Monsieur*, which would have been naturally employed by an original French writer. *Seigneur* is a French word of very limited application, much more so than the corresponding one of *Lord* in English, though not quite so much so as the English form of the same word, *Signior*, which, we believe, is now never used, except as a title for the Grand Turk. Under the old French *régime*, *Seigneur* was the style of the feudal proprietors who held of the crown, and this system of tenures being now abolished, the word is hardly used at all. The corresponding term of address, *Monseigneur*, was appropriated to princes of the blood royal, bishops, peers (who were only ten or twelve in number, under the old constitution), and a few others of the highest political dignitaries. To have spoken of a *Seigneur cloth merchant*, a *Seigneur innkeeper*, a *Seigneur Gil Blas*, and finally, a *Seigneur Scipio*, his lacquey, would have been received as intentional burlesque. In Spanish, on the contrary, the word *Señor* corresponds with the French *Monsieur*, and the English *Master*, and is even more exten-

sively used, being universally employed as a term of address between persons of all classes, from the king to the footman. This is precisely the manner in which the French *Seigneur* is used in Gil Blas. Thus this worthy character upon his first sally out of Oviedo encounters a sturdy beggar, who takes aim at him with his musket, and at the same time solicits alms, with the polite address of *Seigneur passant.* The natural phrase in French would be *Monsieur le voyageur;* but *Seigneur passant, My Lord passenger,* as an address to a poor little student mounted on a sorry mule, could hardly have crept into a well written French work, except by accident. It is easily accounted for by supposing it to correspond with the Spanish phrase *Señor pasagero,* which is idiomatical and natural. In the same way, the parasite with whom Gil Blas fell in at the tavern at Peñaflor, addresses him with the title of *Seigneur écolier,* and the latter returns it with *Seigneur cavalier.* The word *cavalier* has no other meaning in French, excepting that of a man on horseback, and as used here, is evidently a false translation of the Spanish *caballero. Seigneur écolier, My Lord Student,* is a style which in France or England would have been too gross for even the unexperienced stomach of Gil Blas. Father Isla seems to have thought, that *Señor estudiante* would hardly answer even in Spanish, and has substituted the more respectable character of *Licenciado.*

Independently of Spanish idioms, there is a great deal of pure Spanish interspersed through the novel, which can hardly have got there honestly. Thus Gil Blas describes the goldsmith, Salero, his intended father in law, as *un bon bourgois, qui était, comme nous disons, poli* HASTA PORFIAR. *Il me présenta la* SENORA EUGENIA, *sa femme, et la jeune* GABRIELA, *sa fille.* Here are two pure Spanish phrases in three lines, not to mention the proper name *Gabriela,* which Lesage, had he been writing from his own head, would have probably frenchified into *Gabrielle,* a very common name in his country. Again; the barber, Diego de la Fuente, in giving an account of his learning the guitar, remarks, that he had *pour maître de cet instrument un vieux* SENOR ESCUDERO *à qui je faisais la barbe.* The immediate motive for leaving this phrase in the original language, was perhaps the difficulty of rendering correctly the term *escudero,* in the sense here intended, which is that of a sort of upper servant, personally attending on a lady of quality. There is no corresponding term in French, or any

other modern language, because this class of domestics was never known in any other country. It has long since gone out of use in Spain; and the frequent allusion to it in Gil Blas, is one pretty strong proof of the early composition of the work. The word *page* does not give the idea, because a page was always a youth, while the *escudero* was regularly an elderly person of a staid and respectable exterior. In some other passages, Lesage has used the French form of the same word, *écuyer*, as in the opening of the first chapter, where he states that the parents of Gil Blas went into service, his mother as a chambermaid, and his father as an *écuyer*. But *écuyer*, when applied to servants, means exclusively a *groom*, and conveys a wholly different notion from the Spanish *escudero* in this acceptation of it. Perceiving this, and having no French word that really represented the meaning, it was natural enough for Lesage to leave it in the original, as he has done in this and some other instances. Once more; when Gil Blas, at the height of his credit at court, finds himself unable to recollect the countenance of his playfellow, Bertrand Nutmeg *(Moscada)*, the little grocer's boy of Oviedo, who had come up to Madrid to tell him of the state of his family, the other reminds him that they had often played together at the *gallina-ciega*, blindman's buff, literally the *blind hen*. Lesage gives, in a note, the corresponding French term *Colin-Maillard*. If he had been writing originally, the natural course would have been to put the French term in the text, and the Spanish (if mentioned at all) in the note. Finally (for we begin to think that we have said nearly as much upon the subject, as, in the language of the trade, *it will bear)*, Gil Blas, when confined in the Alcázar at Segovia, hears a fellow prisoner singing to his guitar the following Spanish verses, which appear to have been written by the author of the novel, as they are not known to exist anywhere else, and which a foreigner could hardly have produced, and would not probably have attempted;

> '¡Ay de mi! un año felice
> Parece un soplo ligero;
> Pero sin dicha un instante
> Es un siglo de tormento.'

We shall notice one other passage, not alluded to by either of the authors before us, which does not come precisely under the head of mistranslation, but which proves, perhaps as strongly as any one we have cited, the reality of a Spanish original of

the work. The Asturian poet, Fabricius, in relating his adventures to Gil Blas, dwells particularly upon the false taste in poetry introduced by Gongora. The same subject is touched upon in several other places, and, considered merely as a topic of discussion, is one which we should much more naturally expect to meet with in the works of a Spanish, than of a French writer. In this passage, Lesage not only treats the matter very fully, in the way of observation, but undertakes to give in French an example of this affected manner of writing and speaking Spanish. A good writer, he remarks, would say, *tout uniment, Les intermèdes* EMBELLISSENT *une comédie; et nous, nous disons plus joliment, Les intermèdes* FONT BEAUTE' *dans une comédie. Remarque bien ce* FONT BEAUTE'; *en sens-tu tout le brillant, toute la délicatesse, tout le mignon?* Without insisting on the complete failure of this attempt to give an idea of the style of Gongora, it is quite evident that a Frenchman, writing originally, would not think of illustrating by examples in his own language, the verbal niceties of a foreign one. It requires the supposition of a Spanish original of the work, and of a rather hasty preparation of this part of the translation, to account for such a passage as the above, which, in our view, is nearly sufficient of itself to establish the proposition maintained by Llorente.

We are, therefore, inclined to consider it as, on the whole, nearly certain that Gil Blas is a translation from the Spanish; and as no such work had been printed in Spain before the time of Lesage, he must have made it, of course, from an unpublished Spanish manuscript, of which he had in some way obtained possession. In preparing it for the press, he may probably have changed its form a good deal, and perhaps added or subtracted passages of more or less importance. The work consists, as our readers are aware, of a principal narrative, which forms the basis of it, and of a number of episodes, composing about a third part of the matter. It is not improbable that some of these episodes may have been inserted by Lesage. One or two of them are made up of materials previously existing in printed Spanish books. Thus the story of Aurora de Guzman, is no other than the fable of a well known play by Moreto, entitled, *Todo es enredos Amor, ó el Diablo son las Mugeres;* 'All 's fair in Love, or the Women are the Devil.' The adventures of the little barber's boy, Diego de la Fuente, are borrowed, with great improvements, from an old Spanish novel,

called, *An account of the Life of the Escudero Marcos de Obregon*, who is introduced by name in Lesage's narrative. It is worthy of remark, that no credit is given even for this open plagiarism. The apologue of the two travelling students and the soul of the licentiate Pedro Garcias, alluded to above, is also borrowed, with alterations, from the preface to the same work. In the old version, the inscription consists of the Latin phrase, *Conditur unio*, repeated; and the sagacious student, on lifting up the stone, finds a valuable pearl. The anecdote is vastly improved, as it stands in the French; but for the reason stated above, it is probable that the improvement was made by the writer of the Spanish manuscript, as the new inscription was not fully understood, or correctly given, by Lesage himself. But whether the French editor did or did not add any or all of the episodes, is a secondary question, the main point being to determine the origin of the leading narrative which constitutes the substantial part of the novel. If we admit, on the grounds detailed above, that this was translated by Lesage from an unpublished manuscript, the further question will then arise, how so remarkable and valuable a manuscript should have come into his hands, and whether there are any traces in France or Spain of its having existed. On these points, Llorente has a theory, which, though not quite so satisfactory as the first, is still ingenious, and we think, on the whole, probable; and of which, at the risk of being tedious, we shall add a brief outline.

The novel of Gil Blas was published by Lesage in three distinct portions, at several times; the first two volumes, in 1715; the third, in 1720; and the fourth and last, in 1735. In the year 1738, he published the novel entitled the *Bachelor of Salamanca*, which he stated, in the title page, to be *taken from an unpublished Spanish manuscript*. This manuscript, of which the existence is thus avowed, is the one which Llorente supposes to have been, in its primitive state, the original Gil Blas. His theory is, that it contained in the first instance the substance of both these novels; that Lesage wrought up the materials gradually into the four volumes that appeared, under the title of Gil Blas, as his own composition; and, finally, published the last portion as an avowed translation. By this management, he expected to secure the credit of the authorship of the work, and remove the suspicions of such as knew of his possessing a manuscript of this kind. He is supposed to have

obtained it through the agency of the Abbé Jules de Lyonne, son of the Marquis de Lyonne, ambassador extraordinary of Louis the Fourteenth at the court of Madrid, and afterwards secretary of state under the same king. The Marquis was a person of literary taste and accomplishments, and collected while at Madrid an extensive and valuable Spanish library, which included a number of manuscripts. The library, on the death of the Marquis, came into possession of his son, the Abbé Jules, who was an intimate friend of Lesage. He allowed the latter the free use of his books during his life, and on his death, which happened in 1721, bequeathed to him the aforesaid manuscripts. The collection itself now forms a part of the royal library at Paris. Such are the facts stated by Llorente, and as they are of a nature to be publicly known, they may probably be received as certain. They show satisfactorily enough how Lesage might have acquired a manuscript similar to the one supposed, and the existence of which, he in fact avows. It has sometimes been said, by way of accounting for the intimate acquaintance with Spanish literature and manners displayed in his works, that he had been for several years attached to the French embassy at Madrid; but this statement seems to be an error, founded on a confused notion of his connexion with the Lyonne family. The Marquis went to Spain as ambassador in the year 1650, twelve years before Lesage was born; and it appears from the dates of his books, which suceeded each other, with short intermissions, from 1695 till his death, that he could not at any period of his life have been absent for any length of time from France.

These facts serve to show how Lesage obtained his Spanish manuscripts. The probability of the identity of the Bachelor of Salamanca and Gil Blas, is established by Llorente on the following grounds. The general plan is the same. They both consist of a series of adventures occuring to a hero taken from the lower walks of life, and interspersed with episodical narratives. The time of the action is precisely the same in both. The hero rises in each from a rather humble condition to that of confidential secretary to the prime minister. Gil Blas fills this station during the ministry of the Duke of Lerma, is involved in his disgrace, and recovers his former post under the long reign of Olivares. The Bachelor, on the other hand, figures at court precisely during the short period of the ministry of the Duke of Useda, son and successor of the Duke of

Lerma, which intervened between those of his father and Olivares. The style of the two works is very similar; and although the Bachelor, taken as a whole, is decidedly inferior in effect to Gil Blas, the parts of it which on this theory are supposed to belong to the original manuscript, such as the adventures of Doña Francisca and those of the Bachelor in New Spain, are more powerful than the rest, and approach most nearly in merit to the other work. On the other hand, the parts of the Bachelor, in which, on this theory, the adventures of the original hero are brought out a second time with variations, are comparatively feeble, but still bear a singular resemblance, even in the language, to the corresponding passages in Gil Blas. Thus, to give a single instance of this analogy, Gil Blas is maintained when a boy, by a rich but avaricious uncle, who is a canon at Oviedo, and the Bachelor is, in like manner, supported by a rich and avaricious relation, who is a doctor of the University of Salamanca. At the same period in the lives of their respective *protégés*, both these persons become fatigued with the trouble and expense of educating them, and send them out into the world to seek their fortunes, addressing them on the occasion in language substantially and almost literally the same. This and several other correspondences of a similar kind, afford something like decisive proof in favor of the theory. We incline, on the whole, to admit it as probable, since such correspondence can hardly be reconciled with any other; but the evidence is not so complete as that which establishes the main proposition. On this system, Lesage, after publishing the leading narrative, including most of the principal incidents, wrote over again the early part of the same narrative, in an abridged and altered form, for the purpose of bringing out two or three of the more important adventures that he had reserved. There are some positive, though not insurmountable difficulties in the way of this theory which we have not room to consider.

Not content with proving that the work is a translation from the Spanish, and even indicating the precise manuscript from which it was borrowed, Llorente goes further, and undertakes to determine with certainty the name of the original author. He enumerates thirtyeight persons, who lived at Madrid about the middle of the seventeenth century, when he supposes the novel to have been written; and after weighing the probabilities in favor of each, finally fixes on Don Antonio de Solis, a writer of considerable eminence in his day, and known to the public

by his History of the Conquest of Mexico. There is little or no direct evidence, internal or external, in support of this supposition; but considered as a mere conjecture, it is certainly plausible. There are several circumstances in the history and character of Antonio de Solis, which are likely to have concurred in the author of Gil Blas, and which could hardly be expected to meet in two several persons living at the same time. Solis was a dramatic poet of great repute. He is declared by Nicolas Antonio to be quite equal, if not superior, to the very best that preceded him, including Calderon and Lope de Vega. He was also versed in historical inquiries, as appears from his published writings; and he wrote in prose with great ease and elegance. The events of his own life are similar to those which form the ground work of the latter part of Gil Blas. He was secretary to the Count de Oropesa, in his successive viceroyalties of Navarre and Valencia, and was afterwards appointed one of the under secretaries *(oficiales)* in the department of state in the ministry of Don Luis de Haro, successor to Olivares. If we suppose, what is pretty clear from external evidence, that the last volumes of Gil Blas shadow out the personal adventures of the author, it will follow that he must have occupied at the time when Antonio de Solis was in the department of state, some post of the same description. He must also, like Solis, have been an elegant prose writer, well versed in polite literature and familiar with history; and as he has laid in the kingdom of Valencia the scene of a part of the incidents supposed to have happened to himself, it is probable that he had also resided in that part of Spain.

It is easy to imagine why Solis, if he were in fact the author, should not wish to publish at Madrid a novel, which describes, in a very free manner, the secret history of the court for thirty years immediately preceding, while Philip the Fourth, who figures in the work, and to whom he was under great obligations, was still on the throne. Just at this time the Marquis de Lyonne was sent ambassador to Spain, by Louis the Fourteenth. Being a person of literary taste and accomplishments, he would naturally form an acquaintance with an eminent writer employed in the department with which he transacted business, and might easily be supposed to have obtained from Solis a communication of the manuscript, and to have taken a copy or purchased the original. There is, therefore, a remarkable chain of presumptive evidence in support of this

supposition; but as it is not sustained by any direct proof, it can only be received as a plausible conjecture. The unhesitating manner in which the worthy Inquisitor affirms it as a positive fact, seems to argue a rather imperfect notion of the nature and comparative weight of the different sorts of evidence. The exact degree of probability belonging to this theory, might be estimated by calculating on the usual mathematical principles the chances, that all the circumstances that have been just been set forth should concur in two different persons. We have not room to work out the problem, and recommend it to the attention of that ingenious portion of the public, who are in the habit of solving questions for the magazines and newspapers. We are inclined to believe, that a correct process would give a result of at least a hundred to one in favor of Don Antonio.

We must here close our remarks upon the authorship of this novel, having already protracted them to a much greater length than we originally intended. It was our purpose to add a few suggestions upon the character and merit of the work; but we have no space left, and they would also be nearly superfluous. No production of its class is more universally known, or more highly valued by good judges, as a faithful, spirited, and finished picture of real life, than Gil Blas. These qualities give it a substantial moral and literary value, independent of the passing fashions and capricious taste that prevail temporarily from age to age. It is one of some half a dozen books of the same kind, that have survived the general wreck of the libraries of romance, which were published in Europe during the last century; and having stood this dangerous ordeal, it may now be considered as forming a part of the standard and classical literature of the modern world. It will probably be read a thousand years hence with as much interest as it is now; and the present article, should it appear to elucidate in any degree the question we have been considering, may be perused at that time perhaps with as much satisfaction, as if it contained an essay on the merits of the woollen bill, or a new theory in political economy.

ART. III.—*Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara, fait in* 1820, *à travers les Steppes qui s'étendent à l'est de la Mer d'Aral et au delà de l'ancien Iaxartes, rédigé* par M. LE BARON GEORGES MEYENDORFF, Colonel à l'Etat-Major de S. M. l'Emperor de Toutes les Russies, et revu par le Chevalier Amédée Jaubert, etc. 8vo. pp. 497. Paris. 1826.

FEW are the recent accounts of the countries and tribes of Central Asia, and especially of Bukharia. None had come to our knowledge, concerning their actual relations with Russia, till the perusal of Baron de Meyendorff's instructive and interesting narrative. To the admirers of Mr Moore's poetry, and particularly Lalla Rookh, we presume that the name of Bukharia will at first not be unwelcome. But having paid the above compliment to M. de Meyendorff, we think ourselves bound in conscience to say, that he is surely not so agreeable a poet as Mr Moore, though for what we know, he may be as judicious a critic as Fadladeen; that his journey to the city of Bukharia had quite a different object from that of 'Tulip Cheek's' to the 'unequalled valley;' that the cavalcade and expedition of which we shall be the brief historians, are vastly plainer than the cavalcade described even in the prose of Mr Moore; and that the 'Journey from Orenburg to Bukhara' will altogether seem prodigiously 'prosy' to such as have just read, for the second or third time, the 'oriental romance.'

From the latter half of the seventeenth century, frequent intercourse had existed between Russia and Bukharia. Embassies from the Khan had arrived upon several occasions at the court of St Petersburgh, and two, which reached that capital in 1816 and 1820, solicited the imperial government to honor the Khan with a diplomatic mission. In June, 1820, the late emperor resolved at length upon listening to these entreaties, and a counsellor of state, M. de Negri, was appointed chargé d'affaires. His retinue was considerably more numerous, than those which usually follow diplomatic agents. Besides a secretary of legation, and a physician, already distinguished in the scientific world by his researches in natural history, there was a colonel of the imperial staff (the author of the work before us), and two lieutenants of the same corps, who were especially commissioned to collect geographical and statistical information concerning the countries through which the

embassy should pass; and there was also an escort of two hundred cosacks, two hundred infantry, twentyfive Baschkir troopers, two field pieces, and three hundred and fiftyeight camels for the conveyance of the baggage and provisions, besides as many belonging to merchants of Bukharia, who gladly availed themselves of so strong a protection to return to their homes, with more security than they commonly have of escaping pillage and murder from the Kirguisians and the Khivians, their roving and less civilized neighbors. We must yet add to this long list, four hundred horses belonging to the officers and men, and partly destined for the waggons. The company had to pass two months in traversing a desert, where in some parts even water cannot be found, and must be conveyed over considerable distances. Bridges, or means of supplying their place, for the passage of unfordable rivers, must also be carried. This was consequently more like the long, dreary, and dangerous pilgrimage of the Macedonian Alexander to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, than the easy, sunny, speedy, dovelike flight of ordinary diplomatists, 'with olive branches in their hands,' in our days, when a train of seven servants, such as Scipio Æmilianus carried with him on his embassy, is not considered so small as in Montaigne's time, who cites it as a proof of the parsimony of the ancients.

The company was to assemble at Orenburg, which is two thousand two hundred wersts (one thousand four hundred and sixtysix English miles) from St Petersburgh. More time than was calculated upon was spent in preparation, and the diplomatic expedition did not leave Orenburg before the tenth of October, a very advanced season for that climate. This delay was occasioned by sundry circumstances; the camels did not arrive at the time contracted for, and the exportation of Russian money being prohibited, it was necessary to collect ducats, and of that currency neither in Orenburg, nor anywhere else nearer than Moscow, could a sufficient quantity be found to exchange the seventytwo thousand roubles, which composed the funds of the expedition. However, in that interval of time, an additional security for their march through the desert was procured by the diligence of the governor general of Orenburg. A powerful Kirguisian chief was induced to accompany them to the banks of the Sir, better known by the classical name of Iaxartes, with a hundred of his most devoted followers.

On the morning of their departure, the company passed under

the inspection of the governor general, and attended a solemn and impressive church service. We are left to imagine the diversity of feelings with which the travellers set out upon their journey. Our author merely alludes to his presentiments of the dangers that might await him and his companions. At any rate, no great variety or pleasantness of objects is mentioned in the '*feuille de route*,' or itinerary table, in which the events of the expedition are synoptically recorded. Their day's journey was never less than seventeen, nor more than fortysix wersts, and the objects they met with were 'water,' 'a little water,' 'a little grass,' 'shrubs,' 'a few shrubs;' and sometimes the registered note is still more gloomy; as, for example, 'no water.' They passed across sundry rivers and brooks, and near several lakes or ponds. Downs, wells, and nameless spots are marked as resting places.

It is not our intention to dwell much upon the gloom of a sandy savanna. A desert is shortly described, when it is only intended to trace its true features. The striking picture of desolateness, with which the 'Tales of the Crusaders' opens, would not be altogether proper in the relation of a journey. Masterly as is the short graphic sketch of the 'huge continuous heaths' which Baillie Nicol Jarvie, Frank Osbaldistone, and Andrew, toiled through, on their journey from Glasgow to the retreat of Rob Roy, it may have the further merit of being a true picture. But our author has in no manner emulated Sir Walter, and we not need not vainly attempt to do it for him.

However, the spirit-depressing sketch, with which Baron Meyendorff closes his first chapter, only indicates, it seems, the resting or halting places. For, in the account at large, he mentions spots where he found not only some straggling trees, but thickets, and poplars, and willows. On the banks of the Ilek, which they reached the seventh day after their departure from Orenburg, they had, besides that refreshing sight, a view of the tents of a large company of Kirguisians, who watched a flock of five or six thousand sheep. The tents were of different sizes and various colors, but all made of felt, and pitched at irregular distances; here three, there four or six together, and about fifty in the whole. Such a meeting, by mere casualty, would have encouraged the hope of more such pleasing incidents. But it was soon discovered, that the tented Kirguisians were the followers of the Soldan, who had promised to accompany the Russians to the river Sir, and, though probably

a welcome increase to the company, might charm them less than if they had accidentally been brought together.

The Soldan's readiness to oblige the Russian government was not wholly disinterested. It was important to him to conciliate its good will, on account of his feuds with the Khan of Khiva. The day after the meeting, he came on horseback to pay a visit to M. de Negri, and was accompanied by about a hundred Kirguisians. He wore a turban, a covering rarely seen in the desert, and considered an extraordinary proof of piety in such a region. His followers pushed forward into the interior of the tent of the chargé d'affaires, and none remained without, as long as there was room for any within, and those that had got in immediately stretched themselves on the ground. The Soldan was distinguished from his clan by his clear complexion, his sparkling black eyes, and a mild, though serious expression of countenance, which, at the same time, bespoke much sense. He remained an hour and a half with his new acquaintance.

The Kirguisians, so far as we can judge of their habits, manners, and political situation, from the rapid survey of our author, are essentially a wandering and pastoral people. Agriculture has yet made little progress, and it is a common proverb with them, that they would lose their freedom, as soon as they should abandon their present mode of life for husbandry and a steady settlement. To be unrestrained in moving from one post to another; to leave nowhere traces of activity and industry; to change their residence, according to the variations of the season, or even caprice, is with them liberty. However, the dwellings of the dead fix their affections to some localities. The burying places, 'the cities of the silent,' are commonly on the tops of hills or eminences, and heaps of stones indicate the last abode of their distinguished dead. The more delicate sex is charged with all the domestic duties, which, however, must be very few in so erratic a life. Revenge and cruelty are the most prominent moral features of this people. Their penal jurisprudence, even in punishing crimes, is degraded by these vices; and cruelty 'plucks justice by the nose' among them, as liberty did sometimes with no better grace elsewhere. Immediately after the meeting of the Russians with the Kirguisians, an instance occurred of this profanation of justice. A Kirguisian had stolen a horse, and was, according to the precepts of the Koran, condemned to

death. The elders of the tribe applied to the Soldan for his pardon, representing that such an act of mercy would be considered as a happy omen of the new union with the Russians, and call the protection of Providence on the expedition in which they were jointly about to engage. The chief consented; but the remission, whether with his approbation or not, was but partial. The culprit, half naked, and with a piece of black felt round his neck, was compelled by two men on horseback with lashes, to run afoot to the next tent, there to be besmeared with soot, and in this plight to pass afterwards through the ranks of his countrymen, holding between his teeth a rope attached to the tail of a steed, which was kept in a constant trot, while he received on his back, blows and strokes with whips. This ceremony, accompanied with loud laughter, wild shrieks, curses, and threats, betrayed the disapprobation which his pardon had met with among the larger number of his compeers. After this castigation, he went to the chief to thank him and to promise never to steal again. Yet his own horse suffered the fate which he had so narrowly escaped. The poor animal's head was instantly chopped off, and the flesh was distributed, amidst the noise of dispute and mutual broils, insults and hard blows. The slaughter of the beast may be in such a case a sign of infamy, rather than a pecuniary penalty. In a primitive state of society, theft is a crime little less than murder; but it bears the character of such a crime only when committed among kindred, or, as Baillie Jarvie said, 'hawks winna pike out hawks' een.' The perpetration of the same crime upon foreigners, assumes the name of military prowess and gallant action. Mutual protection against foreign attack, and the duty of defending a chief, are as strictly observed among the wandering Kirguisians, as among the feudatory nations of Europe in remote centuries. Towards their captives they are very cruel. While the Russian expedition was approaching the banks of the Sir, about a hundred Kirguisians, who formed its van, fell upon the clan of another Kirguisian chief, in revenge of his having attached himself to the party of the Khan of Khiva. The chief himself escaped by flight; but his wives and his brother being taken captives, the former suffered the most revolting cruelties, and the illfated prince, who was not above twentytwo years of age, was at first obliged to follow the vanquishers mounted on the most worthless horse that could be picked up, and at last, upon the request of one of the barba-

rians, who called upon the leader to revenge the death of his sons, that had been slain in a recent encounter with the Khivians, the captive prince was shot at from behind, while on his jade, and not being hit, several of the tribe at last fell upon him, stripped him of his garments, and deaf to his piteous prayers, butchered him like a sheep, and then, not content with his death, pierced with their lances his lifeless body.

The Kirguisians have several degrees of authority. Wealth, numerous connexions, and color are the principal recommendations to offices of command. Advanced age is also a good claim, and one class of their chiefs bear the honorary title of *Elders*. Hereditary dignities are lost, when the incumbent becomes unworthy of confidence and respect; and even the Soldans, who are relatives of the Khan or Supreme Chief, lose their ascendancy, if they are destitute of personal merit. The authority of the Khan, although unbounded by law, is somewhat checked in practice by public opinion. A despised chief is soon abandoned. The principal duties of the Khan consist in the maintenance of established usages and the laws of the Koran, in the interpretation of which he is assisted by a Mollah, whom he is, of course, careful to choose among his most devoted adherents. But nothing would be able to secure his authority against the caprice and inconstancy of his people, if he could not gain their attachment by activity, courage, and hazardous enterprises, or if he should show himself deficient in promptitude, when he is expected to be a severe and inexorable judge.

The Kirguisians are divided into three hordes, one of which is called by way of distinction, the 'great horde.' It has no Khan, and obeys the authority of several Soldans, some of whom alternately invoke the protection of China and Russia, merely to obtain presents. The two other hordes have made their submission to the latter empire, inasmuch as their Khans must be confirmed by the emperor, and swear fidelity and allegiance to him, but without paying tribute. The great horde consists of six hundred and fifty thousand individuals, the middle horde of three hundred and sixty thousand, and the small horde of two hundred and fifty thousand. The Chinese government has acted with much severity towards the great horde, and in consequence its frontiers have been more secure from their invasions. The Kirguisians have frequent feuds with the Khivians, and sometimes make incursions into Bukharia.

Our author tells us of a singular mode by which a Kirguisian chief declared war against the first minister of the latter country, upon an occasion not very remote. Having cut off the tail of his horse, he carried it to Bokhara,* and addressed to the minister these words; 'So as this tail has been severed from my horse, I detach myself from thee, and thou shalt find in me an implacable enemy.'

M. de Meyendorff gives, in a prose translation, some specimens of the rude *extempore* poetry of the Kirguisians. If a lady of the desert may be allowed to sing the praises of her own person (and we see no reason why such a privilege should be denied her), the following song will not seem destitute of beauty; and such a mixture of conceit, innocence, and simplicity, is not unamusing. 'Thou seest the snow; well, my body is whiter. The blood of the lamb, that tinges the snow, is not more crimson than my cheeks. Pass yonder mountain, and thou shalt see a burnt tree, but my hair is darker. In the Soldan's tent thou mayest meet many Mollahs busy in writing, yet their ink is paler than my eyebrows.' The Kirguisians have also professional minstrels, who chant the deeds of their heroes. Naturally inclined to melancholy reveries, and often sunk in languor, they are sometimes seen seated upon a stone, gazing in a contemplative mood at the moon, and singing in an affecting tone words breathing tenderness and soft passions.

The expedition, in advancing further towards the south, met with a milder climate, but the country was throughout sandy and uneven, except in some places where the hillocks rose to a height that presented a prospect over a vast extent, which appeared as naked, desert, and dismal in the distance, as it did nearer the spectator. Whether by evaporation, or in consequence of the nature of the soil, a river had disappeared. The wells were dried up, or had been choked to deprive the roving Khivians of water. However, several species of animals existed, where water and vegetation were almost entirely wanting; they were suited to so desolate a scene; various sorts of lizards, camelions, land tortoises, rats, vultures, and birds of a bluish color, smaller but otherwise not unlike rooks. The mildness of the climate, on approaching the Sir, must be somewhat qualified,

* The name of the country is written *Bukharia*, and that of the capital city, *Bokhara*.

for the river was frozen on the 19th of November; but the crust of ice was so thin, that it was necessary to cross with great caution. In June the snow begins to melt on the adjoining heights, by which the river overflows and fertilizes the neighboring lands. The expedition met on the river three large Kirguisian boats, which conveyed their provisions for a moderate remuneration. These boats, though roughly built of poplar, without any nailing, had come from Khiva through the Aral sea, and our author says, that this intercourse between the Sir and Khiva is constantly pursued with a view of profit, by poor Kirguisians, who consider it as a coasting trade. It would seem that the retrocession of the Aral is prodigiously rapid, for some Kirguisians assured our travellers, that their fathers yet remembered to have seen that sea in places whence it is now distant about sixty wersts. One of the bays of the Sir had, in the space of one year, diminished three wersts in its eastern direction. It was on the borders of this sea, that Bernardin de St Pierre, in his youthful and wild reveries, hoped to found a republic.

The expedition passed that part of the vast plain called 'steppes,' or savannas, where, as late as 1806, a tribe of Calmuck origin, known as the Kara-Kapalcs, had dwelt, and which might have become by culture a kind of *oasis* in this desert. The Kara-Kapalcs, who were poor and too feeble to contend with their Kirguisian neighbors, had petitioned in 1740, for succors from Russia, Bukharia, and Khiva, and not obtaining any from either country, they at last abandoned their territory, and incorporated themselves into the two latter nations. Straggling individuals, or small parties of them, are still found south of the Aral sea, in the region between Samarcand and the banks of the Oxus, and north of Sarewchan.

On the banks of the Djan-deria, remains of old habitations are frequently met with, which seem to have been built of bricks dried in the sun. Vestiges of canals six feet in width and two in depth are in the vicinity; and here and there are scattered fragments of earthern basins. The Kirguisians have but vague traditional information of the former inhabitants. They spoke of them by the name of Nogaïs. Forty wersts from the mouth of the Sir, and between that river and the Kuwan, existed a town entire, built of bricks, and surrounded with arable lands and canals for their irrigation. From the Djan-deria our travellers proceeded towards Bokhara, upon a

road much frequented, and daily met with Kirguisian caravans returning from that capital with barley, oatmeal, tobacco, cotton stuffs, and cloths, which they had obtained in exchange for sheep.

The expedition emerged, at length, from sandy plains into mountainous districts, which are said to contain gold, or metals that are like it in color. Here they found in some places wells that supplied them with good water, and in others, springs of a sulphurous, saline, and nauseous taste. At last, at about eight days' march from Bokhara, they met four customhouse officers of the Khan, who informed them that provisions were in readiness for them at Aghatma. On approaching the village they were addressed by a military commander at the head of twenty troopers, with the Khan's welcome and offers of provisions. After several of them had shaken hands with M. de Negri they galloped off in great haste. Their horses were beautiful, swift, and full of fire. The regimentals of the soldiers consisted of white turbans and long and loose robes of various colors and stuffs, some of striped China silk, others of cloth; and not a few of these warriors were clad in camel's wool, or covered with mail down to the waist. The provisions sent by the Khan consisted of bread, raisins, melons, and pomegranates, which were great luxuries for travellers whose food for seventy days had almost exclusively been dry biscuits. The horses were fed with a white grain of the size and form of lentils, which proved fatal to many of them.

At once the country assumed a quite different appearance from that of the territories through which the embassy had hitherto journeyed. Cultivated fields, canals, walks lined with trees, villages, orchards, gardens, mosques and minarets repeatedly cheered the eye; and well might the author feel, after such a sudden change, what he so emphatically expresses by saying, 'that one could have thought himself transported into fairy land.' All was bustle and stir. Thousands on foot and on horses or asses, swarmed around the northern strangers, and astonished them not more by their dresses, than by their eager curiosity. Some greeted the travellers in the Russian language, and all seemed to vie in welcoming them in the most affectionate manner. It was like a national festivity, and nothing might have disturbed the general hilarity and good humor, if the police officers, real 'shoulder dappers,' had not with professional alertness, interposed their staves to check the joy, under the

pretence of clearing a passage for the Russians, and of marshalling the procession. The author expresses feelingly the painful impressions awakened in him and his countrymen, by the sight of some Russian soldiers, who were reduced to the lamentable condition of slaves. They were advanced in age, and invalids, yet their stammering voices and their tears showed clearly enough, that the memory of home and the love of country were not extinguished in their breasts.

A Pendja-bachi, or commander of five hundred troopers, had been sent by the Khan to welcome and escort the embassy. With a detachment of two hundred horsemen, he accompanied the chargé d'affaires and his suite to the dwelling of the principal civil officer, who waited at the next village, with a courtly message. On the way the company passed through files of infantry, who were lying on the ground, until the travellers approached. Tents of various colors were pitched at some distance. Horses with gorgeous caparisons, groups of officers, and numerous slaves moving to and fro, were signs of their proximity to the dwelling of the Khan's emissary. The conversation between him and the chargé d'affaires of the Imperial court, had principally for its object the arrangement of the ceremonial for the presentation of the latter to the Khan. Although there could not be such pretensions on the part of that prince, as are met with from the court of Pekin, yet some difficulties occurred. They were at length adjusted in a very complimentary way to the Russian government. But the chapter of presents lay closer to the heart of the Tartar negotiator than the court ceremonies. He inquired eagerly what the presents were, and made no scruple to ask, in his master's name, for the two Russian fieldpieces, but in vain. He was obliged to be contented with watches, furs, porcelain, crystal vessels, and muskets. The envoy of the Khan was a no less personage than his principal minister, or Couch-beghi. He was about fifty years of age, tall, and of an engaging countenance. He spoke Persian with fluency. His attire consisted of a Cashmere nether garment, over which he wore a pelisse of sable and a shawl. His white turban was of the same precious cloth.

In the three last days of their march, the expedition passed through a well cultivated and well peopled country, and several towns, where again the curiosity of the inhabitants was blended with much good nature and joy. Another deputation, one of the

members of which was a relative of the Khan, brought complimentary letters from that prince; and at some further distance this welcome was repeated by a military detachment. The ceremonies being finally agreed upon, the chargé d'affaires made his entry into Bokhara on the 20th of December, with all his train, and preceded by some of his Cossack detachment. After having threaded a narrow and winding street, formed by miserable houses built of mud, and with flat roofs, they reached a large square, adorned with mosques and other public buildings. The author describes minutely the courts, vaulted passages, and rooms through which the procession passed, but after having noticed the three or four hundred Bukharians, with their white turbans and robes of gold brocade, whom he found seated near the entrance of the Khan's levee room, we shall at once drop into it, to have the sooner done with the description of the court ceremonies, full of mock majesty, and of the Khan's person.

The Khan was seated near the wall, opposite the entrance, on cushions of scarlet cloth embossed with gold embroidery. At his left were two of his sons, the elder of whom might be fifteen, and at his right, the great civil officer who had been commissioned to salute the embassy. Two chamberlains supported the chargé d'affaires, who, after having approached within ten steps of the Khan, delivered his credentials to the minister and then took his seat, which was, we may believe, the difficult point of the ceremony, and the Gordian knot of the preliminary negotiations. The members of the embassy remained standing near the wall. The Khan, after having taken from the hands of his minister the imperial letter, which probably was in Persian, read it aloud, and when he had concluded it, intimated a wish to see some of the Russian soldiers. They were immediately ushered into the saloon, but without their weapons; as soon as the Khan saw them, he burst into a childish laugh, and our author adds, that the expression of his countenance generally bespoke little intelligence. He was a man of about fortyfive, with a handsome beard, black eyes, an olive complexion, and the general expression of an emaciated voluptuary. His khalaat, or upper robe, was of black velvet adorned with gems. His muslin turban was surmounted by a tuft of white heron feathers and diagonally trimmed with a golden loop or knot, resembling much that of the great dignitaries of the Ottoman empire. The Bukharian premier and three

other grandees wore, instead of turbans, bonnets of a cylindrical shape, and made of sable. The master of ceremonies was distinguished by a kind of halbert with a silver axe. The presents were shown to the Khan, and afterwards carried into an adjoining room. The audience lasted about twenty minutes. The saloon was twice as long as it was broad, the walls plastered, the ceiling of painted boards, and the carpet which covered the whole floor, though of Persian web, was anything but splendid.

We must refer to the work itself for many valuable details about the geography of central Asia. A journey to a particular country bears the same relation to general geography, that biography bears to universal history. But unfortunately the two latter are often most viciously confounded, so that the life of a statesman or a player, swells to the historical account of events and times, that are connected with the principal subject by a very slender and scarcely visible thread; and not seldom a traveller, without confining himself to the praiseworthy task of describing what he has seen and heard, impertinently repeats what he has read. In the work before us, treating of countries yet little visited, and whose history is as little known, the author deserves thanks rather than censure for his digressions in time and space.

The general aspect of Bukharia, and especially of the province of Sogd, is that of a well cultivated country, covered in some parts with a superabundant population. Villages and towns embowered with trees, containing from a hundred to a thousand inhabitants, contribute to the picturesque effect of the scenery, and are situated near canals constructed for irrigating the neighboring fields. Some of the villages are encircled with walls, the towers of which appear to advantage through the thick foliage. The climate is salubrious, though very hot in the summer, but the winters are generally mild. Tempestuous winds are frequent, and so much the more troublesome, as the fine sand which covers the surface of the ground, is injurious to the eyes. Ophthalmy is so common a disease, that the father of the reigning Khan has provided for a hospital at Bokhara, where fifty individuals can be tended, two or three being lodged in each of the cells built around a mosque.

Baron Meyendorff enumerates a goodly number of cities, all seated on the banks of rivers, and encompassed by cultivated fields. Among them is Samarcanda, the ancient residence of Timur, which was once an independent Khanat, but was

annexed to Bukharia in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In this city, at each change of reign, ceremonies equivalent to a coronation take place; the new Khan seating himself on a square bluish marble stone, deposited in one of the colleges, and covered with a large piece of white felt, which is thrice lifted by the representatives of certain classes of the state. Samarcanda has about fifty thousand inhabitants. The colleges of this city are built of white marble, of which there are quarries in the neighborhood, and exceed in splendor those of Bokhara. The fronts of these edifices are of varnished tiles. The tomb of Timur, which still exists, is of jasper, but no traces remain of the observatory which was once among the wonders of Samarcanda.

Bokhara, the capital of the country, sirnamed the Scientific by the orientalists, was taken by the Arabs in 699; and after having been from 896 to 998 in a flourishing state, under the dynasty of the Samanides, who resided there, was pillaged and burnt by the rapacious followers of Djenghis-Khan, who did not rebuild it till towards the end of his life. Under Timur it rose to new splendor for a while, until the Uzbeks again frightened away the arts and sciences from its walls. The external view of the city is pleasingly striking. In the midst of alleys of trees and groves, bordering on a small lake surrounded with summer dwellings, arise, side by side, or piled above each other, domes, mosques, minarets, the pointed walls of the colleges, the palace, and the embattled rampart which incloses the whole city. All this seems grand, imposing, and beautiful at the distance of a few miles, when the distinct outlines of edifices peep through the openings in a confused and massy foliage of various tints; but the interior, except the baths, the palace, the mosques, and the colleges, present only flat-roofed houses built of greyish clay and thatched, forming crooked and narrow streets, that are neither pleasing by neatness, nor laid out in a manner to compensate by distant views what the proximity wants in beauty, regularity, and grandeur. The houses, as in some cities in China, have their windows looking upon the inner courts and dead walls upon the streets, which are without pavement, except where a few large stones irregularly scattered attest that such a convenience has once existed.

Nearly in the centre of the city, upon a hill of about five hundred paces in diameter at the base, and raised by human labor to the height of about two hundred and forty feet, is the

palace of the Khan. It is surrounded by a wall of sixty feet in height, with no more than one gate, the entrance of which is built of brick, and has on its two sides two towers eighty feet high, which bear yet some traces of the painted and varnished tiles that once covered them, and upon which storks have enjoyed temporary habitations in more recent times. A vaulted corridor leads to the top of the eminence, where, near the dwellings of the Khan and his children, are the harem, half hid by trees, a mosque, the office and mansion of the principal minister, and the lodging of the slaves, the guardhouse, and the stables.

The most striking specimen of architecture in the city is a minaret one hundred and eighty feet high, and seventytwo feet in circumference at the base, and diminishing gradually to the top. It has a pleasing air, at once of lightness and grandeur. Wells being so characteristic a feature in a picture like that which we are sketching, we must not omit to mention the sixtyeight reservoirs of Bokhara, the water of which is supplied by a canal running through the whole city. There are, moreover, three hundred and sixty mosques and sixty *medressés*, or colleges, scattered within the walls. The architecture of the former is more varied than that of the latter, and both classes of edifices resemble Moorish structures in their arches. The front of the mosque facing the palace, is adorned with tiles of various colors, and so combined as to represent flowers, or to compose verses of the Koran. The largest college was built at the expense of the Empress Catherine, whose name is yet gratefully venerated by the Bukharians. There are fourteen caravansaries, which are not only lodging houses, but also the principal repositories for every description of merchandise. From these places goods are daily carried to the shops and booths that line some of the largest streets. The traffic in the capital is multifarious and divided ; here one meets exclusively ladies' slippers, and there golden diadems with turquoises, a part of the Kirguisian female's head dress ; here, whole stalls are filled with sweetmeats, confectionary, and fruits, and invite the passing rambler by the savor of highly seasoned rice, and there the eye is caught by turquoises and rubies from Arabia and the Bada Kschan lake ; while yonder chapman solicits voluptuous senses with frankincense and all sorts of oriental spices. There are besides many large and vaulted houses, or rather long arcades, with numerous entrances and lined with shelves,

upon which the silks manufactured at Bokhara are offered for sale. But the most seducing of these magazines are those, where the gorgeous brocades of India, Persia, and Russia, and the printed linen cloth of these countries, as well as of England, allure the fairest eyes. Notwithstanding all these buildings and all this display and traffic, everything, in the opinion of our author, proves that Bokhara was once more prosperous, more splendid, and better governed than now, if the ancient accounts be true. The city consists of about eight thousand houses, and the number of its inhabitants is rated at seventy thousand, of which two thirds are Tadjiks (descendants of the conquered Scythian nation), who are mostly engaged in lucrative pursuits. The population of Bukharia divides itself, like that of China, into the two great classes of conquerors and conquered; the former being the Uzbeks, and the latter the Tadjiks. The spirit which ensures victory, and the violence which commonly follows it; the dejection which occasions defeat and long survives it, are now as distinguishable in these two tribes as in times nearer the final issue of their struggle. The Uzbek is still braver, still fonder of enterprise, than the Tadjik. Stimulated neither by patriotism nor honor, he is, nevertheless, continually spurred to new adventures by the excitement of success, the love of dominion, and the thirst for rapine. His praise of the vanquished nation seems rather the effect of condescension and indulgence, than of a rational fellow feeling. But if the conqueror is haughty and disdainful, the conquered is industrious and thrifty; and if the one is proud, the other is wealthy. Yet both nations have peculiarities in common, which are far from recommending the victors to admiration, or the vanquished to esteem. They are both deceitful, covetous, revengeful; and Mahommedan despotism, which rules both, keeps them in the abasement of the same vices. The proportion of the Uzbeks to the Tadjiks is, however, such, that the latter may be considered subjected and pressed down by superiority of numbers. The population of the former is estimated by our author, at one million and a half, and that of the latter at six hundred and fifty thousand. The whole population he estimates at two million four hundred and seventyeight thousand,* of which one

* Pagnozzi, in his valuable '*Geografia Moderna Universale*,' &c. (Vol. i. fas. 2 do. Firenze, 1822), a work well worthy to be translated into the English language, estimates the population of the Great Bukharia only at 1,240,000. Malte-Brun more cautiously says, 'Our in-

million have no fixed abode. In this number are included two thousand Gypsies, who are in Bukharia, as everywhere else, fortunetellers, and, what commonly accompanies the trade of mystery, agents of vice. There are about four thousand Jews. The Arabs, of whom there are nearly fifty thousand, are easily recognised by their tawny complexion, live in villages near the capital, and are descendants of the families who came into the country under the government of the Kalifs. Numbers of them rove in more distant districts. The Turcomans, next to the Tadjiks, the most numerous class of the population (about two hundred thousand), are distinguished from the Uzbeks by their large hairy faces. The most considerable of their tribes is nomadic; those who dwell upon the banks of the Amoo, cultivate rice; they are generally poorer than the Kirguisians in what the Asiatic pastoral nations value as the principal branch of wealth, namely, horses. Finally, they pay tribute to the Khan.

Agriculture would be in a most prosperous state in Bukharia, were its progress not arrested by the roving habits of a great part of the population, and by the scantiness of water. This latter inconvenience is, however, as far as possible, remedied by canals. The soil is fertile, and the labor is chiefly performed by slaves. In a country where water is so scarce that agriculture cannot be pursued, in many parts, without canals for irrigation, and the overflow of rivers at certain seasons, officers to superintend the use of rain water are even more necessary than a good statute on watercourses among nations happier both in regard to climate and civilization. In Bukharia, as in Egypt, a public functionary orders the cleaning of the canals, watches the propitious moments of a comparative abundance of water, and inspects and regulates the irrigation of the fields, proportioning it according to their height above the level of the canals or rivers, and their necessities. Gardening in all its branches is also a favorite pursuit with the Bukharians, and variety and take characterize the laying out of their orchards and grounds.

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formation on the state of population is hitherto vague.' (*Universal Geography*, ed. Boston. Vol. ii. p. 383.) Pagnozzi rates the whole population of Independent Tartary, at no more than 3,400,000, viz.

Kirguisians	1,250,000	Korasmia, Khiva, and Khonrat	480,000
Turkenstans	150,000	Great Bukharia	1,240,000.
Kara-Kalpacs	130,000		
Turcomans	150,000		

The Bukharians have their sports and pleasures. They catch with nooses and snares, foxes and polecats, the skins of which are sent to Russia, and they fly hawks at birds, although they have greyhounds and matchlocks. They were greatly amazed at seeing their European guest kill several birds with a single discharge. However, they have no small shot, and considering the tedious process through which they go in the use of such awkward long muskets as the author describes, and which they fire stretched upon the ground, it is no wonder, indeed, that they have so little relish for field sports.

Enough has already been said of their lucrative pursuits in regard to manufactures. We may add, that dyeing is the most improved branch of their industry. Embroiderers find great encouragement, and are rivalled in their art, though rather for amusement, by the gentler sex of the capital. Much needlework is bestowed upon the caps which the men wear under their turbans, and not less on their saddle girts and housings; but this is, we suppose, the employment of the trade and of the salaried champions of the needle and the thimble. The disinterested hands of the fair adorn only handkerchiefs; and the embroidering of sweet Hafez's allegorical verses, which is not uncommon, may not always be merely a homage to the poet, whose compositions are venerated as divine by the Mussulmans. The imitation of animate objects being considered by them as an impiety, painting and sculpture cannot be very flourishing among the Bukharians. Flowers interlaced with fantastic designs, a kind of arabesque, more remarkable for the vivacity of the colors, than any regularity of conception, are the greatest attempt at embellishing the interior walls of the principal houses. Wooden ceilings are also sometimes painted.

The transfer of the annual fair from Makarieff to Nijney-Novogorod, which took place in 1818, has not had yet any influence on the commercial road from Bukharia to Russia. Instead of taking the way of Astrakan, which, by the bye, Jenkinson took in 1558, the caravans still direct themselves to some of the customhouses between the Caspian Sea and Petropavloskoi. Measures having been taken to procure them security from the Kirguisians of the small horde, they have of late appeared again in considerable numbers at Orenburg. Troitzk is the next point at which they usually arrive, and where they are always certain to find supplies of iron and copper. The caravans leave Bokhara in May. The camels, so

justly called 'the ships of the desert,' carry not only the merchandise, but a part, too, of the attendants. The merchants themselves follow on their horses. The camels are hired of Kirguisians, who generally accompany the caravan on horseback, at the rate of about twenty dollars each for the journey from Bokhara to Orenburg or Troitzk. In December or January, when there are numbers of returning camels at Bokhara, the price is still more moderate, and sometimes only half of that paid in the spring; but the Bukharians are then obliged to spend a part of the winter in the villages of their neighbors, and it seems, without any jeopardy, although at other times the two nations fear and hate each other. Rhubarb, cottons, silks, turquoises, lapis lazuli, furs, dried fruits, tea, tapestry, and shawls, are the principal merchandise imported into Russia by the Bukharians; of this they sell a small part in retail to the Tartars and Baschkers, near the frontiers, but at Nijney-Novogorod their transactions are entirely by wholesale. The Bukharians are also permitted to attend the fairs of Ibitzk and Korennaja, and enjoy, in general, great privileges. Their admission into the interior of the empire is much complained of by the native merchants. To trade with the same freedom as these, they need only swear allegiance to the emperor. Bukharians who thus have become nominally subjects, are now not only the channels of an extensive legitimate trade, but the secret agents of a vast deal of smuggling. The Khan is infinitely less liberal towards the Russians, who are compelled to pay double the duties imposed on the imports of the Jews and the Armenians. The Bukharians export half the value of their sales in gold and silver coin, and the rest in cochineal, cloves, sandalwood, cloth, leather, wax, iron, copper, steel, gold thread, mirrors, otter skins, pearls, Russia nankins, iron tools, coral, glass ware, linen, cotton, and silks, and small quantities of Indian muslin, and Russian linen. The clear profit of that trade is valued at thirty per cent., and the less gain is upon the articles exported from Russia. This traffic, long and dangerous as are the journeys which it requires, and doubly tardy as are the returns, in consequence of the commercial habits of the Bukharians, who rather prefer to wait a long time for a considerable profit, than to sell under a price once fixed, surely proves that they are, if not the most skilful, at least, very enterprising, persevering, painstaking, and patient traders.

Next to the trade with Russia, their most valuable traffic is

with Kashghar, where they sell a part of the merchandise purchased in Russia, and from whence they export a great deal of ordinary tea, porcelain ware, china silks, raw silk in small quantity, rhubarb, and Chinese coins. From Kashghar they sometimes go into Thibet for the goat's wool of which shawls are fabricated, and send it to the Cashmere weavers. A hundred thousand shawls are yearly made at Cashmere, of which twenty thousand remain in that city, sixty thousand go into India, twenty thousand are sent to Cabul, and from thence two thousand pass generally into Russia through Bokhara.

It is a curious fact, that during Buonaparte's continental system, English manufactures found their way from India into Russia, through the channel of the Bukharian caravans.

The Khan of Bukharia is temporal and spiritual chief, without any legal control or check. His council of state, or divan, never meets unless convened by himself, and no public functions confer a right to a seat in that body. Its members are exclusively nominated by the prince, and their number varies according to his will. Sometimes the divan consists of twenty, and sometimes but of five individuals. The supreme authority is even less restrained than in Turkey, for the clergy have no other influence than the Khan is pleased to confer upon them. This difference may be explained by the circumstance, that the first chiefs of the Ottoman empire were indebted to the Ulemaz for the title of Kalifs. The clergy were almost proscribed in Bukharia at the beginning of the present century, the Khan who then reigned being particularly addicted to the army; but the present sovereign, a perfect devotee, has considerably enlarged their influence. However, as interpreters of the Koran, they must always have exercised, more or less directly, much political power. The Cheik-ul-islam, or head of the clergy, confers all the inferior dignities of his profession, and to him recourse is had in all great judicial controversies. The hierarchy consists of four degrees, of which the last is that of the Mollahs, among whom any person that can read and write gains an easy admission. Those of the third class are called Muftis, of whom two are associated with the Cazee, or chief justiciary; their functions in that capacity consist in legalizing the sentences, by the affixing of a seal in lieu of a signature. Each of the judges of the several cities has also one Mufti joined to his tribunal, who possesses, however, less influence than those associated with the Cazee. The second class of the

clergy, or the Alams, exercise judicial authority only when it pleases the Cazee to refer to them some question of law. The Cazee exercises his functions beyond the term generally assigned to these magistrates in Mahommedan countries. His salary apparently consists in fees, for he often connives at appeals from his own decisions to himself, under the pretence that the Mufti's seal is counterfeited. The highest legal resort is to the Khan himself. We may moreover state, that the judicial proceedings are short, which is very consonant to caprice and arbitrariness and worse than occasional dozing upon the woolsack, and that the parties make their own pleas and arguments.

Despotism is somewhat tempered in Bukharia by the erratic habits of a great portion of the inhabitants. However, as the Khan is said to be covetous and venal, every underling in office is probably courtier enough not to be less corrupt than his master. Most or all of the civil offices are without salaries, and it is apparently understood, that each functionary must provide for himself by means of fees or 'otherwise.' It is rather remarkable that in such a state of society the employments in the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical government, are not much sought for by persons of consequence and in affluent circumstances. The nearest relations of the 'Premier' have the most important posts in the administration, and about the court. The father in law (or rather we should say, one of the fathers in law) of the Khan has been raised to a dignity analogous to that of the Grand Vizier, before unknown in Bukharia. One may judge of the delicacy of the Khan, from the fact, that he took from his officers the presents that had been publicly sent to them by the Russian sovereign. Notwithstanding his great piety, Emir Haidir is rapacious, cruel, meanspirited, and suspicious. His accession was marked by atrocious acts; he suffers indignities from his rebel subjects, the Khivians, and his other feeble but more warlike neighbors. His principal minister is obliged to taste his food, to cover the plates, and to seal them himself, before they are sent to the Prince; but the Premier has wisely an under officer who previously performs the same delicate functions for his safety.

The Khan has in his harem two hundred women. He has four legitimate wives, two of whom stand in great favor with him. Every Friday he goes to a mosque on horseback, followed by his first dignitaries on foot, through the files of the soldiery drawn up near the palace, who, upon his approach pros-

trate themselves, and shout as he passes. One of his officers, who rides before him, answers to all such acclamations in the Khan's name. He is generally very unostentatious, walking privately in the streets of Bokhara ; and whenever he met his Russian visiters, he never declined an opportunity of conversing with them. His court, although not very expensive, has nevertheless a full proportion of masters of ceremony, chamberlains, gentlemen of the horse, private treasurers, chaplains, messengers, and police officers. The astrologer is probably not the least important personage of his household. The body guard consists of seven hundred men, two hundred of whom have the rank of officers.

The standing army, consisting wholly of horse, is twenty thousand strong. About half that number can be sent on foreign expeditions, the remainder being indispensable for the garrisons of the fortified places. They have regular pay. There is besides, a militia of sixty thousand men, which must constantly be kept ready to obey the prince's commands. The weapons of the troopers are a matchlock, a long pike, and a scimitar. Some of them wear a short coat of mail, an iron helmet, and a round buckler of buff skin. A few of the principal officers have a richer, but more effeminate dress ; they wear silk robes embroidered with large flowers of gold, and their crimson housing is never entirely to the fancy of these military fops, unless adorned with gold by a Cashmerian weaver, and with the same figured work which gives to a shawl its highest value. To a real soldier their horses would be much more enviable than all these trappings, for they are of excellent metal, and beautiful. The artillery is not worth mentioning ; the ten Persian field pieces of which it consists, being for the most part without carriages, and the three or four which have such vehicles, cannot be the more manageable for the three wheels with which they are provided, nor for their entire want of iron furniture. The master of the ordnance is an old Russian soldier. But whatever may be the state of the army, the annual reviews last long enough ; the author, we believe, says, two weeks. Their military campaigns are, on the contrary, of but short duration, for three weeks seem very long to the Bukharian warriors. Their battles are mere charges of cavalry, and they, as well as their usual foes, trust to the swiftness of their steeds for victory or flight.

The political or foreign relations of the Khan are very lim-

ited. The Khivians are the natural enemies of the state. Haidir had defeated them not many years ago, but he reestablished their sovereign in his full power, in compliance with the precept of the Koran, which prohibits keeping unjustly the property of a brother. With Kokhan he is on friendly terms. He has no relations with Persia, on account of difference of religion, and because Bukharian rebels and malcontents are received in the Shah's dominions, and probably also because a great number of Persians are kept in bondage in Bukharia, who, the wily politicians of the Bokhara cabinet fear, might be reclaimed, if a regular intercourse between the two governments were established. To the Ottoman emperor, as the representative and successor of the Kalifs, the Khan sends presents every year, accompanied with assurances of friendship and respect. The Bukharian agents, who are almost every year deputed to the court of St Petersburgh, are merchants, mean and cunning enough to avail themselves of their diplomatic privileges to introduce into Russia merchandise free of duties, though not so forgetful of their official obligations, as not to observe closely all the means of extending their commerce and obtaining new favors. The expenses of the government are supplied by the revenue derived from the customs, the rent of the demesne and forest lands, the tributes of the wandering tribes, and duties upon fruits, furs, and some other articles. The Bukharians pay, moreover, a regular tax, imposed by the Koran; this is a tenth of their private income, their crops and cattle, for the maintenance of paupers.

Of the laws, opinions, domestic life, and general habits of this people, little can now be said, after the space already given to other topics. Kidnapping is contrary to their laws, and that crime is committed only by their nomadic countrymen. By purchasing stolen fishermen, however, from the shores of the Caspian sea, and captives offered to them by the Kirguisians and the Khivians, they are but casuists like numerous other sinners. In their religion they are as intolerant, superstitious, and scrupulous as the Turks. The merit of conversion is so great with them, that they do not hesitate to enforce the external signs of it, at least, on their Christian captives. The civil authority obtrudes itself even on the domestic habits of the believers, in order to maintain the strict observance of every religious rite; and the sentences of that sort of inquisition, are without any judicial process, 'San-Benitos,' green tapers, or

procession, enforced with blows and bastinadoes. Religious scruples are carried further by the Bukharians, than even by their Turkish brethren; for, to prevent smoking as a means of intoxication, tobacco is strictly prohibited. But prohibitions of this nature are secretly disregarded; and many a Bukharian freethinker is fain to have his brain tickled, not only with tobacco, but with spirituous liquors; precisely as the interdiction of pictures which represent animate creation, serves only to make them relish the more those of the most offensive and disgusting character. They are generally very cruel to their slaves. Among these unfortunate beings there were about five hundred Russians, and forty thousand Persians in the whole country, at the time of the embassy.

In politeness the Bukharians are nevertheless not entirely deficient. A visiter is generally presented with refreshments, and fruits or comfits are thrust in his hands when he retires. Social entertainments are among their few pleasures. Upon entering a house, a full stop is always made to give to the female inmates time to retire. We are thus better informed than the Duke of Venice, when he says;

> 'From brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint,
> From stubborn Turks and Tartars, never trained
> To offices of tender courtesy.'

The common salutation is a low bow and the laying of the right hand upon the heart. The author ridicules the comic and surfeiting civilities of the slaves; but this is natural, and rather deserving pity than censure. Our poor ebony and lighter colored Cæsars and Pompeys are frequently not less expressive in obsequious politeness than their freeborn masters.

Although sensualists, the gentry of Bukharia are far from being epicures, or extremely delicate in their eating. Forks or spoons are yet as unknown among them, as forks and knives among the more polished Chinese. They make no use of coffee; tea is their favorite beverage. Their dresses are much like those of the other Asiatics. The wealthiest are clad in robes of shawls or gold brocade, and have white turbans. The females wear, besides a large mantle, the sleeves of which fall behind their finely formed shoulders, a black veil to muffle their face, which is really so thick that they are obliged to lift the corners to see and be seen. But if we may believe the author, there were some among them,

> 'Who, if between the folds but "one" eye shone,
> Like Seba's queen, could vanquish with that one.'

They freely walk through the town, and the worthy Baron seems to remember, with a degree of fondness, some fine faces with fair skin, expressive eyes, and a beautiful set of teeth, that in the beginning of his residence at Bokhara, approached with lively curiosity his dwelling. But the illnatured police soon prohibited females from going so near the unbelievers. We might be inclined to think more favorably of them, if they did not, to use Sir Richard Steele's expression, 'makes their lips, cheeks, and eyebrows by their own industry.' Our gallant colonel asks with marks of astonishment, why so handsome women use rouge; why some paint their nails; why they join their eyebrows with pencils dipped in black color, and paint even their eyelashes; and, lastly, why they wear rings in their noses. These things may indeed be embarrassing to a man of prose, but the poet makes gold of dust. Thus Mr Moore compares the red painted fingers' ends to 'tips of coral branches in the stream,' which, with due submission to Mr Moore, we think a bad simile; but the next verses are better, and will satisfy the Baron.

> 'And others mix the Kohol's jetty dye
> To give that long, dark languishing to the eye,
> Which makes the maids, whom kings are proud to cull
> From fair Circassia's vales, so beautiful.'

Montaigne, either from an excessive gallantry, or a want of that graceful virtue, says, 'that it is no great loss whether we see them in their natural complexions or no.' But, on such a subject, we hope to be pardoned in preferring the poet's opinion to that of the caustic and cynic philosopher. The Bukharian dandies, although not envious of an 'Amazonian chin,' like their betters in Europe, take, however, great care that their beards never extend beyond the cheek bones, which are the columns of Hercules, or the *ne plus ultra;* and they nicely pluck, with small pincers, the least straggling hair, be it black or grey.

The languages most in use in Bukharia are the Persian and the Turkish; the former is more common among the higher classes and the better educated, and is the only one employed in official transactions. In regard to education, it seems, that in the colleges, or 'medressés,' nothing is taught so much, except reading and writing, as the Koran. Discussions about the import of some of its obscurest passages are the task of the learned, and the amusement of the wits. Their medical and

astronomical knowledge is yet mixed with woeful errors and prejudices. Two or three geographical maps, accidentally brought from Russia, were the first that had ever reached Bokhara. History is considered a profane and useless study. However, a work, supposed to be the Annals of Alexander the Great, is read on public squares by a Mollah, who is appointed by the Khan, and receives, after each lecture, voluntary remunerations from his disciples. Merchants and persons of rank generally can read and write.

We are somewhat puzzled how to reconcile with some of the preceding strictures, the following passages of the author's account. 'Learning is respected, and study is fondly pursued; to found schools is considered a pious act, and to maintain poor students, a duty; the whole revenue of the customs must be distributed to the Mollahs, the students, and the poor. The Khan often himself distributes among the scholars rewards, which are increased upon their advancing to the higher classes. It is not unusual that the rich receive at their table, and present with small supplies of money, students, who come without being invited, or whom they had never seen before.' (p. 301.) If this be really so, we may forgive the ladies their passion for painted nails and eyebrows, the officers their affectation of womanish attire, the Khan his dislike of war; and we may even look with charity upon some other foibles of the like tendency. The colleges still possess the large landed donations, which Timur gave them; and the tenth of their produce is divided among the students, of whom there are about ten thousand in the capital.

Nothing is said by M. de Meyendorff concerning the object and the result of the embassy, and we must, of course, imitate his discretion. The Russian expedition remained at Bokhara from the twentieth of December until the tenth of March following, when they encamped in the gardens of Bazarchi, the weather being then already very pleasant. On the twentythird, they set out on their return homeward; *très-aises* (says the author) *d'avoir vu ce pays, mais plus satisfaits encore de nous en éloigner.* It is obvious, that the time spent by the author at Bokhara was busily employed in useful observation and close inquiry. Much must have been gleaned in conversation; and, although M. de Meyendorff, with exemplary candor, professes to have had but a slight acquaintance with the countries which he has visited, previous to his departure from Russia, we must

suppose that he and several of his companions were conversant with Oriental languages. Though a great deal is thrown together in the published account, probably much has been very properly reserved for the private intelligence of the Russian government.

Several interesting papers accompany the work. One is a description of coins collected in Bukharia, written by the Professor of Oriental Languages at the St. Petersburgh University. To this essay are joined two plates, neatly engraved and representing those coins, among which is one bearing this inscription in Cufic characters; 'There is one God, the Unique, who has no companion.' The next paper is a description of a medal representing King Demetrius, son of Euthydemes, and is learned and curious. Then comes an account of the commercial route from Semi-Palatinsk to Cashmere, with the Persian text. The last paper is entitled, 'Natural History of Bukharia,' and treats of the geology, botany, and zoology of that country, and does credit to Dr Pander, its author. There is, besides, a copious geographical index in Arabic, with an explanation in French, by M. Jaubert, a distinguished professor of the Turkish language in one of the colleges at Paris, and interpreter to the king of France. This is, indeed, a valuable addition for geographers and Oriental scholars.

The map annexed to the work is suited to the neatness and care with which the rest of this publication has been prepared for the public. Several lithographic drawings, also, give a sufficiently clear idea of the architecture of the Bukharians. On turning to the frontispiece, which is a Tartar family picture with the figures almost at full length, we feel some misgivings at what we have recently said somewhere of the extreme homeliness of women among half civilized nations. Our remark was not only ungallant, but we fear too general. We make haste to atone for our rashness, however, by acknowledging that there smiles now in that print, a graceful little Tadjik maiden, with rosy cheeks, auburn ringlets, arched eyebrows, and dapper white hands, who makes us almost as much ashamed of our hasty reflections on her Asiatic countrywomen, as we are angry with the disdainful and dusky Uzbek, the cunning Turcoman, the supercilious Tartar, the conceited Tadjik, and the proud-looking Afghan, who surround the fair damsel.

Sir William Jones was right in expecting from the Russians much accurate information concerning their Asiatic neighbors;

and M. de Meyendorff's account is well suited to encourage further expectations, considering the enlightened and liberal policy of the Russian government in promoting researches for that object.

Art. IV.—*Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac.* By Thomas L. M'Kenney, of the Indian Department, and Joint Commissioner with his Excellency Governor Cass, in negotiating the Treaty. Baltimore. F. Lucas. 8vo.

If we are not mistaken, Carver, who made a tour through the region of the lakes more than sixty years ago, begins his journal at Detroit; and states, as a reason why he passes over all his previous notes, that they relate to a part of the country already too well known to justify any remark. If such forbearance were proper at that early period, it would appear to be so now in a much greater degree. It would be difficult at this time to write a new thing on either the Hudson river, the Niagara Falls, or even the Grand Canal. Indeed, through the medium of books of travels, tours, sketches, diaries, and the like, almost every nook and corner of the United States, within the reach of stage-coaches, steamboats, or even pedestrian enterprise, has become familiar to every reader. For this reason, we were somewhat surprised to find Mr M'Kenney's 'Tour to the Lakes' beginning at Baltimore, or, rather, at Washington, and could persuade ourselves to give the first hundred and more pages only a cursory glance. Passing sketches of our maritime cities can excite little interest; and while we regard the pride and delight with which the author moves up the New York Canal, as natural and honorable feelings, and should have questioned his taste and sensibility, if he had viewed the Niagara Falls with less wonder and enthusiasm; nevertheless, we think no graphic powers, of either the pen or the pencil, could give any of these topics the charm of novelty, or even of ordinary interest. We have standard descriptions of all these wonders of nature and of art, under their present aspects; and until they exhibit new features, inquirers may safely be left to existing authorities for information.

Mr M'Kenney embarked at Buffalo for Detroit in a steamboat, which then plied between the two places in conjunction with six or seven others. In 1820, Mr Schoolcraft, who then made a tour of the lakes, found only one steamboat on Lake Erie. In his letter dated from Detroit, Mr M'Kenney, like every preceding traveller, is led to speak of the distinguished Indian, Pontiac, whose exploits have given something like classic celebrity to the grounds around that place. There is much that is attractive in the history of this champion of the forest; and as we understand there are extant some manuscripts written contemporaneously with the events connected with his name, we may anticipate a further illustration of his character and wars. Mr M'Kenney has added little to the facts stated by Mr Schoolcraft; who, in his turn, copied them with due credit from Carver.

Nothing worthy of particular note occurs during the boat voyage from Detroit to the Sault de Ste Marie. We are struck, however, with some surprise to find, that our traveller met with a British garrison at Drummond's Island. We had supposed this island to have been determined, several years since, to belong to the United States, and that the British had evacuated the post upon it. In a military point of view, its occupation may perhaps be regarded with indifference; but there are other considerations, which would seem to render it highly objectionable. Sovereignty should be intangible to a foreign power; and there is a proof upon the Champlain frontier of the readiness with which we abandon a military position, when determined to appertain to another nation.

Mr M'Kenney says, that as many as three thousand Indians had been recently at Drummond's Island, in order to receive presents. Most of these Indians were, we presume, from within the boundary of the United States. We are utterly at a loss for reasons to account for this perseverance, on the part of the British Indian Department, in the present-giving system, so far as it relates to Indians within our jurisdiction. We are unwilling to impute it to the *only* motive which strikes our apprehension,—a wish to preserve a claim to services, in the event of another war, which were so useful in the last war,—for we hope such a contingency is too remote, to be the basis of any such policy. It is known that strong representations have been made by the local authorities to the government, setting forth the injurious consequences that may result from such an interference

with our internal concerns. To ensure that tranquillity, which it is the aim of the United States to perpetuate among the Indians, it is all important, it is indispensable, that their association should be confined, in all respects, to those who, so far from having any interest to counteract such beneficent intentions, will cooperate to give them the fullest effect. We believe we are not mistaken in saying, that there has been a diplomatic correspondence between the two countries on this subject, and that the British authorities averred ignorance of any such intercourse. Whether it exists with or without the authority of the British government, the fact of its existence, to an alarming extent, is unquestionable.

While at Drummond's Island, Mr M'Kenney witnessed the interesting spectacle of an assembly of Indians, engaged in religious worship, and heard them sing an Indian hymn, which had been adapted to music. At the same place he had an opportunity of observing another kind of devotion, which we are led to believe is almost as rare among the savages, as enthusiasm in religion. The habitual indifference with which they treat their wives, the unfeeling inequality with which they distribute the burdens and labors of life, reversing the ordinary scale of relative weakness, and making the females, as it were, the stronger sex, lead us to suppose them unsusceptible of all sentiments of love. But whatever want of tenderness or gallantry the Indian females may be accustomed to after their marriage, when, according to savage nations, they become the slave of man, and the services exacted of them are submitted to as an inevitable lot, and claim only support and protection in return; there is no doubt that the maiden of the forest has her season of coquetry and triumph, in which she is propitiated with those sylvan blandishments, which, however far they may be behind the courtly wooings of polished life in delicacy and refinement, as decidedly show the temporary ascendancy of the sex. Mr M'Kenney says he found a young Indian, one soft and bright moonshiny evening,—just 'such a night' as Jessica's lover might have chosen,—seated in front of his mistress' cabin, serenading her with a 'three-holed flute,' in which melodious occupation he passed the whole night. This simple instrument, whose compass is confined to three notes, appears to be consecrated to love, for we believe it is resorted to only during a paroxysm of that passion.

Since the time when Mr Schoolcraft visited the Sault de Ste

Marie, in 1820, a military post had been established at that place, forming the terminating point in that quarter of a cordon of posts, which not long ago extended from Detroit to this place. The copper found in the neighborhood of the Sault, appears early to have attracted the notice of the French missionaries; for Charlevoix says that one of them, who had been bred a goldsmith, had made chandeliers, crosses, and censers of that metal. The whitefish is caught there in great abundance and of a delicious quality. The salmon-trout likewise abounds in Lake Huron. It is often found weighing over forty pounds, still retaining most of the peculiar flavor belonging to that species of fish. Mr M'Kenney gives a very lively description of the mode of taking whitefish in the rapids, which we are tempted to extract.

'The whitefish is taken by both whites and Indians with a scoop-net, which is fastened to a pole about ten feet long. Two persons go out in a bark canoe, that you could take in your hand like a basket; and in the midst of the rapids, or rather where they pitch and foam the most. One sits near the stern, and paddles; the other stands in the bow, and with the dexterity of a wire-dancer, balances his "egg-shell," that you or I would be ready to turn over in our attempts to keep steady. When a fish is seen through the water, which is clear as crystal, the place is indicated by the man with the net, when, by a dexterous and quick motion of the paddle, by the Indian holding it, he shoots the canoe to the spot, or within reach of it, when the net is thrown over the fish, and it is scooped up, and thrown into the canoe; meantime the eye of the person in the stern is kept steadily fixed upon the breakers, and the eddy, and whirl, and fury of the current; and the little frail bark is shot away in a smoother place, or kept stationary by the motion of that single paddle, as circumstances may require.'

Maple sugar is manufactured in considerable quantities at the Sault, many families making, according to Mr M'Kenney, more than a ton weight in a season. Furs are not abundant. Potatoes and oats are cultivated with success, and some garden vegetables. But the winters are tediously long, and the cold severe. The snow falls to a great depth, and remains on the ground about seven months in a year. It is not, however, without its appropriate amusements. *Trains*, drawn by dogs, are the common vehicles of pleasure, and, according to Mr M'Kenney, afford some conveniences, for which the more cumbrous equipages of other climes are but ill adapted. When

a visit, or other excursion is intended, the train is drawn into the house, and, before a comfortable fire, the lady arranges herself among the robes of fur, and goes forth. It is not so stated, but we should hope that custom allows the lady to maintain her seat in this train, until she can alight on the hearth of a friend. These dogs are large, with thick necks and broad shoulders, as if fitted by nature for the draft for which they are so generally employed.*

While Mr M'Kenney was at the Sault, he had an opportunity of seeing an Indian dance. The ball began at eight o'clock in the evening, and ended with the rising of the sun the next morning. It terminated with a feast, which was served up in two 'six gallon kettles.' Dancing appears to be one of the chief amusements belonging to the savage life. Every Indian, of either sex, who is not incapacitated by some bodily defect or infirmity, seems to have acquired this accomplishment, the cultivation of which begins with their earliest years. The ordinary dances, which have no great variety of movement, are danced by all; but there are others of a higher character, which require a muscular power, and a capability of enduring fatigue, which render them generally unattainable. The *Buffalo dance*, which is performed with a buffalo scalp (that is, the skin of that animal, taken from the top of the head, including the horns, and a part of the neck) on the head, often in the bright sun of a summer's day, and mostly in a crouching attitude, is probably as severe a trial of the physical strength, as any exercise within the range of the gymnasium.

On the tenth of June, 1826, the party embarked in three barges, and one bark canoe, and left the Sault for Lake Superior. This is the third expedition which Governor Cass has conducted into the remote regions of the northwest, for purposes almost solely connected with the future welfare of the Indians scattered over that immense tract of country. His zeal and activity have been rewarded by the most complete

* In the winter of 1819–20, two gentlemen came from Lord Selkirk's establishment, on the Red River, to Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, a distance of several hundred miles, each drawn in a train by two or three dogs. The party returned to Red River in the spring in boats, and most of the dogs were consequently left behind. As soon as they saw that they were abandoned by their old masters, each dog selected a house in the village, and by an obstinate maintenance of his post, and a faithful guardianship of the premises, compelled the occupant to adopt him as a part of the establishment.

success; and the great scheme of meliorating the condition of the sons of the forest, by establishing boundaries, and allaying ancient feuds, will probably be indebted for its consummation more to his agency, than to that of any other individual. As we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of the treaty, we will now make no reference to the objects of the expedition. Mr M'Kenney went in the bark canoe; and we cannot give a better idea of the buoyancy and capacity of this beautiful craft, so common in the northwestern waters, than by stating the fact, that this canoe, which was thirty feet long, four feet in the beam, and two and a half feet deep in the centre, and could be raised out of the water by two of its crew, carried eleven men, with their baggage, weighing in all about two thousand pounds.

The entrance into Lake Superior appears to have made the same impression on Mr M'Kenney as on all preceding travellers. The scenery has a grandeur suited to the *embouchure* of the 'Father of Lakes,'—elevated peaks and precipitous bluffs, that give boldness to the outline of the waters, and leave the imagination to indulge in theories of 'elemental war.' *Point Iroquois* has likewise a moral interest, deriving its name from a bloody Indian fight, which has given it a traditional celebrity through more than a century.

On the second day after their entrance into the lake, the party encountered a severe *blow*, one of those almost cloudless tempests, which, in the face of a bright sun, chafe the lake into a fury, that one would expect to see only under the influence of a black and stormy heaven. The rage of the winds on these lakes, at certain seasons, is vehement in the extreme. But, according to M. Charlevoix, the element gives a kindly premonition, which the voyager neglects to notice at his peril, and which, if the fact be as it is stated, affords ample time for measures of precaution. Charlevoix says a coming tempest may be told on Lake Superior three days in advance; the first day exhibiting a light ripple; the second, tolerably large waves, but without crests; but the third day, 'le lac est tout en feu; l'océan, dans le plus grand fureur, n'est pas plus agité.' We somewhat distrust the certainty of these signs, and suspect the irregular turbulence of Lake Superior, as well as of all the other lakes, baffles all weatherwise calculations.

The first days of the voyage appear to have been barren of incident. The shore of the lake was low and monotonous, and on the fourth day, even animate nature seems to have been

scattered along their route with singular sparingness, and want of variety; for our traveller says in his notes on that day, 'I have not seen a living thing today (exclusive of our party), except two crows, a spider, and one ant, always excepting musquitoes.'

It would be impossible for a traveller to pass up the south side of Lake Superior, and not notice the *Grandes Sables*, and the *Pictured Rocks*, the two most striking features of the lake. They have both been slightly noticed in our review of Mr Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal.* This gentleman, in his 'Mineralogical Report' to the Secretary of War, in 1822, gives the following scientific view of this magnificent scene.

'The *Pictured Rocks* commence three leagues beyond La Pointe des Grandes Sables, and extend along a very irregularly indented shore to the western curve of Grand Isle Bay, a distance of eighteen miles, when the further view of them is intercepted by a point of woodland extending into the lake. They consist of a formation of sandstone, which is in some respects peculiar, on account of its composition, its color, its extreme friability, and the great thickness it presents to view. It is composed of coarse grains of siliceous sand united by a calcareous cement, and deposited *stratum-super-stratum*, to the computed height of three hundred feet; forming a mural precipice along the margin of the lake. In some places we observe imbedded pebbles of quartz, and water-worn fragments of other primary rocks; but the attraction of aggregation appears to be very feeble, and where the strata are exposed to the influence of the weather and the lake, they are rapidly submitting to decay, and the fragments are easily crushed between the fingers. Its recent fracture presents a light grey color, which is uniformly diffused, but externally the rock is black, red, green, yellow, brown, white, producing a diversified and pictured appearance, to which this singular range of bluffs is indebted for its name. In no place, however, does the recent fracture disclose any traces of the red color predominant in the Superior sandstone; and the variety of outward coloring appears to be attributable chiefly to the washing down of the banks of colored clays and loam, which form the superincumbent soil. In reference to their color and position, however, we may suppose that the Pictured Rocks are a second deposit of the same formation and series upon which they rest. Traces of such a deposit are furnished by several parts of the Superior shore; but as it is much more perishable in its structure, it appears to have first

* North American Review, vol. xv. p. 224, for July, 1822.

yielded to decomposition; and hence probably the origin of Les Grandes Sables, and of those numerous and extensive sandy tracts, of which Whitefish Point, the plains of Ontonagon, and Point Chegoimegon, afford conspicuous instances.'

These stupendous battlements of rock, from the account of all travellers, offer to the eye a scene of variety and sublimity, which it is impossible to view without delight and enthusiasm, notwithstanding the idea that must constantly be present to the spectator's mind, that he is purchasing his enjoyment at considerable hazard. They cannot be viewed to advantage, except while floating along their front; and the suddenness with which such a wind, as would render the situation dangerous, springs up on this lake, dashes the pleasure with a strong alloy. Mr M'Kenney appears to have verified how nearly the pleasure and the peril are allied. Having delayed somewhat behind his party, in order to take a minuter survey, his bark, while he was yet at no great distance from the beetling heights, encountered a freshening wind, that soon disturbed the waters sufficiently to make him and his companions feel a most unpleasant sense of jeopardy.

While at Grand Isle, our author heard repeated the story of the Chippeway war party, which Mr Schoolcraft relates as a recent incident, when he first visited that island with Governor Cass. It affords a strong illustration of the bravery and devotion of the Indian character, when excited by powerful motives. Indeed, instances of martyrlike sacrifice of life, which are so rare in the annals of other nations, are not uncommon among the Indian tribes. We have not space to extract the story, but we cannot forbear presenting the main incidents of it. The Chippeways of this part of the country appear to have incurred the reproach of cowardly inactivity in recent hostilities with the Sioux. To efface this, thirteen warriors made an irruption into the Sioux territory. They suddenly and unexpectedly met a war party of the enemy, of ten times their number. As efforts were then making to restore harmony between the two nations, the Sioux were willing to receive this little band as friends. But the Chippeways were resolved on a fight, and made preparations for an attack the next morning. They were easily repulsed, when, retiring to some rude intrenchments, which had previously been dug, they were all killed, excepting one, after having destroyed twice their number of the enemy. This survivor, being the youngest warrior, had been directed to

take his stand on a neighboring height, whence he could view the result, and, as soon as he saw their fate, to return with the account to their friends.

On the seventeenth of July, our party arrived at *Granite Point*. The back country here begins to be lifted into high hills and mountains. Mr Schoolcraft named this point *Granite* Point, because the geological character of the shore here changes to rocks of that class, a granite bluff of two hundred feet in height rising at this place out of the lake, connected with the main by a neck of 'red and grey sandstone, in horizontal layers.' Mr M'Kenney gives the following animated description of his clambering to the extremity of this point.

'Descending from rock to rock for about thirty feet, I seated myself on a ledge that projected far out into the lake, to survey the scenery, and contemplate the motion of the waters, that in towering waves would roll against these rocks as if asleep, and unconscious of their approaching destiny till awakened by the shock of the contact, when they would mount high in the air, and fall back broken into a thousand parts, and be swallowed up by their successors, which, on reaching the same point, met with the same overthrow. I had been observing these waves for some minutes, when a mother duck with her brood of younglings, ten or twelve in number, and which appeared to be only a few days old, swam out from behind a projection of a rock, where the water was comparatively still. She was, on seeing me, greatly alarmed, and with both feet and wings made her way into the lake, and, on getting ahead of her brood, would turn back and flap her wings on the water, and then away again, till presently I saw her as she would mount over the top of the wave, and her little family looking like small corks on the billows.'

We make this extract, as presenting a pleasing view of lake scenery, and as answering the inquiry so frequently suggested by a sight of the migratory flocks, that, through 'the desert and illimitable air,' wing their way northward each season,—What region brings their long and lofty pilgrimage to a close?

There are clusters of islands rising out of the lake in the neighborhood of this point, which the author supposes may once have formed an elongation of the point. Such a supposition finds countenance in the geological character of the neck of Granite Point, uniting it with the main, which, according to Mr Schoolcraft, is sandy alluvion, covering a friable sandstone, which is incapable of withstanding the action of the waters, like its associate masses of granite, and which will doubtless one day wear away, and leave the present extremity of the point an island.

When Mr Schoolcraft passed up Lake Superior in 1820, the party made the usual *portage* at the neck of *Keweena Point*, and, of course, saw little of this extraordinary projection of land into Lake Superior. As Governor Cass' party at this time made the circuit of the point, Mr M'Kenney had an opportunity of examining its features. He describes the shore as being for more than two thirds of its length 'uninteresting and monotonous,' and as almost upon a level with the lake, and covered to the water's edge with a growth of pine, cedar, aspen, spruce, &c. Two high, conical mountains are seen rising from the interior. Towards the termination of the point, its character changes to 'rocky and broken precipices.'

'The shores are cut into little bays of from a hundred feet to a quarter of a mile, into many of which we entered, while the rocky projections of the mountain hung over us as if to threaten us with destruction. Huge masses of rocks, that had parted from the mountain, were lying out in the lake, some fifty and a hundred yards from the shore, between which and others that formed a kind of passage way, and with perpendicular walls, our little bark was passed on the smooth surface of the waters. It was like a mite in comparison with these ruptured and stupendous fragments.'

Nature has adorned this remote and unfrequented point with cascades, and with green and lovely recesses, in one of which Mr M'Kenney says he found that rare plant, which botanists and poets have so long sought for in vain, 'the rose without a thorn.' This point is said to have been first coasted around about forty years ago. Common canoes and barks can be easily taken across the portage, but the barges of the present party, and boats of that size, are obliged to make the circuit. It is fortyfive miles long. The Indians have a tradition, that a party, in passing around Keweena Point, and approaching Beaver Island, which is off the point, were frightened back by a female, whose form expanded to a most appalling size; and that since that time, no savage has ever trespassed upon the interdicted region. It would seem to require nothing more than the length of this rather perilous circuit, and the facility with which the Indians can carry over the portage their small craft, to restrain them from this circumnavigation; but the Beavers appear to have profited by this superstitious or accidental desertion of the point, as they are said to have been found in extraordinary abundance on the island bearing their

name, by the first white man who dared to invade the phantom-protected waters.

On arriving off the Ontonagon river, the party had a view of the Porcupine mountains, far in the interior, which were estimated by Captain Douglas to be about two thousand feet high. During the same day, Mr M'Kenney visited an Indian hamlet, and entered one of the lodges which belonged to a Frenchman, who had married a squaw. This lodge is stated to have been twelve feet in diameter, and to have contained, at the time he visited it, the mistress, five children, several squaws, an old chief, a crow, and six dogs. Our readers, who are accustomed to the elbow-room of spacious houses, will hardly imagine how so many persons could voluntarily crowd within so small a space; and this lodge probably afforded the best accommodations of all in the hamlet. The old chief who was present, said, 'he had been for the last ten days living upon wild garlic.'

St Michael's Island, which is about four hundred and twenty miles up the lake, was the seat of a French mission more than a century ago. The cross was erected there, and no doubt many a red neophyte rewarded the zeal of the priests. No vestige now remains of the labors of these bold and persevering pioneers of christianity. Perhaps few efforts, which have cost so much privation, suffering, and death, have been so fruitless in permanent effects, as the labors of these early missionaries. At the time we allude to, a religious establishment so far distant as St Michael's Island, was as arduous and hazardous an enterprise, as a similar one at the present day beyond the Rocky Mountains. A priest, once in a year or two, passes up from Montreal to Fond du Lac, on a spiritual visitation of the stationary traders, and of the few Indians who still preserve a shadowy connexion with the church.

A Mr Johnson, of the lake country, informed Mr M'Kenney, that in 1791, he had here met with a scientific Frenchman, or Italian, who called himself *Count Andriani*, and who was making observations, with instruments, upon the latitude, &c. This casual mention of his name, appears to be, so far as our knowledge extends, the only glimpse of notoriety on this side the Atlantic, which has rewarded the enterprise of this scientific count.

In passing onward the party met several Indians on the shore, who were in a starving condition. One of them, who said he had eaten nothing for two days, begged for tobacco the first

thing. To endure hunger appears to be habitual with the Indians, particularly with those of the northern regions, but even while they are sinking under atrophy, the love of whiskey or tobacco still predominates over all other cravings.

The party reached Fond du Lac on the twentyeighth of July, after a voyage of eighteen days, the distance being five hundred and twentynine miles. Governor Cass remained at that place until the ninth of August, to effect the treaty, which he, in conjunction with Mr M'Kenney, had been commissioned to form with the Indians assembled, agreeably to a convocation, for that purpose. It will be recollected that Governor Cass, in conjunction with General Clark, of Missouri, had met several tribes of Indians at Prairie du Chien the year before, to establish the boundaries between the various contiguous tribes, and settle a general pacification among them. As these objects could not be fully attained at that time and place, this second council was appointed, with a view to accommodate such tribes as were too remote for attendance at Prairie du Chien. The author has appended to his work all the speeches and papers connected with the council. The beneficial results are matters of publicity. The supplemental article to the treaty, shows that a new subject of negotiation had arisen since the last council. A murder of a party of whites upon Lake Pepin had been committed by the Chippeways, and the murderers were to be demanded at Fond du Lac. As these persons were not present, all that could be effected then was, a promise to have them forthcoming the ensuing year at Green Bay, where another council would convene under the direction of the same commissioners, for this and other objects connected with the welfare of the Indians.*

* An instance of the integrity with which they fulfil such promises occurred at Prairie du Chien in 1819. During the summer of that year, two soldiers were murdered and shockingly mangled in the neighborhood of Fort Armstrong, on the Mississippi. As circumstances rendered it almost certain that some Winebagoes were the murderers, that tribe was immediately summoned to give them up. The chiefs at once promised to bring them to Prairie du Chien within a stated time, and they were brought accordingly, preceded by a white flag, and attended by a large concourse of the tribe.

They were taken into military custody, and the next morning examined separately before three magistrates of the place, in the presence of several Winebago chiefs. The youngest of the three (for that was the number given up) was first examined. He said he was the adopted child of an uncle, with whom, and an elder brother, he

During the author's stay at Fond du Lac, he observed many things, and collected some traditions and stories, which throw new light on the Indian character and condition. It is not surprising, that a simple and suffering people, like the Indians, should be inclined to superstition. Mr M'Kenney relates anecdotes strikingly illustrative of this weakness. Soon after their arrival, an emaciated and squalid looking Indian presented himself, and was recognised as the guide who had undertaken, in 1820, to lead Governor Cass to the *Copper Rock*. He had the ill luck to lose his way in this instance, which was considered by his brethren as an evidence of the anger of the Great Spirit, who viewed all such intrusions upon the riches of his kingdom with jealous eyes; and this accident, together with his subsequent ill success in hunting, created a belief with his tribe, and at last with himself, that he had been abandoned by his Manitto. He was in the last stage of despair at this time. It was judiciously determined, that the best method of restoring him to self respect, and to the respect of his tribe, would be, to improve his condition by presents, and thus give one of the strongest proofs that good fortune had returned to him. The result showed that the method was successful.

Our traveller acquaints us with a singular kind of posthumous *husbandship*, of which we do not recollect to have seen any previous mention. He says many squaws were observed, who constantly carried a 'roll of clothing' about with them, which

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had gone to Rock Island, on which Fort Armstrong stands. While they were in the bushes near the fort, they saw two soldiers approach them in order to cut poles. While they were thus engaged, his uncle told him and his brother, that some time before, a relation of theirs had been murdered by the whites, and that now was a proper time to avenge the deed, by killing these two soldiers, who were unarmed and in their power. He said he tried to dissuade his uncle from the act, but finding him inflexible, he stood by, while the deed was committed, neither assisting nor opposing. He added, that his elder brother had likewise tried to dissuade his uncle, but, when he found him determined, had assisted in the murder. The elder brother was then examined, who confirmed, in all respects, the testimony of the younger, acquitting him entirely of all blame, excepting that of having been a passive spectator. He assumed a portion of the guilt himself, but referred all the responsibility of the act to his uncle. The uncle was then called, who confirmed the statements of his two nephews; saying, that he believed the whites to have killed his relation, and that he had been bound in duty to retaliate. The younger brother was immediately discharged; the other two were afterwards tried, and found guilty.

they appeared to preserve with much care. On inquiry, he found they were widows, and that these rolls were emblems of their bereavement, and of the continuance of their mourning. 'It is indispensable, when a woman loses her husband, for her to take off her best apparel, and roll it up, and confine it by means of her husband's sashes; and if he had ornaments, these are generally put on the top of the roll, and around is wrapped a piece of cloth. This bundle is called *her husband*,' and must be her inseparable companion, until taken away by some one of her late husband's family, which is not generally done until after the lapse of a year. We can see no great hardship in exacting such a season of mourning on such occasions; at least it is not going beyond what is required in more civilized life, without, however, annexing to it such an inconvenient badge of grief. But it appears, that inexorable relations sometimes leave these widows several years with this miserable substitute. It is not, however, without its advantages. Whenever presents are distributed, this cylindrical husband comes in, with all the fulness of the marital character, for its equal share, which, of course, goes to the disconsolate widow.

Another custom of the Chippeway women is mentioned, which exhibits their maternal affection in a strong light. When a Chippeway mother loses her child, she dresses an effigy, which takes its place in the cradle, and becomes, during a year, the unconscious object of every maternal kindness and attention.

During his stay at Fond du Lac, Mr M'Kenney frequently visited a young female Indian, who was suffering under a severe disease, which he considered *hemiplegia*. One half of her body had been paralyzed, and the optic nerves so affected as to render her blind. Her countenance was handsome and interesting. Perhaps no description of their poverty and wretchedness could give us such a vivid idea of the comfortless condition of the savages, as this picture of suffering and sickness, deprived of all those remedial and soothing appliances, which mitigate the pains of disease in civilized life. Here we find an interesting girl of sixteen, prostrated by one of the severest visitations of Providence, raised from the bare earth only by a thin rush mat, and having no other nourishment offered to her sickly appetite, than 'pork and flour soup;' and even this dainty probably became attainable through the accidental occurrence of the treaty at that place. The parents were unremitting in their attention to their sick child, but apparently with a con-

sciousness that they could only watch the progress of disease, without any power to check its force. The *materia medica* among the Indians is extremely limited, and where nature and superstitious incantations fail to effect a cure, the patients generally find no relief, but are surrendered with hopeless submission to their fate.

The council at Fond du Lac exhibited the somewhat novel spectacle of a female, who took her seat in it as proxy of her husband. It may be worthy of remark, that she made a short and pertinent speech. Mr M'Kenney confirms the often repeated assertion, that there are 'man-women' among the savages. He mentions one who had been induced by a dream, or some such accident, to assume the dress and duties of a squaw, and had even gone through the ceremony of being married to a man.

The Indians call the aurora borealis 'dancing spirits,' which is both a beautiful and poetical appellation.

The party left Fond du Lac, on its return, the ninth of August, having sent forward a detachment to the river Ontonagon, for the purpose of endeavoring to move the 'copper rock,' with a view to transport it to Washington. It appears by the report of the person having charge of the detachment, that the shallowness of the river rendered such a scheme impracticable. They built a fire on the rock, in order to facilitate a separation of it into portable fragments, but without success; and this famous *rock* will still remain on its old ground, to puzzle geologists, and perhaps lead to new mining speculations. And there let it stand in its native form and dimensions, till the art of man can devise means of removing it, without fracturing it into parts, and thereby destroying the chief qualities, which make it a wonder of nature.

On his return, Mr M'Kenney had an opportunity of seeing the *Pictured Rocks* to better advantage, than when ascending the lake. 'The relic of Indian pottery,' as it is termed, is a curious exhibition of the manner in which conflicting elements sometimes strike out an imitation of the most elaborate works of art. It resembles a vase in form, having a stem about five feet high, and a body twelve feet, with well proportioned dimensions in other respects. Some fir trees, which grow out of the top, form an ornament well suited to the vase. The *urn* and *monument* are still more singular and wonderful exhibitions of the same kind, particularly the first, which is described

as being about sixty feet high, and with 'exact proportions.' All these are adjunct features of the 'Pictured Rocks,' which he now approached at a point, or projection, bearing the name of the 'Castle Rock.' The outstanding mass is three hundred feet high, and one hundred and fifty feet wide, with an opening or cavern at its base about forty feet broad. When within fifty yards of this cavern, on looking up, he found himself under 'the drop from the edges above.' Notwithstanding this threatening aspect, he entered the opening, and discovered within 'a circular passage, which winds into the body of the rock, with a roof of thirty feet, supported on pillars, averaging twelve inches in diameter.' Near the cave rock lies an immense mass of ruins, which show that these overhanging precipices occasionally descend into the lake beneath.

The party reached the Sault de Ste Marie in safety. The author here collected two Indian allegories, which show that the savages have fancies skilled in happy personifications. We have not room for further extracts.

Mr M'Kenney estimates the number of Indians on Lake Superior to be about eight thousand, and says that they bring in furs to the amount of about twentyfive thousand dollars. This leaves but a small dividend to each individual, in a country where hunting forms an important source of subsistence. There is no doubt the Indians in this quarter suffer privations, greater than fall to the lot of most of those who reside within our jurisdiction. The earth is niggardly in its spontaneous productions, and the shortness of the season holds out little inducement to the indolent habits of the Indians, to seek food by the sweat of the brow. The lake affords a supply of fish during a part of the year, but for many months this source of supply is cut off by the rigors of winter. Mr M'Kenney indulges a kind and generous hope, that the condition of these Indians may be meliorated. Such a hope must find a concurrent sentiment in every breast; but we fear there is little practical encouragement for any scheme of this nature, unless they be regarded as national paupers, and supported accordingly. They are cast on a sterile shore, which the industry of even white men could hardly cause to bring forth an increase. But their privations spring from their birthright, and they suffer as their fathers have suffered before them. If they have not heretofore been induced, by the repulsive sterility of their native soil, and the ease with which they can change their ambulatory homes,

to seek out a more genial and abundant clime; we apprehend that the government could offer no sufficient inducement to such an emigration. Some instances, which may be taking place among the Southern Indians, are no proof in point. Crowded, threatened, and persecuted, the Creeks may be said to have no choice. But we must leave a subject which presses upon us a thousand reflections.

The commissioners, on their return, visited the island of Michillimackinac, and some striking sketches are given of its wild and singular features. Excepting the Pictured Rocks, this island is undoubtedly the most attractive object in the country of the lakes. It is about three miles in diameter, and, in the vicinity of the main and other islands, bearing little similarity of character, rises out of the lake, with a rampart-like shore on almost every side, of about an hundred and fifty feet in height, and gradually ascends from the edge of this precipice to the centre, where it terminates in a cone, whose peak is about three hundred feet from the water level. This acclivity is mostly covered with trees. As this island stands in the strait connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan, the great thoroughfare of the lakes, it has always had great notoriety among the aborigines, and, striking on their fanciful eyes with its peculiarity of form, appears to have been immemorially the object of their admiration and worship. As the observer approaches it from Lake Huron, and finds the minuter features of the island gradually unfolding to his view, the first that strikes his eye is the military blockhouse upon the summit, whose square outline rests on the sky; following down the slope, the eye is next attracted by Fort Mackina, whose whitened walls stand on the brink of the precipitous bank, overhanging the little bay immediately beneath, around whose shores, upon a level with the lake, is collected the village of Mackina. These three objects mark distinctly the three gradations of the island. We have not space for much more than a simple enumeration of the remarkable objects which have engaged the attention of our traveller. The *Arched Rock*, or *Giant's Arch*, as Mr Schoolcraft terms it, is described as being singular and picturesque in the highest degree. In comparison with the *Natural Bridge* in Virginia, this arch may in many respects have the advantage. The Natural Bridge presents few appearances of convulsion or ruins. It seems to have been formed by a silent and gradual process of elemental dissolution, and,

standing 'fixed in its own tranquillity,' strikes the cursory observer as some rude achievement of art. But the Arched Rock at Mackina strides over a slope of massy fragments, that spread down the bank in such wild disorder, as to refer its origin at once to some uncommon disturbance of nature; while the apparently slight adhesion of the different parts of the arch excite a wonder that it should so long have balanced itself in the upper air. Mr Schoolcraft, in his Narrative Journal, says, 'Its abutments are the calcareous rock common to the island, and have been created by the falling down of enormous masses of rock, leaving a chasm of eighty or ninety feet in height, and crowned with an arch of fifty or sixty feet sweep, having the usual curve of factitious arches.'

The *Sugar Loaf Rock* is a natural cone of about thirty feet diameter at its base, and between eighty and ninety feet high, its general outline resembling the usual shape of a sugar loaf. A few stunted trees grow out of the crevices in its sides. The *Scull Rock* is another lofty and insulated mass, having a cavern at its base, which has become interesting by many traditions. A great quantity of human bones have been found in this cavern, the deposit of which in such a place, not being satisfactorily accounted for by the generally known customs of the savages, has been the subject of some speculation.

But we must close these remarks. Although Mr Schoolcraft's journal through Lake Superior was still fresh in our memory, and we could hardly expect any thing new in a tour over the same route, saving personal adventures, yet we followed Mr M'Kenney from the Sault de Ste Marie to the Fond du Lac, finding ourselves entertained with many lively descriptions of scenery and many well told anecdotes relating to Indian manners and modes of thought. His friend and correspondent requested him 'to set down every thing.' However acceptable to the partial eye of such a person a literal fulfilment of this request might be, we cannot but think, that, when these extemporaneous and desultory notes were about to be submitted to the public, much pruning and condensation would have been judicious. Mr M'Kenney was generally known to have been some time connected with the Indian Department, and to have made this tour in the capacity of commissioner to treat with the Indians, and the public perhaps naturally expected that his book would contain more new and substantial information on subjects connected with them. A liberal, benevolent, and

gentlemanly feeling prevails throughout the work, and we know of no tourist who appears to have moved along in better humor with every thing around him.

If we objected to the first hundred and more pages, as being a redundancy in a tour like this, we cannot but regard the last thirty or forty as being still more liable to the same objection. No charm of writing, or ingenuity of thought, could infuse an interest into such a twice told tale.

ART. V.—*Servian Popular Poetry, translated by* JOHN BOWRING. London. 1827. 12mo. pp. 235.

IF we run our eyes over the map of European Turkey, we shall discover in its northwestern borders a small province called Servia, laved on the north by the waters of 'the dark rolling Danube,' and on the south separated from Albania and Macedonia by ridges of lofty mountains. History has recorded little to acquaint us with the origin, government, and character of the inhabitants of Servia. Gibbon leaves them, as he had found them, nearly in the dark, and comforts his readers with observing, that the country which they inhabit is one of the most hidden regions of Europe. Mr Bowring has searched, with some success, for facts to illustrate the history and condition of the people, whose charming poetry he has clothed in an English dress with so much spirit and apparent truth. These facts are derived from the highest sources, but they are scanty, and no pretension is made to a continued narrative.

The author carries us not back beyond the middle of the seventh century, at which period certain tribes of Slavonians began to spread themselves along the Danube and Sava, who, in process of time, became distinctly marked out into six kingdoms, four of which, that is, Servia, Bosnia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, were comprised under the sonorous name of *Srb*. Their early history is yet a study for the antiquarian; the learned even disagree as to the meaning of this cognomen; some derive it from *Srp, a sickle*, but wherefore a sickle is not told; some would trace it to the Latin *servus;* and some refer it to other sources; but Dobrowsky declares, after

examining all the dialects (consultis etiam dialectis omnibus), that its signification is not to be found out. Be this as it may, the Servians grew into a separate nation, and before the end of the seventh century they built the city of Servica, on the banks of the Danube. For a time they were tributary to the Greeks, and then they warred with the Hungarians, their neighbors. Next they leagued with the Roman emperors against Comnenus, the Grecian monarch. Again they were subdued by the Greeks, from whose control they were but partially relieved, when the Hungarians came down upon them from the north, and put them under a king subject to a foreign power. This yoke was soon thrown off, but another, not less onerous, was imposed, in the shape of an aristocracy of dukes, princes, and nobles, set up among themselves.

Such were the vicissitudes of Servia, till near the end of the fourteenth century, when it was governed by a very popular monarch, who had made himself renowned for his successful wars against the Greeks, and esteemed for his virtues. His immediate successor was Lazar, memorable for the signal defeat suffered by himself and the whole Servian army, on the fatal field of Kossova, in a battle with the Turks, led on by the Sultan Murad. With this catastrophe the setting sun of liberty cast its last gleams on the hills of Servia. It was a theme of melancholy recollection, for which the Servian muse has often been invoked by her most gifted bards. From that time Servia was a dependent province, doomed to be enslaved by different masters, as the Turks or Hungarians gained the ascendancy. Thousands of her sons fled from their native land, and sought a refuge in Russia, Hungary, and other northern countries. Within the present century, Servia has shaken off the Turkish bondage, and is now governed by a prince, called Milosh Obrenowich, under the protection of Austria.

The Servian language is a shoot from the old Slavonian stock, and Mr Bowring tells us it is 'the most cultivated, the most interesting, and the most widely spread, of all the southern Slavonian dialects.' It is spoken by five millions of people, about two millions of whom are Mahommedans. The Slavonian runs out into two branches, comprising the Bohemian, Polish, and Russian dialects on the north, and the Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Servian on the south. This last dialect has been softened by the proximity of the Servians to Italy and Greece, especially in having the bristly surface of its consonants smoothed

down, and in receiving vowel terminations. By this process it has become better adapted to poetry and music, than its kindred idioms of the north. The Turks have contributed their share to the Servian vocabulary, but without affecting the original structure of the language. With an instrument of thought thus polished and enriched, it is no wonder that minstrels should be moved to give utterance to their inspirations. Schaffarik is quoted by Mr Bowring, as describing the different Slavonic tongues 'fancifully but truly,' when he says, that 'Servian song resembles the tune of the violin; old Slavonian, that of the organ; Polish, that of the guitar. The old Slavonian, in its psalms, sounds like the rush of the mountain stream; Polish, like the bubbling and sparkling of a fountain; and the Servian, like the quiet murmuring of a streamlet in the valley.'

That there was such a thing in existence, as Servian literature, is a discovery of very recent date. Göthe long ago translated, from a French version, the beautiful Servian ballad, entitled the *Lament of Hassan Aga's Wife.* Its origin was doubtful, however, till it appeared in a collection of Servian songs, published about three years ago at Leipzig. The first intelligence, we believe, which the English reader obtained of this newly discovered treasure of poetry, was from an article in the eleventh number of the Westminster Review, containing translations from Vuk's collection, and being a sort of prelude to Mr Bowring's volume. It may be presumed, indeed, to have proceeded from the same ready hand. Since that time the Quarterly has given us other specimens, and we are now favored with the result of Mr Bowring's labors, in the translations from the Servian minstrelsy, which he has published in a separate form. Dr Vuk is a Servian by birth, and was educated at Karlovitz. He afterwards resided in Vienna, where he became acquainted with men of letters, and soon devoted his thoughts and researches to the literature of his native country, particularly to its popular poetry. Thirteen years ago he published in that city a Servian grammar, to which were appended Servian songs. Since that period, in addition to the volumes of poetry, from which Mr Bowring's translations are made, he has published at different times a collection of Servian Tales; a treatise on the Servian tongue as compared with the other Slavonic idioms; and also a specimen of a translation of the New Testament into Servian. He is now understood to be in some way connected with the household of the Hospodar of Servia, and employed in gather-

ing for future publication a fresh supply of the popular poetry of his country.

The republic of letters is under lasting obligations to Mr Bowring for the zeal and perseverance, with which he has applied himself to an investigation of the northern languages of Europe, and for the unrivalled manner in which he has transferred into his own tongue poetical treasures, hitherto concealed in the rude idioms of the bards by whom they were first sung. He is himself a genuine poet; and when to this highest gift of genius we add an aptitude for acquiring languages, a knowledge of various European dialects, a quick perception of the poetical images and associations of different countries, and, above all, a remarkable facility in catching the spirit of a foreign author, and making it live and breathe in his own idiom with all its original force and peculiarity, we then have a rare assemblage of qualities, which solve at once the enigma of the translator's success. In his poetical sympathies Mr Bowring is emphatically a citizen of the world, confined to no place or time. With the minstrels of Russia, Poland, Servia, and other countries, he is apparently as much at ease, as if they had been his inmates from infancy under his native skies, and he enters with equal readiness into their local associations, feelings, and attachments; looking out upon the broad compass of nature, tracing its varied forms, and recognising the manners and social habits of different nations and ages, with a familiarity that would seem to betray an intimate companionship. Through whatever region his imagination strays, it has the remarkable power of acquiring the hue of the objects around it, and of reflecting even the most delicate tints strongly and distinctly. He everywhere shows himself

> 'A lover of the meadows and the woods
> And mountains; and of all that we behold
> From this green earth; of all the mighty world
> Of eye and ear, both what they half create
> And what perceive.'

Mr Bowring's *Russian Anthology*, containing translations from the best Russian poets, was well received in England, and republished in this country. Since the appearance of that work, he has presented to the world *Specimens of the Polish Poets*, with a history of the poetical literature of Poland; the *Batavian Anthology*, or specimens of the Dutch poets; a work, entitled *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain;* and one, called

Matins and Vespers, which, together with translations and imitations of some of the best devotional poetry in the German and other tongues, contains not a few exquisite original pieces, and of which, we are happy to find, an edition has just proceeded from the American press. And now we are greeted with the volume of *Servian Popular Poetry;* and a promise of the translator is also before the public to send out shortly *Finnish Runes* accompanied by a history of the poetry and mythology of Finland. Thus every corner of Europe seems destined to come under his researches, and to yield up, at his command, its hidden stores of literature. The community of letters all over the world, will rejoice in the success of his conquests.

As sources of history these acquisitions will not be without their value, especially the poetry of uncivilized nations, delineating the scenes of barbarous ages. There are instances in which compositions of this sort constitute the entire records of events. The poetry of the Servians, for a long course of time, dwelt only in the recollection of the people; writing was not in use among them till recently; and the great acts of their ancestors, as well as some of the more remarkable occurrences of common life, were transmitted in song, and kept alive from one generation to another by oral repetition. The historian Raich, in his description of the Slavonian people, published within the last thirty years, cites the Servian ballads as authority. So it was with the Greeks and Spartans in early times. Their laws were composed in verse, and transmitted by tradition. The deeds of heroes were perpetuated in the same manner. The natives of the western world had their poetical traditions. Such were the materials from which Garcilaso formed his account of the Incas of Peru, and such are the war songs and legends of our North American Indians. The history, which has been derived from these fabulous sources, can make little pretension to truth of narrative; it may, however, give impressions of the character, manners, and passions of a people, their morals and religion, their social customs and degree of refinement. These are often of more consequence, than minute details of battles and sieges, movements of armies and the intrigues of a court; they are, in fact, among the results at which all history aims, or ought to aim; their influence is to instruct the mind and improve the heart by the experience of past ages.

Mr Bowring arranges his specimens of Servian poetry in two classes; first, such as he calls *historical, traditional, and religious ballads;* secondly, *lyrics, songs, and occasional poems.* We shall select a few examples from each of these classes. The first ballad in order is entitled the 'Abduction of the Beautiful Iconia.' The story is told with spirit and simplicity, although the adventure itself is less extraordinary, than the manner of bringing it about. The heroes of the Iliad were wont to sit in halls, and drink wine, and sometimes to elope with a fair damsel, as the Trojans experienced to their cost. In later days the nobles of Servia were addicted to similar practices.

'Golden wine drinks Theodore of Stalach
In his Castle Stalach, on Morava;
Pours him out the wine his aged mother.
While the wine-fumes to his head were rising,
Thus his mother spoke unto the hero;
"Son of mine! thou Theodore of Stalach!
Tell me, wherefore hast thou not espoused thee?
Thou art in thy youthful days of beauty;
In thy dwelling now thine aged mother
Fain would see thy children play around her."' p. 3.

The duteous Theodore seems nothing loth to listen to his mother's counsel. His approval is tempered, however, with reflections on the past, indicating a mind not perfectly tranquil. He complains, that, after having sought for a fair one to his liking 'through many a land and city,' his mother's kindness toward the object of his choice had not been conspicuous; and where she had shown a 'friendly feeling,' he had 'found the maiden false and faithless.' These are discouraging presages for the future, yet he tells her that his thoughts are bent on another, the 'beauteous Iconia,' whom he had seen the day before with 'thirty lovely maidens,' bleaching yarn and linen on a river's bank.

'She, indeed, would be a bride to cherish;
She, indeed, were worthy of thy friendship.
But that maiden is betrothed already;
She is promised unto George Irēnē—
To Irene, for Sredoi, his kinsman.
But I' ll win that maiden—I will win her,
Or will perish in the deed, my mother!' p. 4.

Against this rash resolution, of course, the cautious mother

remonstrates, and reminds her son, that the maid is not only betrothed to another, but is of 'monarch's kindred,' and the consequences may be perilous.

'But the hero cared not for his mother;
Loud he called to Dōbrivi, his servant—
"Dobrivi! come hither, trusty servant!
Bring my brown steed forth, and make him ready—
Make him ready with the silver saddle;
Rein him with the gold-embroider'd bridle."
When the steed was ready, forth he hasten'd,
Flung him on his back, and spurr'd him onward
To the gentle river of Morava,
Flowing through Resava's quiet levels.

And he reach'd Resava's gentle river;
There again he saw the thirty maidens—
There he saw the beauteous Iconia.
Then the hero feign'd a sudden sickness;
Ask'd for help; and sped her courteous greeting—
"God above be with thee, lovely maiden!"
And the loveliest to his words made answer,
"And with thee be bliss, thou stranger-warrior!"

"Lovely maiden! for the love of heaven,
Wilt thou give one cup of cooling water?
For a fiery fever glows within me;
From my steed I dare not rise, fair maiden!
For my steed, he hath a trick of evil—
Twice he will not let his rider mount him."

Warm and earnest was the maiden's pity,
And, with gentle voice, she thus address'd him;
"Nay! not so—not so, thou unknown warrior!
Harsh and heavy is Resava's water;
Harsh and heavy e'en for healthful warriors;
How much worse for fever-sickening tired ones!
Wait, and I a cup of wine will bring thee."

Swiftly tripp'd the maiden to her dwelling;
With a golden cup of wine return'd she,
Which she reach'd to Theodore of Stalach.
Out he stretch'd his hand; but not the wine cup,
But the maiden's hand he seized, and flung her,
Flung her on his chesnut steed behind him;
Thrice he girt her with his leathern girdle,
And the fourth time with his sword-belt bound her;
And he bore her to his own white dwelling.' pp. 5—7.

The 'Stepsisters' is a tragic tale of jealousy, and depicts that baleful passion in a hideous form. It is the jealousy of a wife, caused by her husband's affection for his sister. The beautiful polish of the poetry exhibits a striking contrast to the barbarous manners of the age, in which the ballad must have been composed.

'Near each other grew two verdant larches,
And, between, a high and slender fir tree;
Not two larches were they—not two larches,
Not a high and slender fir between them—
They were brothers, children of one mother.
One was Paul; the other brother, Radul.
And, between them, Jelitza, their sister.
Cordial was the love her brothers bore her;
Many a token of affection gave her,
Many a splendid gift and many a trifle,
And at last a knife, in silver hafted,
And adorn'd with gold, they gave their sister.' p. 8.

These tokens of love to Jelitza from her brothers excite the violent hatred of Paul's wife, who resolves on her destruction, and first endeavors to enlist the wife of Radul in her purpose, but without effect. Her next aim is to make her husband the instrument of her vengeance. She kills his horse, and charges it to Jelitza; to this Paul gives no heed. She wrings the neck of his 'grey noble falcon,' and lays the crime again to Jelitza; Paul is still unmoved. She is not to be baffled in her designs; she steals the 'golden knife,' murders with it her own infant, conceals it, reeking with blood, under the pillow of Jelitza, and calls on her husband to avenge the atrocious act.

'Up sprang Paul, like one possess'd by madness;
To the upper floor he hasten'd wildly;
There his sister on her mats was sleeping,
And the golden knife beneath her pillow.
Swift he seized the golden knife,—and drew it—
Drew it, panting, from its silver scabbard;—
It was damp with blood—'t was red and gory!

When the noble Paul saw this, he seized her,—
Seized her by her own white hand, and cursed her;
"Let the curse of God be on thee, sister!
Thou didst murder, too, my favorite courser;
Thou didst murder, too, my noble falcon;
But thou should'st have spared the helpless baby."

Higher yet his sister swore, and louder—
"'T was not I, upon my life, my brother;
On my life, and on thy life, I swear it!
But if thou wilt disregard my swearing,
Take me to the open fields—the desert;
Bind thy sister to the tails of horses;
Let four horses tear my limbs asunder."
But the brother trusted not his sister;
Furiously he seized her white hand—bore her
To the distant fields—the open desert;
To the tails of four fierce steeds he bound her,
And he drove them forth across the desert;—
But, where'er a drop of blood fell from her,
There a flower sprung up,—a fragrant flow'ret;
Where her body fell when dead and mangled,
There a church arose from out the desert.' pp. 11—12.

After this catastrophe the hand of Heaven falls heavily upon Paul's wife; she is smitten with a painful and loathsome sickness, which tortures her for 'nine long years,' till

'Midst her bones the matted dog grass sprouted,
And amidst it nestled angry serpents,
Which, though hidden, drank her eyelight's brightness.'

As the last hope of relief, she begs to be carried to Jelitza's church. When she approaches it, a voice cries from within, 'Come not hither,' assuring her that no remedy is there. Borne down with anguish and despair, she implores her husband to end her misery by the same death that his sister had suffered. She is torn asunder by horses, and thus the tragedy closes, by rendering poetical justice, in its full measure, to the wretched victim of her passions and crimes.

'Wheresoe'er a drop of blood fell from her,
There sprang up the rankest thorns and nettles.
Where her body fell, when dead, the waters
Rush'd and form'd a lake both still and stagnant.
O'er the lake there swam a small black courser;
By his side a golden cradle floated;
On the cradle sat a young grey falcon;
In the cradle, slumbering, lay an infant;
On its throat the white hand of its mother;
And that hand a golden knife was holding.' p. 14.

In the story of 'Ajkuna's Marriage,' we have the old troublesome affair of settling the claims between wealth and

merit, in the preliminaries of matrimony. As it happened of yore, even in the half barbarous regions of Servia, so we suppose it has often happened since, and in more civilized countries. The fair one is prone to form a different estimate of these matters from that of her more prudent parents or guardians. It was Ajkuna's fate to be of this number.

> 'She was lovely—nothing e'er was lovelier;
> She was tall and slender as the pine tree;
> White her cheeks, but tinged with rosy blushes,
> As if morning's beam had shown upon them,
> Till that beam had reach'd its high meridian;
> And her eyes, they were two precious jewels;
> And her eyebrows, leeches from the ocean;
> And her eyelids, they were wings of swallows;
> Silken tufts the maiden's flaxen ringlets;
> And her sweet mouth was a sugar casket;
> And her teeth were pearls array'd in order;
> White her bosom, like two snowy dovelets;
> And her voice was like the dovelet's cooing;
> And her smiles were like the glowing sunshine;
> And the fame, the story of her beauty
> Spread through Bosnia and through Herzgovina.'
>
> pp. 27, 28.

Such a paragon of female loveliness was not doomed to a solitary existence. The spouse of Ulysses was never surrounded by a more obsequious crowd of suitors. Ajkuna's choice depended on the will of her brother. By striking off one and another, he reduced the throng of candidates to two, 'the old grey-headed Mustaph Aga,' and 'Suko of Ubdinia,' and desired her to choose between them. Mustaph Aga came laden with 'thousand golden coins,' divers vessels of solid gold, and a diamond of huge dimensions, that surpassed the sun's brightness, and turned midnight into noonday. As for Suko, a poor dozen of ducats, a steed, and a sabre, were all his possessions. He

> 'dwelt upon the country's border,
> As the falcon dwells among the breezes.'

Ajkuna professed entire submission to her brother's will, yet she ventured to insinuate a lurking inclination, and a preference. In reply to his eulogy of Mustaph Aga's treasures, she said,

> 'But I 'd rather choose a youthful lover,
> Howsoever small that youth's possessions,

Than be wedded to old age, though wealthy.
Wealth—it is not gold—it is not silver;
Wealth—is to possess what most we cherish.'

The brother's ears were not open to this mixture of sentiment and logic; with him to choose was not to prefer; he gave the maid to 'that old white-bearded man,' and fixed on the day for the nuptial rites. At the time appointed, the bridal guests assembled, and among them Suko, whose office it was to bear the 'bridal banner.' The poet may tell the rest of the story, and describe, in his own numbers, the devices of love when reduced to an extremity.

'At the dwelling of the lovely maiden,
Three white days the bridal crowd had linger'd,—
When the fourth day dawn'd, at early morning,
Forth they led the maiden from her dwelling;
And ere yet far off they had proceeded,
Ere they reach'd the flat and open country,
Turn'd the lovely maiden to the leader,
And into his ear these words she whisper'd;
"Tell me now, my golden ring, my brother!
Who is chosen for the maiden's bridegroom?"
Softly did the marriage-leader answer;
"Sweetest sister! fairest maid, Ajkuna!
Look to right, and look to left, about thee;
Dost thou see that old man in the distance,
Who like an effendi sits so proudly
In the farthest palanquin of scarlet,
Whose white beard o'ercovers all his bosom?
Lo! it is the aged Mustaph Aga;
He it is who 's chosen for thy bridegroom."

And the maiden look'd around the circle
And within her sad heart sighing deeply,
Once again she ask'd the marriage-leader;
"Who is he upon that white horse seated,
He who bears so high aloft the banner,
On whose chin that sable beard is growing?"
And the leader answers thus the maiden;
"He 's the hero Suko of Urbinia;
He who for thee with thy brother struggled,—
Struggled well indeed, but could not win thee."
When the lovely maiden heard the leader,
On the black, black earth, anon she fainted;
All to raise her, hastening, gather round her,

And the last of all came Mustaph Aga;
None could lift her from the ground, till Suko
Sticks into the earth his waving banner,
Stretches out his right hand to the maiden.
See her, see her! from the ground upspringing,
Swift she vaults upon his steed behind him;
Rapidly he guides the courser onwards,
Swift they speed across the open desert,
Swift as ever star across the heavens.

When the old man saw it, Mustaph Aga,
Loud he screamed with voice of troubled anger;
"Look to this, ye bidden to the wedding!
He, the robber! bears away my maiden;
See her, see her borne away for ever."
But one answer met the old man's wailings;
"Let the hawk bear off the quail in safety,—
Bear in safety—she was born to wed him;
Thou, retire thee to thy own white dwelling!
Blossoms not for thee so fair a maiden!"' pp. 31—34.

These specimens of the ballads must suffice, although there are others that might be quoted with equal advantage; particularly the 'Lament of Hassan Aga's Wife,' and the 'Building of Scadra,' the former containing a pathetic illustration of maternal tenderness conflicting with the wounded feelings produced by a husband's neglect, and the latter founded on the wild superstition, that the fortress of Scadra, now Scutari, could not be raised, till a female had been sacrificed by being built up alive in its walls. Both these ballads are tragical, and are examples of highly wrought pathos.

With a few specimens from the songs and occasional poems we shall fill up the remaining space allotted to this article. These are various in their subjects and poetical merit, but they are uniformly marked with a simplicity, good taste, and refined sentiment, that would entitle them to a high rank in the imaginative literature of a people much farther advanced in civilization, than the Servians could have been. The following beautiful little poem Göthe calls 'wonderful,' and, considering the origin of these compositions, the same epithet may be applied with scarcely less force to many others.

FAREWELL.

'Against white Buda's walls, a vine
Doth its white branches fondly twine;

O, no; it was no vine tree there;
It was a fond, a faithful pair,
Bound each to each in earliest vow—
And, O! they must be severed now!
And these their farewell words; "We part—
Break from my bosom—break—my heart!
Go to a garden—go, and see,
Some rose-branch blushing on the tree;
And from that branch a rose-flower tear,
Then place it on thy bosom bare;
And as its leavelets fade and pine,
So fades my sinking heart in thine."
And thus the other spoke; "My love!
A few short paces backward move,
And to the verdant forest go;
There 's a fresh water fount below;
And in the fount a marble stone,
Which a gold cup reposes on;
And in the cup a ball of snow—
Love! take that ball of snow to rest
Upon thine heart within thy breast.
And as it melts unnoticed there,
So melts my heart in thine, my dear!"' pp. 112—114.

Some of the pieces in the following promiscuous selection are inferior to this, yet they contain genuine touches of nature, and would do credit to the lyrics of any nation, whether as breathing the spirit of poesy, or describing the workings of the gentler passions. Love was an inspiring theme with the Servian minstrels, and they handled it with tenderness and delicacy.

INQUIRY.

'A maiden sat on th' ocean shore,
And held this converse with herself;
"O God of goodness and of love!
What 's broader than the mighty sea,
And what is longer than the field,
And what is swifter than the steed,
What sweeter than the honey dew,
What dearer than a brother is?"
A fish thus answered from the sea;
"O maid! thou art a foolish girl.
The heaven is broader than the sea;
The sea is longer than the field;
The eye is swifter than the steed;
Sugar more sweet than honey dew;
Dearer than brother is thy love."' p. 184.

THE VIOLET.

'How captivating is to me,
Sweet flower! thine own young modesty!
Though did I pluck thee from thy stem,
There 's none would wear thy purple gem.
I thought, perchance, that Ali Bey—
But he is proud and lofty—nay!
He would not prize thee—would not wear
A flower so feeble though so fair;
His turban for its decorations
Has full blown roses and carnations.' p. 115.

FROZEN HEART.

'Thick fell the snow upon St George's day;
The little birds all left their cloudy bed;
The maiden wander'd barefoot on her way;
Her brother bore her sandals, and he said;
"O sister mine! cold, cold thy feet must be."
"No! not my feet, sweet brother! not my feet—
But my poor heart is cold with misery.
There 's nought to chill me in the snowy sleet;
My mother—'t is my mother who hath chill'd me,
Bound me to one who with disgust hath fill'd me."' p. 137.

SECRETS DIVULGED.

'Two lovers kiss each other in the meadows;
They think that no one sees the fond betrayal,
But the green meadows see them, and are faithless;
To the white flocks incontinent they say all;
And the white flocks proclaim it to the shepherd,
The shepherd to a high-road traveller brings it;
He to a sailor on the restless ocean tells it,
The sailor to his spice-ship thoughtless sings it;
The spice-ship whispers it upon the waters,
The waters rush to tell the maiden's mother.

And thus impassioned spoke the lovely maiden—
"Meadows! of spring-days never see another!
Flocks! may the cruel ravenous wolves destroy ye.
Thee, shepherd! may the cruel Moslem slaughter.
Wanderer! may oft thy slippery footsteps stumble.
Thee, sailor! may the ocean billows smother.
Ship! may a fire unquenchable consume thee;
And sink into the earth, thou treacherous water!'"
pp. 161, 162.

THE KNITTER.

'The maiden sat upon the hill,
Upon the hill and far away,
Her fingers wove a silken cord,
And thus I heard the maiden say;
"O with what joy, what ready will,
If some fond youth, some youth adored,
Might wear thee, should I weave thee now!
The finest gold I 'd interblend,
The richest pearls as white as snow.
But if I knew, my silken friend,
That an old man should wear thee, I
The coarsest worsted would inweave,
Thy finest silk for dog-grass leave,
And all thy knots with nettles tie." ' p. 124.

THE CHOICE.

'He slept beneath a poplar tree;
And three young maidens cross'd the way;
I listen'd to the lovely three,
And heard them to each other say;—
"Now what is dearest, love! to thee?"
The eldest said—"Young Ranko's ring
Would be to me the dearest thing."
"No! not for me," the second cried;
"I 'd choose the girdle from his side."
"Not I," the youngest said—"In truth,
I 'll rather have the sleeping youth.
The ring, O sister, will grow dim,
The girdle will ere long be broken;
But this is an eternal token,—
His love for me, and mine for him." ' p. 177.

The mythology of the Servians is not very well defined. There is an invisible personage, however, who is sometimes brought into action, and to whom great powers are ascribed. 'An omnipresent spirit,' says Mr Bowring, 'airy and fanciful, making its dwelling in solitudes, and ruling over mountains and forests, a being called the *Vila*, is heard to issue its irresistible mandates, and pour forth its prophetic inspiration; sometimes in a form of female beauty, sometimes a wilder Diana, now a goddess gathering or dispersing the clouds, and now an owl among ruins and ivy. The Vila, always capricious, and frequently malevolent, is a most important actor in all the popular poetry of Servia. She is equally renowned for the beauty of her person,

and the swiftness of her step.' This Vila has a resemblance to the *Peri* of the Persians. The tragical incident in the 'Building of Scadra' was owing to her imperious decree. She demanded the sacrifice of a human victim before the walls could be raised. In the following lines, *vishnia* means 'the Vistula cherry tree,' to which the Vilas are said to be partial.

VILAS.

'Vishnia! lovely vishnia!
Lift thy branches higher;
For beneath thy branches,
Vilas dance delighted;
While Radisha dashes
From the flow'rs the dewdrops.
Vilas two conveying,
To the third he whispers;
"O be mine, sweet Vila!
Thou, with mine own mother,
In the shade shalt seat thee;
Silken vestments spinning,
Weaving golden garments."' p. 157.

We cannot take leave of this little volume of Servian poems, without expressing our unfeigned acknowledgment to the translator for this new gem, which he has added to the diadem of English literature. His labors in the novel walks, which he has chosen, have all been successful and important, and none more so than the last. After the agreeable entertainment he has now given us, we shall be impatient to meet him again in his *Finnish Runes*, and learn from his report what the muses have deigned to sing on the northern borders of the Baltic.

ART. VI.—*The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright.* Edited by his Niece, F. D. CARTWRIGHT. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1826.

THE distinction between great wit and madness is not more nice, according to the satirist, than that between revolutions and revolts, reformers and alarmists. Even with minds of a passable share of liberality, there is, we fear, some little odium in ill success. The hero is not always complete to the vulgar eye,

unless he gains his point; and he may think himself happy to secure even the secondary fame of the martyr. Nay, the reformer, who has incurred the disapprobation of an age or a people, that he has been unable to carry along with him, sometimes even with the best grounds for his appeal, fails to have his sentence reversed by posterity, though it be, in common cases, the most impartial of tribunals. The adventurer in physical philosophy is much more secure of this posthumous justice, because his principles are equally true under all circumstances, and the glory of discovery necessarily remains with him, who demonstrates them first. But the opinions of the political philosopher may be entirely just, his aims most patriotic and laudable, and a future age, or a different community, may applaud and adopt them, yet he himself, if he do not meanwhile fall into oblivion, remain the victim of the obloquy which he incurred during his lifetime. The reason is, we suppose, that if not his principles, at least the circumstances under which he would enforce them, and the means and occasions he selects, are to be estimated by the mutable moral circumstances of society; and that the expediency by which his enterprises are to be measured, is often not more easily ascertained by posterity than it is at the moment of action. Besides, as a politician may sometimes in his theories transcend the possible in this imperfect condition of things, so he may outgo the general progress of opinion in his age or nation; and, though this cannot alter the truth, it may, in the most sober judgment, affect the estimate of his mode of contending for it. To not a few of these political reformers it happens, indeed, as to the pioneer in a new country, who enters the wilderness, and perishes in it, which his children afterwards inhabit in safety and opulence.

They, who thus unsuccessfully lead the war against the political errors of their own age or country, can hardly, at least, expect praise from those whom they have vainly attempted to mend. If they cannot content themselves with that reward which arises, according to metaphysicians, out of the mere perception of truth, apart from the praise which is due to the discovery of it, they must therefore carry their appeal to those from whose later age, or more fortunate moral circumstances, a less partial judgment may be hoped. Perhaps the subject of the memoir, of which the title stands at the head of this article, has some claim to enter an appeal of this sort with us on this side of the water, while the course of time and events is proving

the worth and truth of his opinions in his own country. His principles appear, indeed, to have been much better suited to the meridian of America than of England, where it was his fate, through a long life, to labor in their assertion with an ardor, which might be deemed importunate in a cause less honest, and to die nearly as remote as ever from their accomplishment, while, in the mean time, the rancor of party has heaped a thousand scurrilities on his name.

We doubt if even in America, the name of this sturdy champion of reform is associated with just notions of his views and character, and whether it does not borrow some stigma from the names in whose company it has often come to us. It was, indeed, a principle of his, that if his cause was good, it was a small concern with whom he went forth to battle for it. Yet this 'old radical,' this 'heart of sedition,' as Mr Canning once called him, and whom we are apt to name with a Hunt and a Cobbett, has numbered among his friends, or coadjutors, some of the best and wisest geniuses that have adorned our age; a Pitt, a Fox, a Sheridan, a Jones, a Wilberforce, a Whitbread, a Parr, and a Price. The history of his various political connexions presents some edifying commentaries on the progressive growth of patriots into placemen; and it will probably strike most readers of the occurrences of his times, that neither the extreme to which our reformer was accused of carrying his doctrines, nor the emergencies of the period, will account so well for the desertions and the persecutions he experienced, as certain other considerations, which, to the disgrace of human nature, are so common in politicians, as scarcely any longer to be considered a reproach. In fact, while our upright reformer adhered, with his characteristic pertinacity, to what he deemed the strait line of political rectitude, he found a great many of his associates gambolling in the convenient spiral of *expediency*, which was sometimes, it may be presumed, rather a private than a public expediency. He was a very Sysiphus, whose rock of reform never reached the summit, though he gave it his shoulder full half a century.

But whatever disrespect or ill success may have pursued our champion on his own soil, his name deserves a better reception on ours, where the doctrines of liberty have a wider sway, and where gratitude, too, interposes some claim in his behalf. At a time when no member of the British parliament seems to have conceived, either the justice or the policy of conceding

independence to the colonies, Cartwright had the boldness and the forecast to propose it, suggesting, in his work entitled *American Independence*, a union between the colonies and the mother state, under separate legislatures. The issue is panegyric sufficient on this proposition, of whose advantage to England Mr Laurens was so sensible, that when asked his opinion of it, he made this forcible reply; 'That it was better for the repose of mankind that it should not take place, since it would render the kingdom thus united too formidable to the rest of the world.' Horne Tooke declared, that half a dozen such men as Cartwright, in each county, would have arrested the American war. Indeed, the date of our obligation is older yet; for it appears from Evelyn's Memoirs, that symptoms of resistance to the mother country having manifested themselves in New England in his day, conciliatory measures were adopted in consequence of representations made to the council by Colonel Cartwright, an ancestor of the Major's. As the reformer himself, during many years, and by various publications, proved the steadfast friend of America, he seems to have the like claim with another venerable name, to reparation in the gratitude of this fortunate shore, for what he may have lost in behalf of liberty on another. With a feeling of this kind, combined with a natural and more general interest for all the votaries of liberty, we propose, though the biography of the reformer has not been republished in this country, to give from it some particulars of his life, with the wish to introduce to the better acquaintance of our countrymen a character not, perhaps, generally understood by them.

John Cartwright was born on the seventeenth of September (old style), 1740, at Marnham, in Nottinghamshire. His family was of remote antiquity, and suffered in its possessions by adhering to Charles the First. One of his ancestors was an intimate of the celebrated Cranmer, and married his daughter; and, on the dissolution of the abbeys, received three of them from that prelate, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The abbey of Ossington, a part of this benefaction, is still in the family. The father of the subject of our memoir, was a man of much energy of character, and was also something of a reformer; for to him the public is indebted for the abolition of that bugbear to decayed gentlemen, the practice of giving vails to servants. This measure was solemnly proposed by the Duke of Norfolk, *at a county meeting*, and Mr Cartwright was the forlorn hope

who first carried it into execution; for such was the indignation of the serving-men at this invasion of a venerable abuse, that it was really expected the attempt would be followed by serious consequences. John used to say, that his father had a genius for encountering difficulties, of which a better proof can hardly be mentioned, than that he was thirty years engaged in persuading the gentry of his neighborhood to the undertaking of a public work, whose expense did not, in the end, exceed eight thousand pounds. Of the brothers of the reformer, George is well known as the author of a *Journal of Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador*, and Edmund was a useful mechanician, celebrated for the invention of the power-loom.

At five years of age, John was sent to a grammar school at Newark, and afterwards at Heath Academy, in Yorkshire, to neither of which seminaries does he seem to have owed much obligation. He often complained of the deficiency of his early education, in which, except a little Latin, he acquired no language but his own; and, like a good many others, he was forced to make up by self instruction, for the neglect or ignorance of the pedagogue. He made some proficiency, however, in mechanics and practical mathematics, by means of which he was afterwards a useful associate to his ingenious brother, Dr Cartwright. His vacations, and a good part of his childhood, were passed under the roof of John Viscount Tyrconnel, who had married his father's sister, and whose sturdy whiggism may have given some bias to the youthful mind of his nephew. It is of this zealous old politician that the story is told, that when divine service was performing in his chapel at Belton, he was observed to be greatly agitated during the reading of the prayer for parliament, stirring the fire with violence, and muttering impatiently to himself, 'Nothing but a miracle can mend them.' Young Cartwright's parents wished to retain him at home, and educate him to agricultural pursuits. But though his temper was extremely gentle, and his exterior calm and contemplative, he was desirous of active employment, and in a sudden fit of enthusiasm for the great Frederick, who was then successfully building up Prussia at the expense of her neighbors, he left home to enlist in his service as a volunteer. This brilliant scheme, which, with a temper as impatient of tyranny as his, was likely to end in Spandau or Magdeburg, had fortunately a more sober termination in his being allowed, at the intercession of his mother, to enter the navy of his own country. The

young sailor was at the taking of Cherbourg, and subsequently in the celebrated seafight between Sir Edward Hawke and the French admiral Conflans, in which, of the twentysix men he had under his command, thirteen were killed at his side, himself escaping with a slight scratch from a splinter. Lord Howe being afterwards selected to a service of some danger, in the same expedition, chose only one lieutenant and two midshipmen to accompany him, of whom Cartwright was one; a circumstance which gave him extreme satisfaction. Indeed Lord Howe and old Captain Baird, the companion of Lord Anson, seem greatly to have excited the admiration of our young hero. The former was habitually taciturn, and had a solemn gravity of countenance, which procured him from the sailors the nickname of 'Black Dick;' and Cartwright used to relate, that it was a saying among them, 'We are going to have some fun in the fighting way, for Black Dick has a smile on his face.'

While yet a midshipman, and at the age of twentyone, Cartwright turned his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns on board ship, and his suggestions are given by his friend Falconer, the poet, in his Marine Dictionary, under the article 'Exercise.' Always impatient of inaction, he also proposed to Lord Howe to burn some French men-of-war lying at the mouth of the Charente; a project declined as too hazardous, but with high commendations of the young man's spirit and intelligence. In 1762, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and, in 1766, to be first lieutenant of the Guernsey, then on the Newfoundland station, where he was appointed by Sir Hugh Palliser, his deputy or surrogate within two districts; in 1767, he was made deputy commissary to the Vice Admiralty Court in Newfoundland. In these posts, and during the whole of his naval service, he possessed the confidence of his superior officers, and excited sentiments of kindness in those under his command, which some of the most distinguished veterans in the navy used afterwards to acknowledge in strong terms. Among them were Admiral Young, Admiral Berkely, Admiral Charles Hamilton, and Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook round the world. The first sent for his old friend on his death bed, to remind him of their early friendship; and the last used to say, with tears in his eyes, that his friend Cartwright had been a father to him.

During his residence in Newfoundland, he made a short

exploratory journey into the interior, as far as a lake which he named *Lieutenant's Lake*, and which proved to be the source of the river *Exploits*. To this expedition, which occupied him ten or twelve days, and in which, as occurred to him on occasions of a different kind, he left his over-wearied companions behind him, he often reverted with great satisfaction, remarking that he did not wonder at the attachment of hunters and backwoodsmen to this wild and independent sort of life. Amidst these solitary birch woods, whose stillness was seldom disturbed by a deer, or even a bird, and where the whole days' refreshment was perhaps a few whortle or cranberries, it was a luxury to sit at night by a fire of pine branches, on which he broiled his supper of reindeer's flesh, and then to sleep soundly on a bed of birch bark and leaves. On his return from this country to England, he brought with him an Esquimaux woman, from whose astonishment at every thing she saw, 'I derived,' he says, 'a singular entertainment.' Though brought up a barbarian, she soon became not a little civilized, showing no lack, at least, of those passions which distinguish polite ladies in refined countries; for, though a fright herself, she found much fault with the Englishwomen's dress, and could by no means allow them to be handsome. To the men, on the contrary, she showed much more justice. There is a well known story of this woman, that, on being shown the interior of St Paul's, she was so struck with astonishment and awe, that her knees shook under her, and, leaning on her conductor, she asked in a tremulous voice, 'Did man make it, or was it found here?' When informed that she must return to her own country, the money for her support being expended, she asked why she could not go into the woods, and kill venison; and when told that she would be hanged if she killed venison in England, she laughed heartily, exclaiming in a tone of great contempt, 'Hanged for killing venison! That 's too foolish.'

On quitting Newfoundland, in 1770, Lieutenant Cartwright, with his characteristic disinterestedness, gave in a memorial in behalf of his successor in the deputyship, representing the inadequacy of the pay, though he had himself, for five years, suffered all the inconvenience of it without murmur. In this year he published a letter on the ornamental designs for ships' heads, moved thereto, it would appear, from seeing the head of a ship called the Queen, decorated, not with some gentle *personification* of Queen Charlotte, but with a ferocious lion,

with jaws distended for carnage. He suggested in this letter a nautic order of architecture, an idea he afterwards matured in his designs for a temple of naval celebration. He wrote, too, though unacquainted with the inventor, a strong commendation of Bentinck's newly invented chain pump. On the commencement of the Spanish war, on account of the Falkland Islands, he was invited by Lord Howe to be one of his lieutenants, and gladly accepted the offer; but on the dispute being adjusted, he returned home to repair his health, which had been injured by the hardships he encountered in Newfoundland, and which continued indifferent for many years after. He was at one time given up by many of the faculty; but his life was saved by the celebrated Dr James. During this interval he was not idle, however, but employed it in writing a pamphlet on the rights and interests of Fishing Companies; and, notwithstanding his bad state of health, was extremely anxious to be sent on the northern expedition which went out under Captain Phipps. His attention to this subject may be seen in the information, which he supplied to Daines Barrington, in his work on the possibility of approaching the North Pole. In the expeditions of Ross and Parry, at a later day, he felt a very lively interest. In the year 1772, he drew up a plan for a perpetual supply of English oak for the navy, of which a reverend bishop candidly remarked, what might have been said of many other schemes of our reformer, 'We are not honest enough for such plans as these.' This plan, however, after ten years' endeavor on his part to bring it to the notice of government, was afterwards partially adopted, but without any acknowledgment of its author.

In 1774, he wrote his 'Letter to Edmund Burke,' and his attention became turned to political subjects. It was in this year, and about the time that our Patrick Henry broached the same idea here, that he began to print his *Letters on American Independence.* On publishing this work, he caused a short argument to be printed, which, together with the tract itself, was distributed to the members at the door of parliament. He did not argue this great question, like some of his contemporaries, on the ground of charters or acts of parliament, nor, like others, on that of expediency, but on the broad foundation of natural and inherent right. 'It is,' says he, 'a capital error in the reasonings of several writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate

or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove their right to it, by grants, usage, or municipal statutes. It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one, but is original in every one.' 'I deny that Magna Charta is the basis of the English constitution. It is indeed a glorious member of the superstructure, and was but a formal declaration of rights already known to be the constitutional inheritance of every Englishman.' His arguments probably made little impression on the public, which had neither gone so far in the science of liberty, nor was of such a temper towards the colonies, as to render them palatable. *Taxation no Tyranny*, with its narrow principles and unapt illustrations, was better seasoned to its taste, having already gone through three editions. If the welfare of the governed is any argument in these great questions, the present situation of this country says as little for the political wisdom, or the foresight of Johnson, as it is honorable to those of this uncompromising assertor of liberty. Cartwright published a second edition of his work in 1775, in which year he was appointed major of the Nottinghamshire militia, the title by which he was generally distinguished afterwards, and is best known.

He was indefatigable in training this corps, exerting in its discipline his customary inflexibility. On one of the training marches, perceiving that the men loitered in an unmilitary manner, he assured them he would find means to prevent such irregularity in future, and the offence being repeated the next day, he drew them up just as they came in sight of their quarters for the night, and facing them about, marched them three miles back. Another anecdote will show what opinion was had of his integrity. A soldier had been sentenced to be flogged, and was advised, as he had a vote for Nottingham, for which place the Major was proposed, to plead to him for forgiveness. 'It will be of no use,' said the man, 'and for that very reason.' He had to encounter many petty intrigues in this post, and was much annoyed and thwarted, as his political opinions began to be known. He kept it, however, with proportional pertinacity, till in the year 1791, having attended a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, the Duke of Newcastle sent to inform him, that in consequence of it he could not promote him to the lieutenant colonelcy of the regiment, then vacant. A less determined man would have resigned

in such circumstances; but the Major was in no humor thus to oblige his pursuers, and even when resort was had to the supposed authority of an act of parliament to displace him, he still remained deaf to the hint. At length the duke commissioned another major in his place; but to this, considering it illegal, he paid no attention, declaring he should still appear in uniform at his post. His dismission was accomplished at last, in 1792, by virtue of some recent act of parliament. No soldier, certainly, could have defended his post better; and we may learn from this anecdote both his obstinate resistance of what he thought injustice, and what sort of odium this untractableness was fitted to excite in his opponents. An old acquaintance used to say of him to his wife, 'Your husband, madam, is the best bred obstinate man I ever was acquainted with.'

A transaction, which took place in 1776, proved that this firmness obtained also in his political principles. He had always been eager of promotion in the navy, and Lord Howe being appointed at this time to command against the colonies, signified to the Major a desire of having him along with him in America. Cartwright, though very sensible of the advantages of the proposal, and though he was then attached to a lady whom by these means he would have been put into a situation to marry, had the integrity and spirit to refuse it, at some risk even to his reputation as a soldier, alleging that he could not do wrong to his principles, by fighting in a cause which he disapproved. It is stated by his biographer, that some proposition had been made to him about this time, of a command in the American navy; 'but I thought,' said he, 'that nothing could absolve me from my duty to my own country, and that I ought to stick to the old ship as long as there was a plank of her above water.' In this year he received the freedom of the town of Nottingham, the compliment being rendered more grateful by being made at the same time to Sir George Saville; and he wrote his earliest work on parliamentary reform, the first, with the exception of some tracts by the late Earl Stanhope, ever expressly published on the subject.

From this time forward he was devoted to the two great objects of annual parliaments and universal suffrage; through what difficulties, and with what eventual ill success, is well known to such as are conversant with the history of the times. The work referred to, was called *Take your Choice*, and to the second edition of it he prefixed another, entitled 'The

Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated;' in both these tracts he lays down equal representation as a right, and annual election as a security for its preservation. It seems that a passage in 'Take your Choice' gave vehement offence to the Duke of Richmond, 'who, with the book in his pocket, and the offensive leaf turned down, introduced himself to the author.' The interview, thus inauspiciously begun, had a very different issue from what is usual with two controvertists, resulting not only in mutual satisfaction as to each other's sentiments, but in a friendship and correspondence of some duration. A short time after, in April, 1777, Major Cartwright presented to the king an address recommending peace with America, and proposing the union, which he had suggested in his *American Independence*. 'I heartily wish,' says he in a letter, 'that his majesty may be wise enough, and good enough, to pay attention to it, as I am very certain he would find it for his happiness and peace.' His book led him to an acquaintance with Mr Burke, which, from the tory principles always felt perhaps, and, soon after, openly professed by the latter, was probably of very short duration. One of our politician's most intimate associates was Lord Effingham, who had refused to serve in the American war from like scruples with his friend's. This nobleman used to say, that he thought Lord North's life of the greatest consequence to the country, as it was evident, should he die, there would come into the cabinet 'seven spirits worse than the first.' The publication at this time, of a pamphlet by the celebrated Dr Price, justifying every material principle asserted in 'American Independence,' gave great pleasure to its author. 'It is with infinite satisfaction,' says he in a letter, 'that I find the wisest and best men now adopting the plan I was the first to propose four years ago, of entering into an alliance with the colonies as independent states.'

Indefatigable in his pursuits, Cartwright exerted himself in the following year to form a Society of Political Inquiry, and the plan, though ineffectual, probably laid the foundation of the Society for Constitutional Information, instituted in 1789. In the latter end of the year, he was invited to stand for the town of Nottingham; but, on the offering of another candidate, his friends advised him to decline. He was equally unsuccessful in the county, his opponent being supported by the Duke of Portland, who wrote to Major Cartwright, alleging the near relation of the rival candidate to his Grace, and warning him

against a second disappointment. To this the Major replied, that he himself was rather more nearly related to his Grace, if pedigree gave any pretension to a seat in parliament; that as to disappointment in another election, he should do, as he presumed his Grace would, what he thought best for the public good; and, that his Lordship might see he was above flattering any man, that he must necessarily be right because he was a whig, and opposed to a set of very bad ministers. His subsequent efforts for a seat in parliament met with no better success, nor had he ever an opportunity of pressing his political views in that assembly. One cause of this was probably his uncompromising opinions as to the purity of elections. He always declared he would not expend a shilling in an election, even for a ball; and it was in one of these borough negotiations, that he begged it would be remembered, 'that he had no political gratitude.'

When in the year 1779, the British fleet was driven into harbor before the combined fleets of France and Spain, Major Cartwright on the spur of the occasion, formed a plan of defence uniting military and naval operations, to the merit of which the Duke of Richmond, and General Debbieg, bore honorable testimony. He likewise planned a defence of the dockyard at Portsmouth, and devoted some attention to a system of naval surveying, by which to ascertain the exact movements of a fleet during action. Something of the same sort was introduced by Napoleon, as useful in clearing up points respecting manœuvres, involving sometimes the reputation of officers. In the beginning of the next year, a general meeting for the redress of grievances was held in the county of Nottingham, of which he was the original mover. The Duke of Portland was chairman of the committee of correspondence voted by this meeting, and his brother, Lord Edward Bentinck, was chosen a deputy to the convention from the petitioning towns. Cartwright was chosen deputy for the town of Nottingham. Soon after was held at the King's Arms the Westminster Committee, in which resolutions were passed on the state of the representation, and of which Sheridan was chairman. And in the same spring, our politician accomplished what he had long had at heart, the establishment of a Society for Constitutional Information. He himself wrote the first address of this Society, which included some of the first talent and respectability of the kingdom; among the rest, Dr Price, Granville Sharp,

General Fitzpatrick, Lord Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), the Duke of Richmond, Sir Cecil Wray, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir John Sinclair, Sheridan, Day (author of 'Sandford and Merton'), Dr Edwards, Stratford Canning (uncle of the present premier), the Earl of Selkirk, and others. He was the author also of a 'Declaration of Rights,' published and distributed by the Society, which Sir William Jones said 'ought to be written in letters of gold.' Though little apt to mention what was flattering to himself, the old Major used to relate with great pleasure, that the immortal Chatham exclaimed, on reading this production, 'Aye, this is right, this is very right.' He enforced the same principles in '*The People's Barrier against Undue Influence and Corruption*,' published in the same year. In November of this year, 1780, he was married to Anne Katharine Dashwood, eldest daughter of Samuel Dashwood of Well Vale, Lincolnshire. Circumstances had deferred this union for nine years. Their constancy was rewarded by forty-four years of connubial harmony, and he imputed to this worthy woman, not only the chief happiness of his life, but its prolongation beyond the ordinary term of man. He always addressed her in his letters, as his 'dearest and best friend.' In the following year were written his 'Letters on the Inequality of Representation, and the Inadequacy of Petitions to Parliament for mere Reform in Public Expenditures.' In consequence of the death of his father at this period, he was, for some time after, much engaged in the arrangement of family matters. On this occasion he gave an instance of his usual singular disinterestedness. He had, some time before, expressed an apprehension that his father's will might be too favorable to himself, to the injury of others, and it was probably owing to his representations that the old gentleman made a new one, constituting his eldest surviving son George, his executor and heir to his principal estate. George had been unfortunate in some speculations in Labrador, and his embarrassments made him desirous of disposing of the family estate of Marnham. John became its purchaser, and took up his residence on it, devoting himself at the same time so assiduously to settling the family affairs, that for a twelvemonth he seldom labored less than eleven hours a day. His care of his family was incessant; his grandfather used to say, 'He was born to be the father of it!' He found time, however, to submit to Lords Howe and Keppel a plan for raising the Royal George,

which, with the fate of many of his propositions, though allowed to be the best, was never put in execution.

Nor did he forget his favorite project of parliamentary reform, though it would not be very interesting to mention all the meetings for the promotion of it, in which he bore a part. At one which Fox called at Westminster, to apologize to his electors for his resignation, our politician remarked, that though he had heard much of the impracticableness and absurdity of equal representation, it seemed to him there was no greater hardship in giving every man a right to elect, than there was in his being taxed in the minutest article of food and raiment. Speaking of Fox a day or two previous, he said, 'I wish his constituents would give him three thousand pounds a year, and keep him out of office;' and of Lord Shelburne he held the same tone. 'The last time I saw him,' he writes, 'he said all I could possibly wish; he was not then a minister.' This ministerial malady seems also to have seized on Lord Rockingham, who, when the question of reform was brought forward by Mr Pitt, in 1782, had the misfortune to forget the day of the discussion! Indeed this staunch champion of liberty found, in the progress of his career, so many hollow or lukewarm patriots; so many 'very moderate Whigs,' as somebody once called Dr Robertson; that it was not without reason he said, 'Cæsar has friends, Pompey has friends, but none are friends to Rome.' On this same subject of reform he used to add, 'Why a cobbler in a cinque port shall have his franchise, and a manufacturer in Birmingham shall have none, would puzzle any casuist on earth, except those in our House of Commons.' He persevered however, in spite of defection and defeat, in his political plans and efforts, which, from this time till 1788, were as various and earnest as ever. He promoted the Society for Constitutional Information, and corresponded with the chief patriots of the day in Ireland; he procured petitions from the various unrepresented towns, in aid of Mr Pitt's plan of reform; and he wrote to that statesman his hope, that his specific scheme would completely reinstate the people in their rights. The cause of reform wore at this time a more promising aspect than at any other period of its history, being espoused not only by such as might be stigmatized as low bred and discontented meddlers, but by men of rank and consequence, and ostensibly by ministers themselves. He wrote, also, during this period, a reply to Soame Jenyns's *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*,

and cooperated zealously in the efforts of Clarkson and Sharp for the abolition of the slave trade.

The French Revolution, at this time in its infancy, and wearing the most auspicious aspect for the liberties of mankind, was welcomed, it may be supposed, with the liveliest pleasure by this earnest apostle of freedom. On the eighteenth of August, 1789, he addressed, in this spirit, a letter to the 'Committee of the Constitution of the States General.' Not only, however, was this fair prospect soon overclouded in France, but the excesses of the Revolution wrought very disastrously on the cause of reform in England. Not a few of its friends, who had been willing enough to restore the edifice of the Constitution to what they deemed its pristine beauty, were terrified by the storm, which seemed likely to tear it from its foundations, and thought it more prudent to remain in a leaky house, than to enter on repairs amidst this convulsion of the political atmosphere, much less to pull it down, and build it anew. Our reformer, however, was no whit less tenacious of his principles, because he saw them disfigured and abused; nor did he forgive those who, with less pertinacity, yielded them to the alleged expediency of the day. Of Mr Pitt's sincerity he began to entertain some doubts. His friend, Dr Jebb, had told him long before, that 'politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty, than any minister ever did before him.' Cartwright, at this time, stopped far short of his friend, in his censure of that energetic minister. 'I confess,' he says, 'that though on parliamentary reform, and a few other points, he has not satisfied me, my objections go no farther than doubts, and these doubts are mixed with hopes of somewhat great and good in future.' Men may differ as to the policy of the two parties in this crisis; but the subsequent censure of Mr Pitt by the 'father of reform,' comes with the more weight from him, as he was far from sharing in the republican notions disseminated by Paine and others. On the contrary, he assiduously labored to counteract them in the popular societies of the day, not merely on Machiavel's principle, that it was wise to retain forms, but in the honest persuasion that the spirit of the English constitution was highly favorable to liberty.

The events of the year 1793, both foreign and domestic, probably gave his rising suspicions of Mr Pitt a more definite character. The alliance of the sovereigns against France, he

regarded in the light in which posterity will, on the whole, be likely to view it; as not more reconcileable with policy than national justice. 'It may be worth our while,' said he, 'to consider what company we are to keep in this affair.' Of these confederates to revenge the murder of a king, one had seized the throne of her husband by means of that very crime, and the others had gone shares with her in the plunder received by the glorious *settlement* of Poland in 1791! 'It is a bold mockery in ministers,' he added, 'to propose to a nation, lovers of justice and freedom, a part in such a confederacy.' At home, the prosecutions instituted by the government against the friends of reform, gave him more serious uneasiness, and, indeed, spread no small dismay among the people, who beheld them urged by the the very minister, that, a few years before, had been seen solemly to pledge himself in the same cause. Major Cartwright took a deep interest in the fate of Muir; his strong feeling breaks out in the letter, which he wrote in his behalf to the Duke of Richmond. 'It is long,' says he, 'since I had offered your Grace any of my thoughts; but a letter from on board the hulks, which I have just read, bears down all reluctance. Read that letter, my Lord, I beseech you; if the writer merit the treatment he has received, I also, and your Grace ought to be cast into dungeons among felons. But if he be the victim of that corrupt system, which your Grace and I have labored to reform it is needless to say more.' But the trial of Holt, the printer of Newark, gave him still greater uneasiness. This young man was fined fifty pounds for each publication, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, for publishing two addresses, one of which was originally drawn up by Cartwright himself, and received the sanction of a society composed of the most distinguished characters of the day. He attempted, but in vain, to take this unfortunate man from his fate, by coming forward to prove himself the author of the obnoxious paper. The sentence proved the ruin of Holt's affairs, and caused his premature death. Yet, on this occasion, Cartwright's stern sense of duty, brought him forward to exculpate the minister, of whom, as he says, experience had taught him to think so badly, from the charge of having himself, as a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, given countenance and circulation to the paper on which Holt's prosecution was founded. Mr Pitt, he tells the editor of the Monthly Magazine, was not a member of that society, nor of any other having similar objects.

The trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall and others, followed shortly after, and such was the consternation they excited, that many of the most zealous members of the constitutional societies sought anxiously to withdraw their names from them, and to shrink if possible into obscurity. Though the conviction of Tooke and the others would have made the situation of Cartwright himself not a little critical, he appears to have felt no personal anxieties; and far from concealing his connexion with the prosecuted reformers, he addressed to the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, his old friend, and former political associate, a request for permission to visit Tooke in prison. In the letter preferring this request, he not only avows his personal friendship for the prisoner, but alleges as an additional reason of his desire to see him, that he had himself for many years cooperated with him in the matter of parliamentary reform, and that it was indeed the great happiness of his life to have been active in the very cause, for which the accused was suffering. His grace replied, that Mr Cartwright could have only the same permission to visit Mr Tooke, which government allowed to other persons; a refusal we presume, in plain English, to admit him at all.

In the event of these trials Cartwright, as may be supposed, felt a profound interest. On that of Hardy, he says, 'Gibbs spoke like an angel,' and Erskine, who made a speech of six hours, (some length in *those* days), was at last so exhausted, that he could not be heard by the judges, and an intermediate person was obliged to repeat what he said. 'These trials,' he writes to a friend, 'will turn out as I expected, vindictive and iniquitous, and instead of suitable prosecutions for smaller offences in a very few wrong headed man, we shall have a war against liberty and its virtuous defenders.' Hardy's acquittal gave him incredible satisfaction, and he communicated it to his family in the following letter; 'Hardy is acquitted. J. C.' When Tooke was pronounced 'not guilty,' the air, he says was rent with shouts of joy, and 'Felix trembled.' After they subsided, Tooke, who during the whole trial had conducted himself with wonderful firmness and readiness, 'addressed the court in a few words, and then said, "I hope, Mr Attorney General, that this verdict will be a warning to you not to attempt to shed men's blood, on lame suspicions and doubtful inferences." He then turned to the jury, and thanked them for his life. Every man of them shed tears. This brought tears to

the eyes of Tooke who, during a six days' battle, had stood as dauntless as a lion, giving a stroke to one and a gripe to another, as if he were at play. The jury were out but five minutes, a time barely sufficient to reach their room and return; yet on first forming it, the panel bore such evident marks of management and partiality, that Erskine said to Tooke, "They are murdering you." When it is added, that there were but four of the jury who thought at all favorably to Tooke, it may be imagined what they thought of the trial. 'Had these trials,' said Cartwright, 'ended otherwise than they have, the system of proscription and terror, which has for some time been growing in this country, would have been completed and written in innocent blood.' On Thelwall's trial, the Duke of Richmond, his old acquaintance and a brother reformer, made, to use his own words 'a sneaking figure'; and Sergeant Adair's opening speech of seven hours, nearly lulled him to sleep, as it actually did the Chief Justice. Notwithstanding his deep concern in these proceedings, our politician, during all the time they lasted, never failed to write home from London, where he was attending the trials, the most minute instructions respecting the management of his farm at Brothertoft; an evidence of a certain constancy of spirit, which distinguishes here and there a few.

Tooke, as we have mentioned, showed no want of a manly tone on his trial. When urged by Chief Justice Eyre not to acknowledge his handwriting too hastily, he broke forth with great spirit; 'I protest before God, that I have never done an action, never written a sentence in public or private, I have never entertained a thought on any political subject, which taken fairly, with all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, I have the smallest hesitation to admit.' The evidence given on the trial, by his friend Cartwright, was of a piece with the confidence and honesty of this declaration. Though interrogated by the attorney general as to his own private opinions, and how, under their guidance, he would act in particular cases, he did not seek to shelter himself under the legal excuse, that they were irrelevant to the cause and ensnaring to the witness, but answered them with a fearlessness against which the judge thought fit to caution him. It seems evident from his testimony, that Tooke, no more than himself, ever aimed at subverting the constitution and monarchy. The Society for Constitutional Information, of which, together with many of the first minds in

the kingdom, they were members, was designed to promote the recovery for the people of what were deemed their lost rights, representation in parliament, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments. Its members were men, probably, whose views differed essentially, some of them not going all the length of these objects, while others may have gone beyond them. But in regard to Tooke, the testimony of Cartwright is direct, that he was so far from inimical or disrespectful to royalty, that he at all times held the aristocratical and regal branches of the government as excellent in themselves, and that, with reform in other particulars, they would compose a more perfect constitution than any on earth. As for himself, Cartwright being examined touching some expression said to have been made, about strangling the vipers aristocracy and monarchy, said he did not remember it, but if it had been used in speaking of governments where monarchy and aristocracy were enemies to freedom, he should have thought it extremely well applied. 'Had I thought,' said he, 'there were any conspirators in the society, I would have assisted in bringing them to justice.' He did not look on Mr Paine's writings, for instance, as any more a conspiracy to overturn the government, than any other discussions on government. Chief Justice Eyre observed to him, that, 'in connecting himself with bad men, he could not be sure that he would not be carried beyond his own purpose;' and that his declaration that he would sign a petition for reform with any man however bad, though it might be very sincere, was not very prudent. The popular story goes, that the patriot replied to this remark, that 'he came not there to state what was prudent, but what was true.' He made no reply, however, at the moment; but he used to say, that in the stage-coach of reform, he certainly no more regarded the company he kept, than when he served in the militia with what Arthur Young called the dregs of the people, or in the navy, with the refuse of the night-cellars of London, and felons from Newgate. Lord Wellington, I suppose, said he, concerned himself but little about the private character of the soldiers with whom he gained the battle of Waterloo. This mode of thinking, aside from its abstract justness, might be pardoned in one who constantly, at elections, saw in persons of the highest rank, and the greatest pride, condescensions to the lowest and basest of mankind, which he himself was never known to practise.

In the course of Tooke's trial, a letter from him to Lord Ashburton appeared in evidence, in which he thus states the difference of opinion between himself and his friend Cartwright, on the subject of representation; that his friend thought every man had an equal right to freedom, to representation as the security of that freedom, and to a vote as the means of being represented; and that his final conclusion was, that every man should have an equal share in the representation. 'Now, my lord, I conceive the error to lie chiefly in the conclusion; for there is a great difference between having an equal right to a share, and a right to an equal share.'

In 1795, he published his 'Commonwealth in Danger,' in answer to Arthur Young's 'Example of France a Warning to Great Britain.' Young had in his work treated our reformer with that small share of ceremony, used by political controvertists in all countries to their antagonists, be their private virtues what they may; and after bestowing liberally on him the epithets of Jacobin, cut-throat, thief, and reformer, (names of like contempt, probably, in his esteem) paid him the farther compliment of recommending his works to the notice of the attorney general. Cartwright indignantly repelled an assertion of Young's, that he was an indiscriminate admirer of all the acts of the French Revolution. But however he might lament its excesses, he honestly avowed that he had never seen the moment, when he wished to behold the ancient despotism again riveted on that people; and there are not a few who will think him in the right. Young probably repented this virulent abuse, as he introduced himself, a few years after, to the politician of Brothertoft farm, and a cordial intercourse ensued between them. During the year 1795, our reformer, though much indisposed in health, was employed in drawing up various petitions. Being unable from illness to attend a county meeting at Lincoln, he prepared and sent a petition; and on its being rejected there without a reading, determined to present it to the House of Commons in his individual name. In his letter to Fox, accompanying it, he says, 'As long as memory remains to me, I cannot forget the obligation of an Englishman to you, for the generous and indignant opposition you have given to the two execrable bills now pending.' These were probably Lord Grenville's bill 'for the safety of his majesty's person,' and Mr Pitt's 'for preventing seditious meetings,' which two bills very much changed and extended the law touching treason and

sedition. To this Fox replies, 'I need not apprize you that my sentiments with regard to universal suffrage are far different from yours; but this difference, on an important point, has never prevented me from doing justice to your character, and sincerely admiring that ardent zeal, which has constantly animated you for the liberty of mankind.' Upon presenting the petition, after remarking that he himself had never had the support of the gentleman from whom it came, who had, on the contrary, been the strenuous supporter of Mr Pitt, till that minister abandoned the principles which had raised him to popularity and power; Fox added that strong encomium, which appears as a motto to our reformer's Biography; 'He is one whose enlightened mind, and profound constitutional knowledge, place him in the highest rank of public characters; and whose purity of principle, and consistency of conduct through life, command the most respectful attention to his opinions.'

In the following year he wrote 'The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External,' a work recommending the general arming of the people, and was proposed as a candidate for Boston, with such success as might be anticipated for one, who declared he would not expend a farthing in consideration of being elected, nor ring a bell, nor even contribute to a ball. In the year 1797 occurred an alarming mutiny in the British navy, on which occasion Cartwright wrote to his friend Admiral Young, suggesting the employment of Lord Howe, called 'the father of the navy,' to bring back the disaffected to their duty. Lord Howe, it is known, was afterwards successfully used for this purpose. Our reformer, after many ineffectual efforts, succeeded also in assembling a respectable meeting at Boston, where he proposed and carried a petition *for reform*, afterwards presented in the House of Commons by Mr Tierney. This Boston meeting was not gotten up without much pains. Of the chief persons on the popular side, wearied, it would seem, by ill success, or alarmed by the times, some wished to see the example first set by places of greater importance, and a great many, though sensible of its propriety, doubted the expediency of at present acting up to their conviction. This mode of reasoning was no novelty to our reformer; but was very unacceptable to one, whose views no complexion of times affected. 'It is not uncommon,' was his frequent remark, 'to hear persons say in seasons of emergency, they have nothing to do with politics; it would be as laudable to declare, they had nothing to do with

morality.' He produced this same year, his 'Appeal on the English Constitution,' of which this indefatigable man published another edition in 1798. In the temper of the day, these publications were made not wholly without danger. 'I think it evident,' Fox tells him in a letter, 'that nothing can now be published in favor of liberty without considerable risk. The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press, and indeed after it one can hardly conceive how any prudent tradesman can venture to publish anything, that can, in any way, be disagreeable to ministers.' In fact, the difficulty Cartwright had in finding a publisher for his second edition, obliged him to become his own bookseller.

For several succeeding years till 1802, he was much occupied with the affairs of his brother, Dr Cartwright, whose various inventions were as unprofitable to himself, as they were conducive to the prosperity of the country. Many piracies had been made of his patents, in detecting which the Major displayed his customary indefatigableness. His friend, Lord Stanhope, proved a very useful witness on the trials, from his profound knowledge of the principles and practical application of mechanics.

The subject of a temple of naval celebration, as it was called, being much talked of about this time, he brought forward a design, among others, which was pronounced by persons of the best taste, to be by much the noblest, and which the venerable West declared ought to immortalize its author. Among the designs he offered, were five nautic orders of architecture; and of the decorations some have been since adopted in the monument of one of the naval heroes of Great Britain. His work called 'The Trident,' contains the particulars of this scheme, in which he labored with his usual energy and his usual success; for after several years of toil, and an expense of five hundred pounds to himself, it was finally rejected. He could scarcely be brought to believe, that the prejudices existing against him had any share in preventing its adoption.

Such was the ill favor in which our politician was held by the government, or at least by its partisans and emissaries, that it led, ridiculously enough, to the apprehension of an agent of his, sent into Yorkshire to collect evidence of the piracies of his brother's machinery. In his possession was found a letter of instructions from Cartwright, which met the same fate as

Roderick Random's Greek diary, and seems to have puzzled the Bow street officer, as much as Roderick's production did Captain Oakum and his sapient council. Under the mask of *drawing-off rollers* and *crank lashers*, the decypherer thought he had found something extremely dangerous to the state. On learning the fate of his unlucky emissary, the Major hastened to leave a note with the attorney general, saying, that as his agent was suspected of having been sent on an improper errand, he was ready to explain the business. His majesty's officer, however, whose head ran on nothing less than treason or sedition, sent to say that no information from the Major could be of any use. When the truth came out, he was happy to excuse himself by a polite note to our patriot.

In the following year, 1803, was published his 'Letter to the Electors of Nottingham,' which, in the true spirit of party, the Anti-Jacobin Review, on the one side, called a senseless jargon, and the Monthly, on the other, complimented for its nervous and animated eloquence. He finds much fault in this publication with Mr Reeves, for calling the English constitution a monarchy, and with Arthur Young, who had asserted that the Commons House of Parliament was not intended to represent the Commons of England. The threatened invasion of Napoleon spread, at this time, dismay throughout the country, and turned the Major's attention to other matters. He was anxiously employed in devising a mode of defence; and particularly in promoting meetings in Lincolnshire, to represent the unprepared situation of that coast. He made a plan, also, of a flying drawbridge, which met the approbation of the late Sir John Moore; and a pike of his invention, though not adopted by government, was much praised by military men of different nations. A model of it has since been sent to Greece. The riots at Nottingham in this year, made him remark, that when the adherents of government were concerned in such things, there was no cry through the kingdom, no inquiry after the perpetrators. But now, when the popular voice was on the side of freedom, and there was some tearing of coats, the nobility and gentry were liberal of their subscriptions to suppress both.

It may be mentioned among the evidences of the alarm that prevailed in England of an invasion, that the Morning Chronicle thought it necessary to state, that Mr Secretary Yorke had written to the Lord Lieutenants 'not to *drive* the country on the approach of the enemy, but only to remove horses and oxen.'

The country seems to have been in no state of preparation; and, indeed, in the temper of the times, it was not easy to select a mode satisfactory to all parties, when the friends of the people beheld in a standing army, the bulwark of the augmenting power and arbitrary measures of the government, and the ministry were too jealous of the revolutionary spirit of the day, to put arms into the hands of the people. It was the desire of the popular party, and was strenuously urged by the subject of this memoir, to enrol and arm the population. Of this plan Fox writes to Cartwright, that its practicableness was doubtful, even if men could get the better of their alarms at democracy; but that these alarms made it now impossible. 'It is vain,' says he, 'to hope that you, who mean freedom, can ever get your systems patronized by those, whose wish it is to enslave the country more and more.' Cartwright was not only extremely apprehensive of an invasion, but believed that England rather than Ireland would be the scene of it; an opinion which is justified by the declarations of Napoleon, as given in a well known work. His publication on this subject, called 'England's Ægis,' appeared, for the first time, in 1804.

In the year following, our politician, whose increasing interest in public affairs rendered his agricultural pursuits irksome to him, let his estate in Lincolnshire, and removed to Chase Green, Enfield. He now published the 'State of the Nation,' in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford, urging the necessity of popular interference by public meetings, for obtaining a reform of representation, and a removal of ministers. He writes on this subject to his friend Wyvill, 'Although the spell of Mr Pitt's direful power is broken, it might be as well to let the public see that meetings may once more be held, without being dispersed by servile magistrates.' The language of the opposition, in regard to the ministry, was, at this period, not a little bitter. Its 'unexampled profligacy, the abominable corruption of the government,' the 'fallen character of the minister,' 'freedom betrayed,' and the 'wicked audacity of unbridled power,' are the expressions of Cartwright, reechoed or justified by his political correspondents. Yet these were by no means always willing to second his movements against this state of things; and on the occasion of his urging a meeting in Middlesex, he received from many distinguished persons, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Dundas, Earls St Vincent and Stanhope, and Grey and Fox, very flattering replies indeed, but all concurring

in the opinion expressed by the last, that it was no time to agitate the question. 'Indeed,' says his biographer, 'this time, in the opinion of many persons, never came at all,' or, at least, the Major never had the happiness to hit on it. His friend Stanhope seems to have discovered the secret, and fairly confesses himself weary of the dull old road of meetings of the freeholders convened by the aristocracy. We find the unwearied Major busy, nevertheless, at this time, in promoting a meeting in Middlesex, and several other meetings. In November, 1806, he was invited to stand for Boston, where, as usual, he was unsuccessful in the canvass; and, in 1807, he put forth several publications on his favorite political topics.

In this year the whigs gave way, in the administration, to a more powerful party, to whom Cartwright was as earnest as to the others, in recommending his systems of defence. Having drawn up the schedules of two bills, one for arming the people, the other for their more complete representation, he was very anxious that his friend, Sir Francis Burdett, should bring them forward during the session of 1808. Burdett, through indisposition, and from a pretty sober conviction, besides, that he should meet no support, suffered the session to pass without presenting them, to the no small dissatisfaction of the zealous Major, who had spent six months in their preparation. He writes to Lord Stanhope on this subject, 'The time is flying; the session draws near its close; before another, the king of Sweden may cease to reign, Spain may be completely French, Turkey partitioned, and Napoleon in readiness to direct to the destruction of this country, all his immensity of means.' Such were the terrors of the name, which has passed on 'the tide of times' into history. In the affairs of Spain, where the war of the constitution had just broken out, he felt the same kind of interest as in the advancement of constitutional freedom in his own country. He addressed to the Viscount Materosa, one of the Spanish deputies then in England, several letters on the form of the constitutional government, recommending the same plan of defence that he had proposed for England. He sent him also his newly invented spear. At a meeting held in Middlesex, he moved a resolution approving the reestablishment in Spain, of the ancient government of a king and an independent Cortes, so balanced as to secure liberty. It was this form of polity, formerly common to all the feudal nations, that he wished to see restored, in what he considered its purity, to his own

country. He moved another resolution expressive of a hope, which time has sadly disappointed, that what had been lost to liberty, by the levity and excesses of France, might be regained by the gravity and virtue of Spain. The progress of reform is not slower, than political predictions are uncertain. At this moment, France, of all the continental nations, is perhaps the nearest to freedom, and Spain the farthest from it.

In 1809, he answered a publication of Lord Selkirk's, who had argued against the general principles of his constitutional system, chiefly from what he had witnessed of the effects of extensive representation in America. In the August of this year, he exerted himself with some success at a meeting at Hackney, where thanks were voted him for the ability and perseverance he had shown in the cause of parliamentary reform. In August, 1810, he sold his house at Enfield, and removed to James street, Buckingham Gate, with the same view which had caused his previous removal, that he might, as he said, 'be nearer his work.' In the following year, he bestirred himself in getting up a dinner-meeting of the friends of reform, at the Crown and Anchor, which took place on the tenth of June, and, in the same month, it was resolved by a committee of it, to form a society for that purpose. A letter from Sir Philip Francis, on the subject of this meeting, is worth inserting as entirely characteristic. He says, 'My resolution on the subject of your kind letter, was founded on experience, and taken with deliberation. I cannot alter it. You are the only person to whom it would be unbecoming in me to say, that I am not young enough to embark again in what I believe to be a hopeless enterprise. I doubt the actual existence of an English public, for any great national purpose; and, if it exists, I am not its debtor. As far as I can judge, the mass of the English population is inert. The country has lost its passions, and is not fit for action. This general opinion is open to exceptions, and you are one of them.'

The distress which prevailed this year, in Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, deeply wounded the mind of Major Cartwright; and in the hope of bringing back the unhappy rioters in these places to their duty, he addressed a letter to a respectable frame-work knitter, on their folly and impolicy in destroying property. This letter was circulated gratis in the disturbed districts, and had a salutary effect. In the succeeding year, learning that thirtyeight persons, who had assembled in Man-

chester to consider a petition for parliamentary reform, had been apprehended, and sent to gaol fifty miles from their homes, on the charge of having administered an unlawful oath, he determined to go himself to the spot, in order to give them the advantage of a defence. He had the pleasure to find his exertions rewarded by their acquittal, and he proceeded thence on a kind of political tour, which gave great scandal to the friends of government. It was interrupted, however, by only one unpleasant circumstance. A small number of working mechanics having assembled at Huddersfield, to pay their respects to the 'father of reform,' were disturbed by the appearance of a militia officer, with several constables, who came to execute a warrant against our Major, and to examine his papers. 'The business not being conducted in the most polite manner, the spirit of the old reformer was roused, and he sturdily refused to permit his papers to be searched.' After a long altercation, one of the party, more courteous than the rest, begged as a favor to himself, that the Major would acquiesce in the examination, which ended, and a constable left in attendance, he was allowed to retire to sleep about half past three in the morning, a most unseasonable hour to this veteran of seventythree, who seldom transgressed ten o'clock. Next morning, accompanied by constables, with the additional escort of a crowd of curious spectators, he went in his carriage to the magistrate, who finding nothing more treasonable among his papers than some drafts of petititions, allowed him to pursue his journey.

The result of this political tour, was a vast number of petitions got up in various places, of which four hundred and thirty were consigned to the care of our tourist. On his return to town, he endeavored in vain to procure, from the office of the under secretary of state, a copy of the warrant served on him at Huddersfield. This circumstance with others was stated in a petition, presented in the House of Lords, the first of June, 1813, by the late Lord Byron, who said of the petitioner; 'He is a man, my lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions. Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on his age, but

unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, *frangas, non flectes*, he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonor.' The insult to himself occupied however, a small part of his petition, which consisted chiefly of examples of various obstructions to the right of petitioning, and persecutions of those attempting it. This right, it states, inestimable in particular for giving peaceful vent to discontents, is treated as a sort of treason; while those who exercise it, are stigmatized as criminals, and pursued by violent strainings of the law, and even by courses wholly illegal. The petition was rejected in both the Lords and Commons, on grounds foreign to its merits; the objection in the latter being the usage of the House, to receive no bill that was printed. In the August of the next year, 1814, our veteran suffered a severe indisposition, and was, in his own words, 'so near a certain bourne, that, had not Dr Maton turned me short round, I should probably have slipped in.' His chief anxiety, however, during this indisposition, was that he might live to finish his letters to Clarkson on the slave trade, and bribery at elections, two species of traffic which he classed together in enormity. The plan of making the slave trade piracy, since adopted by his own country, and by others, was developed first in these letters. Nine months before the death of the reformer, he had the great satisfaction to find his views adopted in the Message of the President of the United States, and to learn, a few months later, the conclusion of a treaty between this country and Great Britain to the same effect.

In 1815, he made, in Scotland, a second political tour, during which he delivered some lectures. Having written various letters to the person, who was to continue these after his departure, his widow, two years afterwards, wrote to inform Cartwright, that she had been offered a large sum to give them up to government, and that, *in justice to her family*, she must close with the proposal. Cartwright answered laconically, 'that it gave him infinite satisfaction to find that any of his letters were considered so valuable, and begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents.'

It were tedious to mention all the meetings on the subject of reform, of taxes, and of standing armies, attended or promoted by this unwearied champion of the people. His efforts seemed, towards the close of 1816, to be in a fair way of bearing fruit.

Flattering testimonies of respect were paid him from the many meetings held throughout England, and petitions thronged in from all sides. He surveyed with prodigious satisfaction the coaches employed to transport these huge rolls of parchment from his house to St Stephen's Chapel. One of these from Manchester, signed by nearly forty thousand persons, was designedly permitted by Lord Cochrane to unrol as he presented it, and drag its tedious length on the floor. But this prospect was soon clouded by the panic produced by the Report of the Secret Committee, and Lord Sidmouth's Circular to the Lord Lieutenants of the disturbed counties. Loyal addresses were got up, the habeas corpus act was suspended, and every restriction was placed on public meetings. Major Cartwright and his coadjutors ran such risk of being placed in the same conspicuous situation, as Horne Tooke and others a few years before, that even his friends began to cast on him the same censures from fright, as his enemies from anger. Our patriot remained wonderfully unmoved, amidst all this abuse and ridicule, which sometimes reached him from conspicuous quarters. Mr Canning, in his place in the House, called him 'the old heart in London, from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied.' The 'Times' said, the reformers had brought back the day of the Crusaders, when, as the story goes, an army marched to the holy city with a goose at its head. The Major set himself to work, nevertheless, to evade the new acts of parliament restricting public assemblies, by setting on foot *petitions by twenties.* At a meeting in Palace Yard, in the following year, a resolution was adopted for 'presenting to Major Cartwright, the patriarch of parliamentary reform, the thanks of the meeting for the exertions of half a century; while the spotless purity of his own life would have done honor to the noblest cause.' A very different notoriety awaited him in Devonshire, whither he went, not long after, on a visit to Northmore, the poet. A provincial ministerial print prefixed to the alarming intelligence, in capital letters, the word 'BEWARE.' He published in this year, two political tracts; in one of them is engraved a model of a polling table, for the purposes of the ballot, a mode of voting advocated by Cartwright from the earliest period of his political researches, though incorrectly spoken of in the Edinburgh Review, as a suggestion of Bentham's. We find him sending also to Mr Adams, now President of the United States, the second part of his 'England's Ægis,' with

his 'Appeal to the Nation.' There is inserted in the biography an answer from Mr Adams to the letter accompanying these, in which he says, 'You exhibit in the paper written in 1776, the rare, I had almost said, the only example of an Englishman who understood, and openly stated, the real merits of that great question, on which the continued union or severance of Great Britain and her colonies depended, but from which all, or the greater part of the nation, shrank or averted their eyes.'

In the year 1819, our reformer was engaged in an enterprise well fitted to bring down on him the arm of authority, and certainly very novel, as originally projected, to parliamentary and constitutional practice. Learning that some persons at Birmingham intended, in the words of his biographer, 'to urge in a manner never before attempted,' the claim of that town to be represented, he determined to visit Birmingham, and 'prevail on them to change, in some degree, their object, and mode of proceeding.' It had been their intention to elect four members, and *claim for them a seat in the House;* the Major wished them to elect but one, who should be styled, not their member, but their 'legislatorial attorney,' and who should be empowered to present a letter to the Speaker; thus, as he said, attempting a new mode of application, by sending a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment.' The pretty natural consequence of his taking part in these proceedings, was a bill of indictment against him for conspiracy and sedition; on learning which he left the metropolis, whither he had returned, and rode ninety miles to Leamington, in a single day (though then in his eightieth year), in order to meet the charge, and prevent the warrant's being served on him in London.

Having entered his bail, and returned home, he forthwith applied himself to his favourite objects, as if no prosecution had been hanging over him; interesting himself in behalf of the sufferers at Manchester, and especially in the proceedings at St Petersfield in this year. He could hardly be persuaded, that the prosecution against himself would be persisted in; and when he found it necessary to send out *subpœnas*, he wrote to the Duke of Roxburgh, whom he had summoned with much *sang froid*, 'My dear lord Duke, you have probably heard of my having been indicted for conspiring against the Constitution.' To Northmore he says, with more vivacity, 'The work of hell is already begun, in a gross and flagrant packing of the jury.

I am in great hopes this trial may serve the cause of reform.' When the jury was struck off, he strongly remonstrated against the injustice of limiting the panel to esquires, and argued with such spirit and ability, as to draw an expression of admiration from the master of the Crown Office. As he found his arguments of little avail, he declared he 'could only consider the manner in which the jury was composed, as a legal assassination of the defendants.' Had he lived to see the amended jury bill, it would have repaid him amply for this prosecution. On the same day of the month, five years after, Mr Peel proposed to extend the number of persons qualified to serve on juries, and gave the case of Major Cartwright as an instance of the extreme inconvenience of the contrary plan. The interval between the notice of trial and the assizes, naturally one of some anxiety to his family, he passed with his usual equanimity. The trial was originally to have come on in March, 1820, but from the indisposition of Mr Justice Best, it was postponed, to his great mortification, till August, his friends still flattering themselves that the prosecution would be allowed to die away. Meanwhile, he took the chair at a meeting held to celebrate the birth day of the queen, and petitioned the Commons for reform in parliament, in his own name, and in very uncompromising language. At length, on the fourteenth of August, the trial came on, and after a defence adapted rather to recommend his political opinions, than ensure his acquittal, for which purpose he did not even produce a witness, he and the other defendants were found guilty. It was not till the 29th of May, 1821, that he was called up for judgment, in the Court of King's Bench, when he was sentenced to pay a hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned till it was paid. The judge, while pronouncing sentence, spoke with so much respect of the character of the patriot, that our Major declared that he surely thought he was going to offer him a reward, instead of inflicting a fine. Before he left the Court, he produced from one of his waistcoat pockets, which he always wore of unusual size, a large canvas bag, out of which he deliberately counted a hundred pounds in gold, dryly observing (though we know not whether he meant to pun), that they were all *good sovereigns*. Very cordial greetings awaited him as he left the court, from his friends, who thought him happy to have escaped a long imprisonment at his age; a sentiment he could by no means coincide in, as he thought it hard to pay a

hundred pounds for a 'delusion,' that being the only crime the judge imputed to him.

He had meanwhile continued his political efforts of all sorts, and from this time till his death, he was equally busy in them. He published, among other things, in 1821, 'Hints to the Greeks,' which seemed, as a general officer remarked, the results of long experience in the art of war; and wrote, also, some resolutions for a meeting at Hackney, a Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers, and his Letters to Lord John Russell. In February, 1823, was held the last Middlesex meeting he ever attended, where, with his usual intractableness, he refused to give up his resolutions for some others proposed, and finally carried them almost unanimously, after having spoken in their favor with great energy. He was at a meeting at Lincoln, on the twentysixth of March, and in May, he published 'The Constitution Produced and Illustrated,' his 'last best work,' as Northmore denominated it, and of which Dr Parr remarked, 'that the author wrote with more energy the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was any man of his age, capable of producing such a work, adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."' Cartwright was then in his eightyfourth year. On this, as on a former occasion, he was obliged to become his own publisher. He wrote, likewise, a letter to the President of the Greek Congress, and to one of the Greek deputies.

It was in the September of this year, that he had the gratification of extending his hospitality to the wives of the two principal leaders in the Spanish Revolution, Quiroga and Riego, who, while their husbands were yet buffeting its storms, had taken refuge in England. They were received under the roof of the aged patriot, with the usual kindness and courtesy of his private demeanor, increased by his interest for the cause in which they were sufferers. In the agonies endured by the family of Riego, while the fate of that unfortunate chief was in suspense, he sympathized so acutely, that, for once, his habitual fortitude forsook him. When that fate was sealed, he circulated in all parts of London, a handbill recommending to the friends of liberty to wear mourning, and promoted a subscription for a monument, of which he himself drew the design. On the 9th of February, 1824, was written the last of his compositions that appeared in print, entitled 'A Problem.'

His long and active life was, however, drawing to a close, and he began to be sensible of it. In a visit to Admiral Freeman, his old messmate, and a brother midshipman at the sea-fight between Hawke and Conflans, he confessed the feebleness which he carefully hid from his family; and he told another friend 'I have strong indications that the old machine is nearly worn out.' On the 13th of July, 1824, he had the gratification of receiving from the venerable Jefferson, a long letter on various interesting political topics, the signature of which, he observed with pleasure, was as firm as that of the Declaration of Independence. 'Your age of eightyfour,' says the sage of Monticello, 'and mine of eightyone years, ensure us a speedy meeting; we may then commune at leisure on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed.' This letter he answered on the twentyeighth of July.

His last effort was to dictate a letter to the Mexican envoy. He was now evidently sinking very fast. Alone with his friend, Holt White, he said to him, 'White, they would not insure my life at Lloyd's for a fortnight.' Amidst his last sufferings, he expressed his surprise that, with a frame so exhausted, he should find it so hard to die, but exclaimed emphatically, 'God's will be done!' Two days before his death, General Michelena, the envoy spoken of above, sent 'to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established.' On hearing it, he exclaimed with fervor, 'I am glad of it, I am very glad.' These were almost his last words. He expired on the 23d of September, 1824, being within a few days of the close of his eightyfourth year. He was buried at Finchley, on the thirtieth, followed, according to his desire, by only a single mourning coach; but numbers of the poor crowded to witness his interment. A subscription for a monument was set on foot a few days after, at the meeting for which his friends and political admirers expressed their sentiments of his public and private worth, in terms which may be best described by a version of the passage from Tacitus, prefixed to his biography. 'There was nothing he so thirsted for as Liberty. Alike just in all the relations of life, as a citizen, a politician, a husband, and a friend, insensible to interest, pertinacious of right, unassailable by fear.'

The reader can hardly look back without respect, on this history of a life devoted with energy, and without remission,

to the advancement of public good. These efforts were aimed at objects abstractedly so just, and apparently so conformable to the spirit of the English constitution, that to us in this country, to whom the principles of popular liberty are familiar, the odium into which they brought our reformer, with a large and most respectable portion of the British public, seems somewhat extraordinary, especially as he had for coadjutors, at different times and in his various plans, so many persons of the highest talents and virtue. This may, perhaps, as well as the lukewarmness in his allies, of which he complains so much, be more intelligible from recollecting the general state of parties in England, the particular complexion of the times, and probably some peculiarities of character in our reformist himself.

When he first came before the public in that shape, the only political distinction existing in England, was that between Whigs and Tories, of whom it has been said, that the latter believed in the divine right of kings, and the former in the divine right of noblemen and gentlemen. His first association was naturally with the Whigs; but besides, that he found among them a very large portion, whose whole political zeal was a struggle for place, it is pretty evident from his work on American Independence, that his ideas respecting the theory of government, and the rights of the people, far outran the doctrines of most of that party. A politician, who had the boldness to argue the question of the colonies, on the broad ground of natural and inherent rights, was not likely to carry along with him, especially with the doctrine of universal suffrage in his train, any large portion of the aristocratical monarchists of England, whose largest notions of liberty hardly transcended the glorious revolution and settlement of 1688. They did not disdain, indeed, to employ the 'ancient rights of the people of England,' as a watchword in their attacks on the power of the crown; nor were they indifferent to possessing in the House of Commons, a body of independent gentlemen, as a balance to that increasing influence. Some of them, in furtherance of this security against the crown, might extend their views to the obtainment of annual parliaments; but it is doubtful, whether, among all our reformist's coadjutors in that body of men, there was one who would have been willing, in the event, to confide to the people such a share in the government as he sought for them, and as his plans, in their accomplishment, would have brought about.

Had Cartwright lived in a republic, we cannot help thinking he would have made a much better and stancher republican, than he did monarchist. Yet he always professed an attachment to the government of his own country, which we have no reason to doubt. But though he declared it to be of all systems the most admirably adapted, in its purity, to secure happiness and liberty, it is somewhat questionable, whether the reform in representation, by which he would have restored that purity, would be, at this day, and in the altered nature and circumstances of the commons of England, very consistent with either the shape or the spirit of the English Constitution, with its large tincture of monarchy and aristocracy. The most popular branch of the British parliament is anything but a representative body, in the proper sense of the term, and is composed, for the greater part, of persons placed there by those, who have a deep interest in supporting the power of the crown, and the influence of the aristocracy. That the House of Commons is a great bulwark of the people and liberty; that it embraces no contemptible amount of intellect and knowledge; and that, with the aid of that public opinion which, in some way, makes itself heard in all countries, it is a most efficacious check of the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the government, is all evident enough. But Arthur Young spoke very truly, when he denied it to be, even in theory, a representation of the commons of England; nor is it quite apparent how it can ever become so, with permanent safety to the government in its existing shape. Our reformer's aim was to make it so in fact, and so effectual to that end was the plan he projected, that it could not fail to prove a stone of stumbling to nobility and gentry, who were not quite prepared to see the influence of the other estates transferred so largely, and in the end, perhaps, entirely to the commons. Charles Fox and Horne Tooke demurred at his universal suffrage, and one of his Whig friends tells him plainly, that however they might use the people for their own purposes, they could never think of giving power to any but those in whom they could confide. Mr Fox's sincerity in the cause of reform is very suspicious. It is told of him, that he declared it to be a fine thing for argument in the House, but not fit to be carried into execution, and that he used to say, 'Whenever any one pushes a plan of reform, say you are for nothing short of

annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and then you are safe.'

The writers on the history and political constitution of England, have long been divided into two parties, the first of them contending that the liberties of the commons, especially their right of representation in parliament, are coeval with the Saxon laws, but that they suffered gradual encroachments on the part of the crown; that they were not originated, but only reasserted, under Charles the First, and subsequently confirmed by the Revolution. The other party, with Mr Hume in the van, have always treated these ancient rights in the commons as imaginary. They consider the early attacks mentioned in their annals, on the power of the crown, to have been only the resistance of a turbulent aristocracy, by whom the liberties of the commons were as little thought of, as they were themselves impatient of kingly encroachment. These liberties, they assert, are wholly of modern growth, and for this plain reason, that the commons of England were in former days so poor and dejected, that neither had they any property or privileges of value to protect, nor did they really form a body for any rights to inhere in. Cartwright was of the former school; and in claiming the right of the people to general representation, and the restoration of annual parliaments, he deemed himself to be vindicating nothing more than the ancient privileges of the English commons.

But it was not on this ground merely, that he made his stand for these rights of representation and annual election, declaring them to be as unalienable as that liberty whose chief security they were, and which he asserted to depend neither on charters, laws, nor usage. With all respect for the *politicians*, who busied themselves with this controversy, it seems to us that however interesting as a portion of history, it went but a little way towards settling the real point of dispute between them, which was, after all, only a question of more or less popular influence in parliament. To political reasoners on this side of the water, who take the safety of the people for the supreme law, and the people themselves as the fountain of all constitutions, a question about forms so obsolete as those debated in this controversy, appears of little moment; and the importance attached to it by both sides, only serves to show how apt men are, in the language of lawyers, *stare decisis*, and to shrink from the admission of principles, which may involve they know

not what deviation from the existing order of things. The adherents of the established system could scarcely have insisted, however, that it was unchangeable according to the circumstances of society and property, else they might have been at some loss to defend the happy revolution of 1688, or excuse the coming in of king William of glorious memory, any more than the invasion of William the Conqueror. The advocates of reform hardly required the authority of ancient usage, for changes which they justified on a much broader ground. Neither party, in truth, cared to express openly, the one its aristocratical, and the other its popular inclinations. As it must have been pretty obvious to both sides, that to model the representation on the plan proposed, would have been to produce a body unlike any practically known to the constitution, since the day of the Roman Conquest at least, it can excite no wonder, that the question should be regarded by the adherents of government, as a conflict between monarchy and democracy. However correctly our reformer may have construed the ancient English constitution, and however auspicious his aims to the general cause of liberty, their results to the existing institutions of his country were somewhat more questionable.

There were not a few, however, who, either from party zeal or conviction, cooperated with him in the propagation of his views, and declared, as Lord Shelburne expressed himself, 'that the House of Commons ought to be free in every circumstance of its constitution, and that the rights of the people consisted in annual elections, and a total change of the representation.' But it would appear, that a great many of these found a sudden 'change come over the spirit of their dream,' on the breaking out, or during the progress at least, of the French Revolution. The storm seemed so portentous, and threatened such trouble in the whole social and moral atmosphere, that many good patriots were alarmed at the very name of reform, and clung steadfastly to church and state, as to a plank in shipwreck. Public opinion in England suffered a sudden revulsion, in which the minister would seem to have had his full share; for the arbitrary measures, by which he enforced the public quiet, caused no small astonishment to the friends of reform, and leave his respect for liberty somewhat of a problem at this day. Our reformer, on the contrary, separating the principles from the practice of his French

neighbors, with none of the sensibilities of the aristocracy, moreover, on the score of their influence, or of the clergy, it may be presumed, for the safety of the church, could be brought to see no reason against the correction of abuses at home, in the excesses which had attended it abroad; but rather an argument for it, on the ground that the rendering of justice to the people was the best security against their violence. He had besides, all his life, had very little respect for the 'expediency,' which both foes and friends had so often thrown in the path of his efforts; and he avowed, that the only sort he could conceive of was the restoring of affairs to their just basis, the ancient, free, English Constitution. Even had the justness of his construction of it been more apparent, the wisdom of this pertinacity, at such a crisis, may create another doubt. It is a bootless task to struggle against popular alarms, in seasons of peculiar excitement; but, on the other hand, it is scarcely a more favorable period for reform, when the current of public affairs runs smooth, and the rocks, which threaten the bark of state, are overlooked in the tide of prosperity.

The various publications of Major Cartwright, of which we have mentioned many, and of which a copious list is subjoined to his biography, were chiefly occupied in the illustration and enforcement of his political opinions. His 'English Constitution Produced and Illustrated' contains the substance of these, which, indeed, might be included in two; the necessity of an actual representation of the people, to express their will; and of arming them, in order to enforce it. In all his writings there is manifest a fervent love of liberty; a reference of it to immutable principles of our nature; and a strong bias in favor of popular rights and power.

With opinions and sentiments of this complexion, and with his inflexibleness in asserting them, he would naturally draw on himself detraction and ridicule from a very large party of the British public. They, who thought he aimed at nothing less than to pull down the state, were easily led to think that his private manners answered to these mischievous political designs. From the distinguished names, which he numbered among his correspondents and allies, it may be supposed, however, that this blind prejudice was confined chiefly to the vulgar, who are found in all parties and all classes of life. Many eminent persons, who differed from him on fundamental points of politics, have rendered justice to the integrity of his motives. We

have seen what eulogium was passed on him by Mr Fox in parliament, and the very judge, who sentenced him on his conviction for the transactions at Birmingham, bore testimony to his public as well as private honesty. From personal ambition he seems to have been entirely free; 'I would always,' he says, 'rather support than move;' and provided things were well done, he was quite careless of appearing in them. His darling objects advanced so slowly to accomplishment, that it was happy for him he possessed a most abounding patience, 'being content,' he was used to say, 'to deposit the acorn in the ground, provided posterity might live under the branches of the oak.' A person once exclaimed, on hearing some instance of this noble indifference to private gain, 'They will never persuade me that this man wants a revolution, that he may share in the plunder of the rich.' Of his habitual reverence of principle, he gave an example in the case of his brother, Dr Cartwright. When this gentleman received ten thousand pounds from parliament, to indemnify him for losses on inventions, which have so materially benefited England, the Major, though he had unrepiningly sacrificed for him a large part of his own fortune, would make no interest on the occasion, with the members, 'because he was of opinion that government was not bound to indemnify individuals for losses in private speculations.' In his domestic manners he was the very reverse of the uncompromising champion, that he appeared in the arena of public concerns. He was very accessible to such as wished to consult him, especially if they required his assistance. As these could approach him without introduction, he sometimes suffered from his unguarded charity, which embraced equally all parties and sects. Like all good-hearted people, he was extremely fond of children, in whose sports he would join with great glee, saying, like the Vicar of Wakefield, 'that the greatest treat he could enjoy, was the sight of happy human faces.'

Notwithstanding his incessant occupation with politics, he introduced them rarely into conversation, and discussed them with temper. He had some facility of adapting his conversation to his company, and added to this feature of a polite man, a fund of information and agreeable anecdote, gathered from his various conversation with men. By the poor, whose friend he was, as well in private life as in politics, he was highly beloved. He was a model of punctuality in business, especially in answering letters, of which Cobbett says (if he be authority

for anything), that he 'wrote a hundred in a week, by way of episode to his other labors,' which were not small, as he left behind not less than eighty works on various subjects.

This studious labor was the counterpart of his industry in pursuing his public aims. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of his character, was, as we have said, his dauntless perseverance. Neither age, sickness, nor infirmity; neither considerations of inconvenience and difficulty; nor the certainty of obloquy and ridicule, ever turned him from his purpose. His own insensibility to these, led him to exact the same diligence from others, with too little allowance for circumstances, and perhaps some slight degree of intolerance. He was heartily tired of the delays of his political friends, and the nearer they approached what he deemed the indispensable point, the higher his anxiety rose that they should leave nothing undone. But this pertinacity may be fairly set down to his solicitude for the public weal, rather than any conceit in his own judgment, as he was willing enough to follow, if others would only go on. He was very anxious to inspire his own firmness into all his political coadjutors. When Hobhouse was committed to Newgate, the old Major, hearing that his friends advised some kind of recantation, in order to shorten his imprisonment, hurried off to exhort him against it; 'but,' said he, 'I found my errand unnecessary; the young man was firm.' He used to relate with great glee, that when the meeting and dinner took place at the Crown and Anchor in 1809, for the promotion of parliamentary reform, at which more than twelve hundred persons attended, there was one man present, who was after his own heart. This man, having had his shoulder dislocated, in getting into the room, went to a surgeon to have it set, and then returned to the dinner. He acted pretty steadfastly on his favorite maxim, that a great deal might be done, not only by striking while the iron was hot, but by striking it till it was hot. His feeling on the subject of public concerns coincided with that of Lord Charlemont, who thought that in the pursuit of what is right or salutary, no patriot should be discouraged by defeat, since, though he should not live to witness success, he may lay a foundation for the success of his survivors. So Cartwright, writing to the Duke of Bedford, exclaims, 'Surely, my Lord, it is for those alone whose objects are vicious, and whose means are corrupt, to be afraid of making efforts till they have conviction they shall succeed. In the best sense,

they always succeed. In such a cause, defeat is far from disgrace. They cause discussion, which, when they do not deviate into faction, is the soul of their cause.' One feature of faction, at least, made no part of our reformer's character. Regarding human nature on the bright side, and interpreting most favorably the actions of others, he was averse to all detraction and personal abuse, and discountenanced by his example that indiscriminate invective, which has been everywhere the scandal of party politics.

His private conversation was remarked for a scrupulous regard to truth, as well as for simplicity of language. His diction was in this, as in his writings, forcible and pithy, but not exaggerated. His manner had no vehemence. In his argumentative compositions, the matter is often diffuse, and the manner desultory, for he had not been trained to composition by the study of the learned languages, his ignorance of which gave perhaps to his English style that purity and correctness, for which it has been admired by good critics. As he advanced in age, his style became more compressed, and his last writings, when upwards of eighty, are acknowledged to be his best. In public, where he often appeared as a speaker, he made no pretensions to oratory. He went strait about convincing his hearers, dealing out good sense in correct language, but at a length which was sometimes tedious to those less zealous than himself, and which was the theme of some ridicule with the presses to which he was obnoxious. He was generally heard, however, with respect and even deference; and it was his great influence, no doubt, with a large class, which made him the conspicuous mark for ribaldry and ridicule. But though his delivery was usually cold and deliberate, he was sometimes animated to warmer efforts. When noticing, on one occasion, some unjust aspersions on Sir Robert Calder's naval conduct, his indignation, combining with his recollections of his favorite profession, drew from him a burst of eloquence, which excited the continued plaudits of the assembly.

Though familiar with defeat in his public career, he has given some examples of political perspicacity, and aided in the accomplishment of some objects, which both entitle him to the merit of a wise politician, and establish his claim as a benefactor of mankind. His boldness in foreseeing, and in his suggestions for preventing, the issue of the American war; that firmness in resisting abuse, to which his country is perhaps

indebted, in a good degree, for her improved jury bill; even his justification of the French Revolution, while, with many good and wise patriots, its excesses had caused its first principles to be forgotten; are, among others, evidences of a firm purpose, and a sagacious mind. Even in cases where his policy may seem more questionable, his merit is not small, who, amidst the crowd of wicked and scheming politicians, receives the praise of integrity at the hands of his friends, and to whom his enemies can only object, that he is mistaken.

ART. VII.—*Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.* By THOMAS COOPER, M. D. President of the South Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy. Columbia, S. C. 1826. 8vo. pp. 280.

THE author of this volume has long been known for his literary enterprise, as well as for a singular versatility of talent, exhibited in several treatises on a variety of subjects. He held a high rank, in the first place, as a writer on those connected more immediately with his profession. We have heard him spoken of as a chemist and mineralogist of no common attainments. With the extensive and intricate science of law and of jurisprudence, general as well as local, he seems to have been familiar. He is the translator of the elementary Institutes of Justinian, and the elaborate, practical commentator on that work; and we believe he was the first to make accessible to American students a book, about which they were destined to hear so much, and which yet, in the common course of legal education, was placed far beyond their reach. It is now on the shelves of every lawyer's library. In profound political inquiries, too, Dr Cooper has not been inactive. We have seen essays from his pen in this department, which cannot fail to have a certain degree of interest with the mass of readers; for whatever may be thought of the soundness of the principles, or of the accuracy of the reasonings by which they are established, they display at least ability, and are entitled to the praise of being written with spirit and perspicuity, although they are upon difficult and somewhat abstruse questions.

Dr Cooper is president of the South Carolina College; and having been relieved from the professorship of Rhetoric, Criticism, and Belles Lettres, which, it seems, devolved upon him as part of his official duties, he delivered, at the request of the trustees, a series of lectures to the senior class on the science of political economy. These lectures make up the volume before us. It lays no claim to the merit of much originality in anything. The author says, that he writes not for the adept. It was his business to introduce the pupils under his care to a full knowledge of the science in all its departments; and he hesitated not to gather his materials from every quarter, where they most advantageously presented themselves to his view, without always trying to throw over them an air of novelty, and sometimes without even changing the language of the author to whom he stood indebted, when it appeared to him to express the reasoning and the principles clearly and forcibly. His style is not always perfectly to our taste; it sometimes wants dignity, and in some places is even destitute of ordinary care; faults hardly excusable, we should say, in a professor of belles lettres and criticism; yet the general characteristic of it is to bring home plainly to the student's mind the aim and the sentiments of the writer; and in comparison with this, all other things are, perhaps, of little moment.

Before we proceed to a more particular examination of this volume, the occasion suggests to us the propriety of saying a word or two on the importance of giving the science of political economy higher ground at all our principal seminaries of education. We think the study of it in every way advantageous. If the student becomes thoroughly interested in it, he will be led to a careful investigation of the most important facts in the policy of nations, and thus to a knowledge of their situation, of their various natural productive powers, of their resources, of their connexion and transactions with each other, of their institutions, of their character, moral as well as intellectual, of everything, in short, which has raised them, or which tends to bring about their decline.

National wealth lies at the foundation of national intelligence, and indeed of all true national greatness. It was the accumulation of that, which first drew the strong line of distinction between the savage and the civilized. Polished states owe to it all their superiority and power. By establishing the division of labor, and enabling a comparatively small number to provide

the necessaries of life, and supply the common wants of every individual in society, it leaves the residue at leisure for grander and more extensively useful pursuits. It thus gives birth to the sciences and arts, to discovery, invention, improvement of every kind, and carries indefinitely far the purest and noblest enjoyments of which we are capable, as well as all those comforts and conveniences, which are indispensable to our existence. The object of political economy is to show, whence this wealth first arises; how it is naturally diffused throughout society; what are the easiest and most efficient causes of the production of it in any particular nation; and the true way in which governments can best secure its judicious appropriation and encourage its rapid advancement. Ought not the study of it, then, to be earlier and more extensively known, in our own country especially? The protection of enterprise, and of wealth in some shape, forms the sole aim of all civil legislation.

But it is not our present intention to speak of the utility of this science to the legislator or the statesman. This should be, in fact, obvious to every intelligent man; for every intelligent man in our country may be called upon either to fill those responsible stations, or to investigate strictly the legislative ability and the public administration of those who do. We are now, however, looking at the subject from an humbler point of view.

As a discipline to the pupil's mind, this study is peculiarly useful. It leads him into that sort of reasoning and of intellectual effort, which is required by all the great transactions of life. As a source of extremely pleasing as well as profitable intelligence to him, of a far more refined nature, too, than that which we have already mentioned, it holds a still higher rank in our estimation. To the inexperienced graduate at any of our colleges, who has not studied the subject scientifically, nothing can be more unintelligible and mysterious than the extensive business concerns of an opulent and flourishing community like ours. It is a vast and complicated piece of machinery, which may have excited his wonder, perhaps, but which has never called forth his active curiosity, and of which the parts that are the most familiar, and fall continually under his observation, are equally unknown, and seem to him equally inexplicable. Such, for example, is the nature of money, of banks, of the diffusion of credits, and the circulating medium in all its shapes and varieties. It would require the greatest mental power for him to comprehend, unaided, the origin of these and their

influence in the accumulation of wealth, and in the improvements of society. The science of political economy explains this, and enables him to do it easily. It points him to a few simple general principles, which reign through all the phenomena, influencing and controlling the whole, and which serve as the master springs to regulate the great movement of commerce and of enterprise in every department of human industry. This is the sort of knowledge, which becomes so indispensable to the statesman and the legislator. We speak of it now merely as it is interesting to the student.

The knowledge of some branches of political economy, too, is of much importance to the profitable perusal and even to the full understanding of history. The study of the former, as we have said, leads the student to a careful examination of the latter. But as history is now read at many of our seminaries of education, it is little better than romance or ingenious fiction. The power of the historian over minds as they are commonly instructed, lies principally in his eloquence, or in the charm of his style, or in the narration of some singularly fortunate or singularly tragical events, which are after all, perhaps, of slight consesequence in themselves; while the truly valuable details are passed by as tedious and unprofitable. The growth, and the decline, and the various revolutions of empires, depend much on the powerful, though usually unnoticed character, of their laws, and of the numerous political regulations which governments think proper, from time to time, to adopt. It is to the examination of these that the student's mind is immediately conducted by the study of political economy. It is this alone which will lead him to trace to their original sources all just and valuable national wealth, prosperity, and improvement. Without some knowledge of it, the celebrated maxim of Bolingbroke, that 'History is philosophy teaching by example,' can never be true. We are not sure of seeing aright the lineaments of individual character, nor of ascertaining the exact truth of any of those startling incidents, which usually excite in common minds the most intense interest. The materials of the story may be false or imperfect. The biographer may be partial. The historian may be partial. It would be most strange, indeed, if either of them were not so. But the great events, springing as they do from laws generally promulgated, and from public political acts, which every one has an opportunity of examining, and of seeing their influences, are made plain and certain. In

the records of these things, with which alone political economy has to do, there is nothing to fear from falsehood or favor.

May we not point out to the student also another, a still higher and more elevating pleasure, which he is to derive from the study of political economy? The noblest truths in natural theology are here unfolded to him. He sees the wise and the benevolent designs of Heaven in even the most sordid passions of our nature. The true, the real interests of all nations and of all individuals appear to be in perfect unsion, and indeed inseparately joined. The enlightened selfishness of a man or of a people, although accompanied by no generous feeling, and even, it may be, prompted by avarice and a spirit of covetousness, and desires that look not kindly on the rights of others, is yet made, by the beneficent arrangements of Providence, to administer most effectually to the furtherance of those rights. It subserves the purposes of the most perfect benevolence, the most unqualified generosity to them. It adds immediately to the accumulation of their wealth, and leads, in the plainest manner and with unerring steps, to the rapid increase of national wealth, and to the general improvement of all the enjoyments of social life. Such, we say, are the effects which the science of political economy shows will naturally spring from truly enlightened selfishness, kept, as it always must be, within the limits of honesty. Is not this a noble lesson for the intelligent youth thoroughly to study? His own true interest can never be the instrument of evil to others; it is the minister of the highest and most extensive good. This might have been a most fruitful theme in the hands of Paley. The science of natural theology has, however, been confined to our discoveries in the material world. Its noblest field of inquiry is among the affections of the mind. It has been little thought of here.

There are some speculations in our most recent treatises on political economy, which we have heard pronounced by inconsiderate men, unimportant and worthless. It is because they have never examined their true bearings upon the subject with which they are connected. 'Of what use, for example,' says the undisciplined legislator, 'of what use to us are your subtile inquiries into the nature and origin of rent, occupying, as they do, so large a space in your most popular works? They may be curious. They may be interesting to you. Your ingenious theory seems fair, and all its results may be unanswerably true. But *cui bono?* And how is it available to us in

the enactment of laws, or in any one of our political inquiries?' We find no difficulty in answering such questions as this. Let it be remembered, that rents are intimately connected with capital, with profits, with wages, in short, with every branch and division of wealth. There is a mutual dependence among them all. Particularly let it be remembered, that the question has arisen, how rents should be taxed; and this it is the business of the legislator to decide. Some may say, they ought to be wholly exempted, because the tax will fall doubly upon the same property. The estate itself is first fully taxed, and then the proceeds, which are but part of the estate, are again separately taxed. Others, again, may think this tax ought to be laid freely, and without hesitation, because it falls upon a class of people in the community who can best afford to pay it, and whose property has risen in value by the natural progress of opulence, without any meritorious efforts of their own. It is a tax, too, they say, which will hardly touch consumption. It affects neither the wages of labor, nor the profits of stock, nor the price of any articles of necessity or convenience in the market. It is for the solution of such queries as these, that the disquisitions we have mentioned are useful. We may apply similar remarks to many others.

But it is time to return to the volume under examination. Dr Cooper devotes very few of his pages to the investigation of subjects, about which there can arise any doubt with regard to their utility, or with regard to the valuable practical results to which they may lead. His greatest efforts are, as they should be, upon the most important questions. Sometimes these may seem to betray him into an undue warmth of feeling, and induce him to make severe, though they are brief, animadversions upon the conduct of our national government, rather unnecessary and unsuitable; but all this arises, we suppose, from a deeply settled conviction of the high importance, and of the unanswerable truth of the principles he is maintaining. In these inquiries he collects together, in short and forcible paragraphs, all the arguments in favor of his own views of the subject, and then, in the same clear and impartial manner, states and answers those on the other side. There are some points, it is true, in which we do not agree with him. There are some omissions, too, some well known objections against his favorite doctrines, which he has passed unnoticed. For the writer of a text book, this is wrong. In discussing, for example, the great national

question, which is now pressed upon our attention in newspapers and pamphlets from every quarter, about the utility of 'governmental encouragements,' for the protection and support of any particular branch of domestic industry, he has neglected to say anything in reply to what may be thought the most popular argument in their favor. This argument is, that admitting them to be unprofitable to the great mass of the community, and even in the long run to the individuals themselves, whom they are particularly designed to benefit, they are still essentially and indispensably necessary in order to secure on a firm foundation our own national independence.

The answer to this is perfectly simple and satisfactory. They secure in the same proportion, and to exactly the same extent, the independence of all other nations with whom we deal. They are naturally as much dependent upon us, as we are upon them. If we will not take their exports, they will not take ours. They must be free from us. They must place no reliance upon us. They must turn from us their commerce and their capital, and pour it into new and untried channels, for the benefit of other more generous nations. Or they may learn, like us, selfishly to rest themselves on their own resources alone. We know not where the advocates who use this argument can stop. Surely it cannot be short of absolute independence. It is in vain to make a distinction between the necessaries of life and luxuries. The line of separation cannot be drawn between them. The latter, in fact, soon change their character, and become indispensable. Different countries, then, are to be wholly independent of each other; and why may not different parts of the same country be also, for similar reasons, independent of each other, states independent of each other, towns independent of each other, nay, to carry the argument home, even individuals independent of each other? We think it an unpardonable abuse of the term so to appropriate it. It is an independence of which the savage or the baronial lord might fairly boast. It is an independence which breaks the enlightening spirit of commerce, and shuts up nations within Chinese walls. The most flourishing states, at the moment of their highest elevation, when they were closely connected with every part of the civilized world, by the golden chains of successful commercial enterprise, were, according to this doctrine, in the most perfect state of absolute dependence. It was not till all these connexions were dissolved, and they had sunk in degra-

dation, that their true independence commenced. But this statement cannot be just. There is a natural dependence of nations upon each other, as there is a natural dependence of individuals upon each other. Heaven has so ordered it. Some soils, some climates, some situations, are productive exclusively of some peculiar fruits, which cannot elsewhere be profitably procured. Let nations follow this as their guide. In a rich and rising community, the opulent capitalists may be as dependent upon the poor laborers, as the poor laborers upon the opulent capitalists. So it is with nations. It is the mutual dependence of individuals upon each other, which knits and binds society together, and leads them all to the most harmonious and the most rapid advancement in wealth, in intelligence, in every kind of improvement. In the same manner, though on a much larger scale, it is with the mutual dependence of nations upon each other. To this alone do we owe all the mighty efforts of commerce; and what lights, what a general diffusion of generous feeling and multipled means of human happiness, has it not everywhere spread?

It was some such reasoning as this that we looked for from the pen of Dr Cooper. We know he is an absolute foe to every one of the principles in the old selfish system of political economy. He should have shown it here. In a text book every popular argument against an important doctrine ought to be met and answered. If it be passed unnoticed, it will be thought by some unanswerable.

We omit some other slight animadversions of this kind, which crowd in upon us, to make room for a few remarks on a single subject, on which we have a right to feel considerable interest. It is a matter of surprise to us, that Dr Cooper has given the sanction of his authority to the singular errors of Malthus. He warmly embraces the theory of population, maintained by that writer. He ranks it, indeed, with Smith's Wealth of Nations. '*The next step in the advancement of this science was the Essay on the principle of Population of Mr Malthus.*' All the prominent doctrines of the Essay are then drawn up by our author, in a long series of propositions, which are supported throughout the volume. We have said this was matter of surprise to us. It is, because it seems to us at variance with the enlightened views, which generally govern Dr Cooper in his other speculations. His great principle is, that there is a *vis medicatrix naturæ* at work everywhere, and that the natural

feelings and dispositions of man, undirected and uncontrolled but by the rules of justice, obviously tend to the most rapid advancement of his own condition, and to the most rapid advancement also in opulence and improvement, of the whole community to which he belongs. Our author must say, the principle is not applicable here. Population has a natural and necessary tendency, as he maintains, to go beyond the means of subsistence. It constantly needs, therefore, check and control.

'Population had a natural and inevitable tendency to overreach subsistence; since the human race, where subsistence was easily obtained, had a tendency to increase in a ratio approaching a geometrical ratio; while the increase of food could not proceed beyond an arithmetical ratio, and even in that case, had its limits. Hence, instead of encouraging population, which no where and at no time needed it, the wisest course for the sake of the poor as well as the rich, was rather to throw obstacles in its way; it being evident that the poor would live better, when subsistence was plentiful, and laborers scarce and in demand.' p. 11.

Neither he, nor any of the advocates of this system, has told us what are to be the proper and the truly effectual restrictions on this dangerous tendency of population. It is unnecessary that they should. We believe the great principle, which we have cited, to be as applicable here, as it is in every other department of nature. Some of our views on this subject we have stated at considerable length hitherto. But it is by no means exhausted. And as the doctrine, which we have labored to refute, though peculiarly gloomy, and in collision with the most glorious truths, and extremely injurious, too, in its consequences, is still a favorite one, countenanced by able writers on political economy, and becoming, as it seems, fashionable in our own country, we shall not think our time misspent in calling our readers' attention to it again; keeping clear, however, as far as possible, of what has been previously said with relation to it.

In the chapter which our author has written in support of the doctrines of Mr Malthus, he has the following strictures upon Mr Everett's 'New Ideas on Population.' To this last work we have, on several occasions, called the attention of our readers. Although in some respects defective, we still think it contains enough to refute the celebrated theory of Malthus.

'But there is one consideration laying at the root of the whole business, which he [Mr Everett] does not seem to have thought of. Who is to employ these laborers? In the first instance, and when they are not wanted?

'Suppose a farmer having grazing land barely sufficient for the fattening ten oxen, should purchase fifteen. Is it not clear that if he continues to maintain the fifteen on the land barely sufficient for ten, although they may exist, none of them will fatten?

'Suppose this farmer has grazing land sufficient to fatten twenty oxen, but has not capital enough to furnish himself with more than ten, is it not evident that his power of giving food to ten more, is circumscribed by his want of power to buy them?

'Suppose a community with all its employments filled, the whole of its capital embarked and engaged, and the whole of its working population hired, and every mode of employing labor already occupied, who is to give labor, and wages, and subsistence, to a constantly increasing crowd of laborers beyond the demand? Those already in employ, and who have already filled to the utmost every vacant situation, will not give up their means of subsistence to new comers. What is the result? Competition ensues; the new comers offer to work for less compensation; the rate of wages is lowered; the power of purchasing food is diminished; subsistence is more scanty; and a half starved laboring population, produce a sickly debilitated offspring, a prey to diseases of all kinds. At length death, by thinning the ranks of the working class, brings the supply to a level with the demand, and cures the evil. This is the inevitable progress. (See Statistical Illustrations of the British Empire, 1825. Preface, page 14.)

'It is in vain to talk then of laborers furnishing their own subsistence. Before they can be employed at all, there must be surplus capital and a demand for their labor. Who will employ them who does not want them?'

'The want, the demand must exist for labor before laborers can be employed. Till then, they are not merely an useless, but a burthensome addition to the population.' pp. 237, 238.

But there is one consideration, also, which Dr Cooper does not seem to have thought of; or else he has assumed the whole ground of the controversy, and taken for granted the very question in dispute. Business, we say, continually increases; capital is always accumulating; employments are multiplying as constantly and as rapidly as human beings; greater calls for industry arise, and new and broader avenues to wealth are opened for the spirit of activity and enterprise. Our author, however, seems to go here on the supposition, that these things are comparatively stationary, or that they are incapable of keeping pace with the progress of population; although he gives us no reasons for this inference. This, we say, is

begging the question. He offers no farther considerations on this particular head, than those we have quoted in the foregoing extract, and we confess we can see nothing like an argument there, for all the points of the disputed subject are assumed. Some of the facts we have just stated are too obviously true to require any direct proof. There is a continual, an unvarying tendency towards an equal progress in the increase of our species, the accumulation of capital, and the multiplication of employments, and this in consequence of the extension and improvements in agriculture, in commerce, in manufactures, in every branch and department, in short, of human industry. It is true, each one of these principles may, and often will, in its turn, for a time prevail over and outdo the others. Even the rapid increase of capital may be checked or kept down by the want of laborers. This is a demand, however, which will not be very long without a corresponding supply. Then population increases most rapidly, and at no distant period will overtake and outstrip, though not check, the accumulation of capital. The business is overdone. The laborers for a very short period may find the demand for themselves slack, and employments scarce. But in the mean time the rapid accumulation of capital, so far from being stopped or even retarded in its career by the great increase of consumers, goes on in fact with an accelerating force merely in consequence of that increase. This moves and keeps it in profitable action, until the required supply is furnished. The restrictions on the one operate as a stimulus to the other. The doctrine of checks and balances applies here, as in every other part of nature. We know perfectly well, that the rapid progress of opulence calls for more and more laborers to keep it productively employed, while these again, in their turn, push on still further the progress of opulence, so that they mutually aid each other onward. We do not believe that either of the great principles we have mentioned naturally tends to continue excessive. We say *naturally*, because vicious political institutions, operating to debase the character of a people, and pervert and change their true motives to action, may lead to different results, and will require different rules for estimating their causes. These exceptions, however, are not to be taken into the account. It is the natural tendency of population always and unremittingly more and more to overreach the means of subsistence, about which the inquiry is now raised. This is the true question on which we are at issue with Dr Cooper.

It does not at all diminish our surprise at his embracing the theory of Malthus, when we recollect that recent writers on political economy, Mill and M'Culloch, for example, have done the same thing. Dr Cooper is not one of those men, who take a name instead of an argument. He commonly, though the present case we believe forms a remarkable exception, examines well the reasonings on which any great principle is founded, before he is willing to adopt and make it his own. Now the reasoning of both the economists we have cited seems to us here entirely inconclusive and false. That of M'Culloch is made up almost entirely of assumptions like those of our author; Mill's is more specious, and merits a more accurate examination. As we are somewhat anxious to do our little towards setting matters right on this subject, we shall briefly review the ground taken by the last named writer, and ascertain how well his positions are supported. His whole treatise is in high repute. It has never, we believe, been republished in this country; probably, therefore, it is not in the hands of many of our readers.

He thinks that if the increase of capital, and the increase of population, kept pace with each other, all would go on perfectly well. But he agrees with Malthus and our author in supposing, that the latter has a steady and a growing tendency always to outstrip the former, and hence arises the danger. After having stated, at length and elaborately, the increase of population, he says,

'We come next to consider the tendency which capital may have to increase. If that should increase as fast as population, for every laborer produced the means of employment and subsistence would also be produced, and no degradation of the great body of the people would ensue.

'As soon as it is understood from what source all increase of capital must be derived, the opinion of its rapid increase can no longer be retained. *All increase of capital is from savings.*' p. 51.

He then speaks of the motives to saving which may exist among the various classes of people in any community, and insists that they are comparatively few and inefficient. 'This disposition [to save] is still so weak, in almost all the situations in which human beings have ever been placed, as to make the progression slow. That the same will continue to be the case, appears to be secured by the strongest principles of our nature.' The poor, he says, have not the means of saving. It is need-

less, therefore, to speak of their motives. The rich have no desire to do it.

'It is well known, however, that a class of rich men, in the middle of a class of poor, are not apt to save. The possession of a large fortune generally whets the appetite for immediate enjoyment. And the man who is already in possession of a fortune, yielding him all the enjoyments, which fortune can command, has a feeble inducement to save. Why should he deprive himself of present enjoyment, to accumulate that, of which the use to him is so insignificant?' p. 52.

The same sort of reasoning as this he applies in detail to all the intermediate classes, to the affluent, to those with moderate fortunes, to those in easy, comfortable circumstances. They all, he says, are totally destitute of any strong motives to save.

'When a man possesses, what we are now supposing possessed by the great body of the people, food, clothing, lodging, and all other things sufficient not only for comfortable, but pleasurable existence, he possesses the means of all the substantial enjoyments of human life. The rest is in a great measure fancy. The pleasures, which can be added to those of which he is thus in possession, are comparatively neither numerous nor strong. That any considerable proportion of mankind, with all the temptations of instant enjoyment, will forego, to any considerable degree, the most substantial pleasures, in order to accumulate the means of a few fanciful pleasures at a distant period, our experience of the laws of human nature forbids us to suppose.' p. 53.

We are sorry we have not room for more copious extracts from this writer's remarks on the subject. The result of all is, 'These considerations prove, that more than moderate effects can rarely flow from the motives to save,' while the tendency of population to increase rapidly he has fully proved, and indeed is admitted on all hands. The latter, then, is always overreaching and pressing on the former, among some classes of society. This produces all their misery.

But it seems to us, that in this enumeration of the causes of increasing capital, Mr Mill has passed unnoticed one of the strongest principles of our nature; a principle, which adds infinitely more to it than all the other causes together. We mean the mere spirit of accumulation itself. Let it not be confounded with avarice, or the mere sordid love of property, which as much retards the general accumulation of wealth, as the passion to which we refer promotes it. This is not to be

ranked among the calculating motives, of which Mr Mill has been speaking. It is just, it is generous, it is often united with the highest degree of patriotism, benevolence, philanthropy. What noble instances of these have we had among our merchants, who owe all their gains to the spirit of which we are speaking, who are still pursuing them with unabated ardor. Whenever a plan of great public or private liberality is on foot, it is started, or receives its most efficient support, from the body of those enterprising men, whose strongest and most prevailing passion is still the love of accumulation. It is not, in fact, until after this has become in some measure extinct, that avarice commences its reign. Then the mind may turn from enterprise to contemplate what enterprise has gained.

It was the answer of an opulent merchant to a young adventurer, who asked him how much wealth would satisfy him, and at what amount he should be perfectly willing to stop, 'At no conceivable amount,' said he, 'our aim for ever is to procure *more*.' And so it is in every department of human genius and industry. Possession brings satiety. An active mind never is content with being stationary, to however noble a height it may be exalted. It is the wise ordering of Providence, that its happiness lies not in repose. Whatever paths it may be pursuing, its great and growing desire is still continually for progress, improvement, even after it has long left all its compeers far behind it. The passion for accumulation is thus an instance, though a very humble one, it is true, of the most powerful and persevering principle of our nature,—the principle of unceasing advancement, the principle which drew tears from Alexander, because he had no more worlds to conquer. It is to this, we believe, and not to the selfish, calculating motives of comfort and convenience, which Mr Mill has enumerated, that we owe the vast fabrics of opulence, which we see rising around us, from commerce, from manufactures, from agriculture, from every quarter, in fact, where human enterprise is left free. These remarks are a sufficient reply to the reflections we have quoted, on the few and slight causes, which necessarily make capital accumulate slowly. We might have contented ourselves with simply denying the fact. We know, indeed, that it does sometimes increase with astonishing rapidity, and for a long period too, with far more rapidity, than even population itself. In the history of various places in our own country, everybody may turn to convincing instances of this. The ratios here

might often be reversed. Capital has gone on geometrically, population only arithmetically.

Mr Malthus and his disciples must go on the assumption, that the real price of food is rising and becoming gradually higher from century to century, in every advancing country. This, however, we suspect, is far from the truth. On the contrary, we believe, it as invariably falls and becomes lower. The division of labor succeeds in cheapening this, as it succeeds in cheapening all the other comforts and conveniences of life. Nor are discovery and invention chained and compelled here alone, where they are most wanted, to be inactive. It is impossible, perhaps, to estimate the uniformity or the variations in the real price of an article from period to period, by any particular standard or measure of value, because, in the mean time, the standard or the measure may also have materially varied. A bushel of corn, for example, may command more money now, and probably more of every other article of convenience or luxury, than it would a century ago. But it does not therefore follow that its real price has absolutely risen. The real price of everything else brought into comparison with it has evidently fallen. The real price of this, too, may have fallen, although not so much, perhaps, as that of all the various commodities with which it is directly or indirectly exchanged. The declining motion in the prices of these has been so rapid, compared with that of the other, that this will seem to be stationary, or its apparent motion may be rising, while it is, in fact, lowering along with the rest, but more slowly and unsteadily. These reflections will explain all the phenomena, that can be urged against us on this subject.

There is, however, one circumstance which proves to us incontestibly, that the price of food rapidly falls as society advances in opulence. If there were no other, this would be sufficient for our purpose. It is, that a far less proportion of the labor of a whole community is necessary to furnish articles of food to supply the wants of its citizens, than was required in the earliest stages of its progress. In savage life, every man is obliged to toil or hunt for the necessaries of life, in order to procure for himself sustenance from day to day. In the childhood of society the case is continually improving, although it may for a long time wear something of the same character. But in its full maturity and manhood, when it has arrived at high degrees of opulence and prosperity, how changed is its

situation in this respect, and how small the number of those, compared with that of the great mass of the community to which they belong, who are called upon, and must make it their sole business to procure and distribute the means of subsistence, sufficient to meet and satisfy the continually multiplying demands. It is to be observed, too, that these demands are not like those in the earlier periods of society. They become refined, grow more and more luxurious, and are not to be so easily appeased or turned off. It is not necessary for us, however, to dwell upon this, or to trace minutely its particular causes. Food evidently becomes cheaper. This may be owing mainly to the extension of agriculture, or rather, we should say, to improvements in every department of the vegetable kingdom; for corn is not the only basis of subsistence, nor indeed in all cases indispensably necessary to it, as Mr Malthus and his followers seem in all their reasonings to assume. How far these improvements may be extended we cannot calculate. They seem to us indefinite. Discovery and invention, those mighty agents, which are the most busy and productive when necessity calls them to her aid, will find nature here, as elsewhere, inexhaustible. The farther they have proceeded, generally, the more clear and boundless is the field before them. We know not why there should be supposed an exception, where an exception is the most alarming, and seems most inconsistent with Heaven's great general law of universal benevolent design. The fruitful nutritious powers of the earth we believe to be infinite. Let us not give way, then, to the weak, disheartening apprehensions, which seem to have arisen from some of the speculations we have just been considering, that, unless checked by war, by disease, by famine, or pestilence, population must so increase, as at no distant period to overrun all the cultivable parts of the globe, and drain them completely of their fruits and of their resources. Such fears ought not to be allowed to mingle themselves with the views of an enlightened philosophy.

The writers of the new school estimate the *tendency* of population to increase by the ratio, in which it *can actually increase* under the most favorable circumstances. We have a right to apply the same principle in estimating the tendency of food to increase. The question then is, not what amount of this, compared with the population, there actually is in any particular country, but what amount it is capable of procuring if at any time it were imperiously called for. Suppose that all the

controllable checks on its increase, of which there are many, were suspended, and that the labor, ingenuity, and wealth of an opulent community were for a very short period applied to the growth or to the procuring of various kinds of food alone, we believe that a geometrical ratio will feebly express its tendency to increase, if the amount of it be at intervals compared with the progress of the society from its earliest efforts. It certainly never does multiply in that proportion, and the reason is apparent. It is not wanted. There would be a wild, pernicious waste, the destructive influences of which must be felt by every class of people, if it were so produced. Production would infinitely exceed, for a time, profitable consumption. We have a right, however, to consider such to be its natural tendency of increase, if it be fair to speak, as has been done, of the natural tendency to increase in the human species. It is only applying the same principle of reasoning to both.

The truth is, there is no propriety in so speaking of either of them. Food has no natural tendency to increase, as we have formerly said, even in an arithmetical ratio. Man increases it. Man is capable of increasing it indefinitely at pleasure, and far beyond any ratio that has been assigned to the multiplication of the human race. Even in those very countries, where the laboring classes seem to approach nearest to the borders of famine, there is waste and profusion of subsistence, and vast stores of unappropriated wealth, which might be all turned to the production of infinitely larger quantities, if these were efficiently demanded. The suffering poor may not be able to bring any of this ill-used abundance within their reach. Why is this? Vicious political institutions have cursed them. Or, what is not improbable, they have not chosen aright the professions or the callings, which can alone empower them to procure the supply of what the profusion of the rich is always a full demand. At any rate, there is no universal scarcity of food; nothing that approaches to a general want. There is enough, if it were brought within their reach.

It was our wish, and our intention, to carry our remarks on this question to a greater extent, than we are at present permitted to do. Many other strong considerations in support of our opinions are now before us. But we have already transgressed our limits, and must close this article. Before taking leave of Dr Cooper's book, however, we are bound to say, that we have hardly spoken so much at length of its merits as it

deserves. With a few exceptions, it abounds in enlightened views and clear statements. It is written throughout with force and spirit, and may be recommended to such pupils, as wish to run over a brief outline of the important branches of the science, and awaken a livelier interest in the more extensive study of it.

ART. VIII.—*The Speeches of* HENRY CLAY, *delivered in the Congress of the United States; to which is prefixed a Biographical Memoir, with an Appendix, containing his Speeches at Lexington and Lewisburg, and before the Colonization Society at Washington; together with his Address to his Constituents, on the Subject of the late Presidential Election.* Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 381.

WE believe this to be the first volume of speeches of one individual, which has been published in our country. There were, doubtless, in the first generation of legislators under the Constitution several, whose collected speeches would amply suffice to fill a volume. But in consequence of the less improved condition of the reporter's art in former years, and of the general infancy of the American press, the parliamentary eloquence of the country has hitherto obtained no better record than the columns of the newspapers. Exceptions to this remark exist in Lloyd's Register of Debates in the first Congress (of which the second and third volumes were republished shortly after their original appearance), in the collection of debates on the British treaty, and in a few similar publications. In no former case however, we believe, has the American public been gratified with a volume of the collected speeches of any single one of our public men.

In England, as is well known, such collections are frequently made. We possess the collected speeches of almost all the eminent politicians, who have flourished since the art of reporting has been brought to a high degree of improvement. To the politician, such works are exceedingly valuable. In no way more advantageous, can the political history of any period be studied, than in the parliamentary expositions of prominent statesmen. Without these expositions, measures indeed may

be matter of history; but their original springs, their connexion with a political system, and their bearing on constitutional law, as understood by their advisers, can be but imperfectly apprehended.

If this be true in England, where Parliament lays claim to political omnipotence and the power of changing the constitution by an act of legislation, it is peculiarly true in this country, in which a power beyond the legislature is recognised, residing in the people, and acting through the constitution as the expression of their will. It is this, which gives such importance to the authentic speeches of wise statesmen of the present day, and still more of the earlier days under the federal constitution. Whatever the people intended in that expression of their will which we call the Constitution, or whatever is necessarily deduced from its provisions, is the law of the land. On account of the imperfection of language, it is not in every case, and in the vast variety of individual actions, possible to pronounce, as a matter of course, what is or is not the rule of the constitution as applied to that case. Whenever a doubt arises, contemporaneous or closely subsequent expositions of the constitution, proceeding from judicious and able statesmen, are of inestimable value. And these expositions are mostly to be sought in the records of congressional debate.

We know of no undertaking, which would be of greater interest to our politicians, and the students of our political history, than a work arranged on the model of the Parliamentary History of Great Britain. It is not yet too late to compile it. The materials are in existence and in respectable quantity. Lloyd's Register is a tolerably ample sketch of the debates, in the House of Representatives, during the most interesting period, that of the first Congress. Separate collections, as we have above observed, exist of the speeches on some very prominent questions; and the newspapers published at the seat of government for the time being, are provided with something like a series of reports, from the adoption of the constitution to the present time. Such a work has indeed been suggested by the enterprising publishers of the Congressional Register, and we confidently believe, that it would be highly acceptable to the community.

Till such a work is achieved, and even after it shall have been achieved, separate collections, like that now before us, of the speeches of individual statesmen, will remain among the

most valuable of the politician's materials. The political history of a country is, in a good degree, the history of its eminent men. Their lives and public measures are the property of the country, and their good fame is its best treasure. The public sentiment and feeling of the community are scarce ever embodied in a more authentic form, than that of the discourses of responsible individuals, in the legislative assemblies of the nation. With the measures to which they relate, such speeches will go down to other times as a portion of the action of the age; of the general result of the wondrously complicated political machine. If there be any part of political history, which is more peculiarly endued with vitality, and elevated above the dead letter of form and official routine, it is the appeal of the able and the wise to their contemporaries and to the world, for the motives and principles, on which their measures are taken.

Regarding the record and preservation of the debates in our legislative assemblies, as a matter of such interest and moment, the means adopted to attain these ends immediately become important. It is a very mistaken conception, that the effect of a good or a bad state of the art of reporting is merely, whether we shall or shall not have a faithful record of what is spoken in our deliberative assemblies at any particular time. On the contrary, the history of parliamentary eloquence teaches us, that on the condition of the reporter's art will very much depend the character and quality of the debates themselves. Till the art of reporting contemporaneously was introduced, parliamentary eloquence, in the modern acceptation of the term, can scarcely be said to have existed.

Among the Greeks and Romans, it is well understood, the best orators wrote their speeches either before or after they were spoken, probably, in most cases, the former. It is this with which Demosthenes (according to Plutarch) was reproached, when it was said, that his speeches smelt of the lamp. We find among those of his speeches, which have come down to us, several repetitions of passages too long in themselves, and too exactly repeated in some points, and too carefully varied in others, to be ascribed to chance. There is also among the works of Demosthenes a series of compositions, which, under the name of Proems, were intended to serve as suitable introductions to speeches, on any and every subject. In like manner, the orations which are preserved to us from Cicero, are evidently written compositions; and some of them, it is known, were never spoken.

The parliamentary eloquence of England is of little consideration, till the time of Lord Chatham. There were, it is true, great geniuses, wise and accomplished statesmen, and, no doubt, powerful speakers in both houses of Parliament, from the time that public measures began to be discussed in that body. But when we cast our thoughts back, and ask, who were the famous orators of the time of Queen Elizabeth, of the Commonwealth, or of the period of James the Second, we are unable, amidst all the great names of the great men, to point them out, in anything now remaining. Sir William Pepys, indeed, tells us, that he himself had credit for the best speech ever made in Parliament,—a circumstance certainly not calculated to give us a high notion of the standard of parliamentary eloquence at that period.

We are well aware, that one great reason for the poverty of the parliamentary eloquence of earlier days is to be sought in political causes. There can be no eloquence in discussion, where there is no independence of decision within doors, and no power of public sentiment without. The growth of parliamentary eloquence in England has kept pace with the march of free principles in the country, and the necessary deference of the government to the public sentiment, in the administration of affairs. Burke is reported to have said, that 'the debates a century ago were comparative vestry discussions to what they afterwards became.' This change, in the opinion of his biographer,* 'was chiefly owing to Burke himself.' He is considered, 'by the enlarged views, by the detailed expositions of policy, the intermixture of permanent truths bearing on temporary facts, and the general lustre and air of wisdom, which he was the first to introduce at large into parliamentary discussions, greatly to have exalted the character of Parliament itself, and by the display of his own characteristics to have excited the emulation of others.'

No person can be more disposed than we, to ascribe to the influence of Burke's example all that can be effected by that of any man, and more than was effected by that of any other man. But would the eloquence of Burke itself have been what it was, but for the aid, which the press began at this period to yield to the debates? Does not the whole elaborate structure of his speeches show, that they were conceived under

*Prior's Life of Burke, Second Edition, vol. ii. p. 466.

the operation of the assurance, that they would go out to the world? Had these splendid orations, one after another, died away within the narrow walls of the House of Commons, and nothing of them gone forth, but the evanescent rumor of their power, is it possible, either that Burke himself would have persevered in their production, or that others would have kindled with emulation?

In our opinion it is clearly impossible, and we ascribe, in a considerable degree, to the introduction of the practice of contemporaneous reporting, the sudden and extraordinary growth of parliamentary eloquence, which dates from the latter part of Lord Chatham's career. We do not conceive that there is anything extravagant in attributing so important an effect to a cause, which may seem at first insignificant. It is precisely the effect of the invention of alphabetical writing on the primitive literature of Greece; the effect of the introduction of paper on prose composition; and the effect of the art of printing on learning in general.

Till speeches began to be reported in detail and contemporaneously, the public at large was almost wholly uninformed of what passed within the walls of parliament. So long as it was a breach of privilege to publish what was there uttered, it is very clear that few men would strain their minds to the utmost reach, in the highest efforts of the art of speaking well.

It is only therefore, we repeat, since the practice of contemporaneous reporting grew up in England, that parliamentary eloquence has been placed, in that country, upon its present improved footing. Nothing before it of the kind, in the history of the intellectual world, can be compared with it. We apprehend that the careful observer, who shall go into the house of commons, listen to the speeches (unpremeditated as to language and form) of the most distinguished members, follow the discussion to a division the same evening, and the next morning at breakfast find those speeches reported faithfully in three or four newspapers, of which about thirty thousand copies have been struck off and are in circulation, will admit that he has witnessed a spectacle of intellectual, political, and mechanical power combined, such as is nowhere else to be found.

Did the matter stop here, it would certainly be one of curious investigation. But inasmuch as this is the great apparatus by which the British government is administered,—by which a greater amount of *governmental* business (if we may fabricate

the word) is done, than is anywhere else performed, it deserves the consideration of practical statesmen. It deserves the consideration especially of American statesmen, because our institutions are a series of alternate similitude and contrast with the English. Most other governments are wholly foreign to us. The English government presents much that we have directly imitated, in close connexion with much, which we have directly avoided.

The congressional eloquence of America is, we think, in no high repute among ourselves. We do not refer merely to the habitual sarcasm or ridicule thrown upon it, mostly for purposes of personal satire or party detraction. To this kind of reproach every part of the machinery of a free government is ever obnoxious. Where the press is free, men will joke their political opponents, and the English Parliament is as sadly quizzed as the American Congress, by all the real or affected *beaux esprits*, who constitute themselves guardians of the public weal. If classical authority be wanted, Pericles was the great butt of the satirists of his day. But we apprehend that, in America, the matter goes a little farther than this. The debates in Congress appear to us to be spoken disrespectfully of, by many of the judicious portion of the community; of that portion, who really say less than they feel and think, and whose censures deserve to be listened to.

This consideration has suggested to us the propriety of some inquiry into the different character of the eloquence of the English Parliament and of the American Congress, and of the causes of this difference, if any substantial difference shall be found to exist. We may perhaps trace the superiority of the English parliamentary eloquence, in part, to circumstances incompatible with our free institutions.

In the English Parliament, there are fewer speakers than in the American Congress. Except on rare occasions, which call out particular individuals not otherwise accustomed to debate, three or four members on the ministerial side of the house, and as many more on the opposition, are all that speak on questions of general interest. These individuals may not be the same on every question; but one gentlemen is more likely to speak on a matter of foreign politics, another on retrenchment, a third on the Catholic question, a fourth on parliamentary reform, and not more than one or two on either side undertake the character of general champions. One

of these is of course the leading minister on the side of government, and occasionally an individual has, we believe, been formally designated, as the leader of his majesty's opposition.

Various causes may account for this paucity of speakers in the House of Commons. There is little motive for the inexperienced, the inefficient, the uninformed, (of whom there is a larger portion in the House of Commons, than in the American Congress) to attempt to speak. Every question is sure to be discussed in a masterly manner, by a sufficient number of first-rate men; and what should tempt the others to place themselves in so disadvantageous a contrast? In this country there are many motives. The fear of the constituent is one. Members are sent from their several districts by a free choice of the citizens, and they suppose their constituents have an eye upon them, to see how they acquit themselves, at least to see that they acquit themselves somehow. The seat of government is remote from most of the districts, and its population is not large enough to possess of itself an operative public sentiment, whereas London is the great sensorium of the British empire. The member of parliament who does not produce a favorable impression at London, produces none at all, but is irretrievably lost. With us, the least concern of a member of Congress is how he stands at Washington. His heart is in Carolina, in Maine, or beyond the Alleganies. With these distant regions he communicates through the press. The speaking is the smallest part of the business; it is only the occasion, the justification, for publishing a speech in the newspapers, and perhaps in a pamphlet, to be sent home to his constituents.

In England this fear of the constituent exists, indeed, to a certain extent, but far less than in this country, either as to intensity or generality. One class of members of the House of Commons hold their places entirely independent of any form of popular election. Certainly the members from old Sarum have to make no speeches to satisfy their constituents. Another class of members of Parliament may take upon their lips that well known reply of a loving member to those whom he purported to represent, '—— you, gentlemen, I have bought you, and do you think I will not sell you?' When Burke knocked down one of Lord Somebody's ninepins, the aforesaid ninepin did not need to make a speech to his constituents to get himself up again; it was enough if he stood

rectus in curiâ with his master. Still, however, this class of members is by no means, as a class, the most insignificant. Organized as English society is, the rotten and close boroughs are the means by which a very considerable part of the talent of the House of Commons is brought within its walls. The representation of the counties is monopolized by the most powerful and wealthy families in them, and can rarely be contested but at an enormous expense. The matter is nearly the same with the populous boroughs; and it is only the boroughs, which are avowedly or virtually under patronage, or influence amounting to patronage, that give entrance to men of talent, unsupported by fortune, but brought forward by political or personal friends. It is plain, however, that composed as we have represented the House of Commons to be, there is much less inducement to speak to the ear of the constituent than with us.

Out of some of the same causes grows a party discipline in the English House of Commons of which we here know little or nothing. Men there depend more for their political standing on their party, and less on their constituents. In the ordinary state of things in our own country, the attempt to lead, on the part of a few individuals of a party, meets with no success. Neither side of the House of Representatives, or of the Senate of the United States, would submit to have the liberty of speech engrossed by half a dozen members. A half a dozen others believing themselves, and justly perhaps, equal to the designated few, would be ready, on the first occasion, to throw off their allegiance, and speak for themselves and their constituents. The political leaders, in fact, in this country, seem to be perpetually baffled by the difficulty of getting followers. 'Make way, gentlemen,' (once cried a Massachusetts representative to the populace, who were crowding him out of his place, in the procession on election day), 'make way, we are the representatives of the people.' 'Make way yourself,' replied a sturdy member of the throng, 'we are the people themselves.' Excepting in a time of keen political warfare and high party excitement, there is no principle, on which a few individuals would here be permitted to monopolize the privilege of speaking in either house of Congress, however great their superiority over their brethren. In the House of Commons, it is not only no assumption for a few men, on each side, to take the thing pretty much into their our hands; but the assumption is thought to be on the part of the member

who, not being of the *élite* should presume to take up the time of the house. A new member is, we believe, usually listened to with great forbearance and even courtesy. Common justice of course demands, that the stranger should be permitted to offer a taste of his quality. Once heard, he is allowed to rise as high as mere merit will carry him, or the merit he may have, united with such other means of rising as are in his power. But no man is suffered, for any length of time, to whet his dullness on the House of Commons. That is not the place, where downright incapacity is allowed, by oft essaying and frequent failure, to work itself up into a respectable measure of prosing mediocrity. If on the first or second trial, the unfledged legislator fail, he is remanded, beyond appeal, to the Freemason's Hall and the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to move resolutions at charitable meetings, and return thanks for the drinking of his health at a public dinner.

When we speak of a party discipline in England, which enables the leaders in Parliament to dispense pretty cavalierly with the speaking services of their adherents, we would have the word understood in the large sense, which belongs to the state of society in that country. Mere handsome speaking talent, backed by a reasonable allowance of sense, general information, and political knowledge, does not possess the relative weight in England which it does in America. In Congress, the weight and standing of members are in pretty exact proportion to their talent, political experience and reputation, and power of debate. Wealth gives no ascendency, such a thing as rank is unknown, and parliamentary and executive influence quite as much so. In Parliament, talent, whether for speaking or anything else, is but one element that goes to ascertain the member's character. The patronage of the crown, family, property, command of votes by influence over boroughs (a modification of monied influence), and the action on the legislature of the great institutions and corporations of the state, such as the church, the bank, the army, the navy, the courts, are so many cooperating influences, which strongly qualify the mere power of talent, and make its manifestation by speaking of less avail.

Another circumstance, which tends to curtail speaking in the House of Commons, and bring debates within limits to which they have never been confined in this country, is the manifest necessity of the case, in consequence of the vast

amount of business, which is to be done. The revenue in England may now be taken at sixty millions of pounds sterling. This may be allowed to be near twelve times as much as ours. Now the quantity of business in a government may at least be assumed to be in proportion to its revenue. In England, it increases no doubt in a ratio larger than that of the increase of the revenue, because a good deal of business comes upon Parliament, not connected with the raising or disbursing the funds of the state. The sessions of Parliament are annually not much longer than the long session of our Congress. We will allow for safe calculation, that, while the two sessions of Congress average five months each, the annual sessions of Parliament average six months. Here then, in a session but one sixth longer, twelve times as much business is to be done. The consequence is, that less time, in that proportion, must be passed in debate, and more must be devoted to business, otherwise the wheels of government must stop. The Congress of the United States feels this pressure of business, during a part of the session, in the same way. As the session draws near to a close, the houses become impatient of debate. Questions, which it is, in the nature of things, impossible to settle without long debate, are thrust aside. Questions, which a majority think at all events ought to pass, are forced through by the 'previous question' (a course never adopted in Congress without great reluctance, but resorted to in Parliament as freely as a motion to lay on the table); while questions of minor importance, and particularly private bills, which at an earlier stage of the session would have provoked long debates, are often taken towards its close *sub silentio*, or on the faith of the committees. In the result, more business is sometimes done in a week, or even a day, toward the end of the session, than in a month at its commencement. While this pressure of business exists, of course, all metaphysics on constitutional interpretation, and all popular appeals to the remote constituent, are by necessity shut out. To a certain extent the British Parliament is, for the greater part of the session, under this duress of business. They must act, to keep the mighty fabric of government from falling about their ears.

There is another abundant source of speech-making, which operates in Congress, and not at all, or to a much less degree, in Parliament, and to which we have just alluded, namely, the unsettled state of some constitutional questions. Our govern-

ment, being founded on a written instrument, and being too recent to have been settled by immemorial usage, in regard to every possible question, the constitutionality of measures is very apt to be drawn into discussion. There is hardly any matter of legislation, which does not in some form, undergo a constitutional argument. Universal experience in fact shows that no subject is more favorable to protracted argumentation, than the interpretation of written documents; and a good deal of our debating is of this nature. In Parliament there is very little of this kind of debate. Parliament is omnipotent; in other words, can amend the constitution by an act of legislation. All the written documents which can be considered as forming part of the English constitution (excepting acts of Parliament) are of considerable antiquity. We do not recollect any great constitutional question, that has been started in England, of late years, unless it be that, which was raised by the late king, Whether the emancipation of the Catholics was consistent with the obligations imposed by the coronation oath; a question arising on the construction of a written formula, of comparatively recent origin, and thus confirming our view of the adaptation of a written constitution of recent origin to create discussion. Almost every question presented to Parliament is a simple question of public or private expediency. In America, every important treaty, requiring a law to carry it into effect, every proposition for a system of bankruptcy, for a modification of the federal courts, for internal improvement, for an increase of duties on importations, is capable of being made, nay, is likely (not to say certain) to be made, a constitutional question. These questions, unexpected as it may be, are for the present rather multiplying than decreasing in number. This fact, however, may be satisfactorily explained. The first generation of our legislators were many of them of the body, who framed the constitution; others of them had been of the state conventions, who adopted it; and all the rest were at least contemporary with its framers. Some things, therefore, were tacitly assumed by them as matters of well understood notoriety, which by an ingenious mind of the present day, arguing solely on the written text of the constitution, may be drawn into question. Thus the legislature of the ancient and respectable commonwealth of Virginia, has recently resolved, by a large majority, that Congress has by the constitution no power to protect manufactures, no such power being

enumerated in the instrument. The second law, however, passed under the federal constitution purports to be, for 'the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures.'

Another consideration will partly explain the comparative redundancy of speaking in the American Congress. We have already observed, that its members are, politically speaking, much more on a level with each other, than those of the British Parliament, which ranges from the prime minister, substantially the sovereign of the country, down to the merest political cipher, who comes in for his own borough. Whereas in the American Congress, notwithstanding the necessary gradation of talent and political standing and consequent influence, there is no such enormous disparity between the speaking leaders and the silent mass of a party. But it may be further observed, that a larger proportion of the American Congress, than of the British Parliament, possesses what is commonly called 'speaking talent,' taking that phrase now in its lowest sense. A very large majority of the members of Congress are lawyers; generally speaking, selected in consequence of their eminence in their districts. This implies, therefore, the talent of addressing court and jury, and the audience usually collected to witness the administration of justice. The audience assembled in the halls of Congress, it is true, is different, and might be supposed to require a different style of speaking. But a great majority of the members being lawyers, they set their own fashion of debate; for instance, in making a free use of a voluminous brief wholly unknown in the English Parliament. In this latter body, the lawyers are a small minority, nor do the majority come with any previous training as public speakers. A very limited recourse is had to notes, either by way of recording what drops in debate, in order to reply; or by way of assistance to the invention. A very large proportion of the speeches in Parliament are made without the use of notes. A very large proportion of the speeches in Congress are made from ample notes. The talent of speaking from notes, with a given degree of precision, and to an equal point of effect, is, of course, much more plentiful, than that of speaking in the same way, without notes. In the French chambers of legislation, for want of practice in the art of extempore s eaking even from notes, the members are reduced (we speak of a

period eight or ten years ago—perhaps things have been changed in the interval) to the necessity of writing their speeches out at length, and reading them deliberately from the tribune, and the member who possessed the talent of extempore debate stood almost alone. To this extreme, the practice of speaking from notes has, we presume, scarce ever been carried in the American Congress.

To the different style of speaking in this point, the accommodations of the members of Congress and of Parliament are respectively adapted. The House of Commons is small, about sixty feet by forty; and furnished with benches (disposed like those usually seen in lecture rooms where no notes are expected to be taken), on which the members are very closely crowded together. The hall of the House of Representatives contains three hundred thousand cubic feet; twice as many as Fanueil Hall in Boston; and each member is furnished with a luxurious accommodation for sitting and writing. As far as the speaking is concerned, this naturally leads to a habit of minute, discursive, prolix note-taking, an equalization of unimportant and important points (because a member replies not to the great heads of the opposing argument, which have imprinted themselves on his memory, but to every little proposition, of which he has made a note), and finally to an equalization of good and bad speakers. Other evils are incident to the mode in which the two houses are furnished, which operate perniciously on the character of our legislation, as well as on the aspect of our legislature. It is now, we believe, generally admitted, that the House of Representatives, at least, convenes in a splendid hall, in which it is difficult to see, speak, or hear, and which is consequently destitute of the three first and most important properties of a hall of legislation. Scarcely a session passes without the waste of some time and money on ineffectual attempts at a remedy. The evil will, we trust, be so practically felt at length, that the necessity will be acknowledged of providing a place of meeting, which if less adapted for the conveniences of writing, reading, and promiscuous lounging, will be better fitted for the purposes of hearing, seeing, speaking, and the despatch of business. Strange as it may at first appear, the evil of excessive speaking is encouraged and increased by the difficulty of being heard in the hall. This difficulty furnishes a salvo to vanity, which might otherwise be wounded. Members may ascribe, and often

justly, the coldness with which they are heard to the difficulty of hearing. Hence the inattention of the audience is no proof of the indifference of the speech; and by an easy inference of self love, men are able to persuade themselves, that listless spectators and empty benches are no good reasons for abstaining from debate. The vast space to be filled also tempts to vociferation, to exaggerated gesture, to weary repetition, and a sort of desperate effort, on the the part of members, to produce by length, that effect which they cannot aim at in a shorter discourse, of which every sentence would tell.

But although these and some other considerations, of the like general nature, may partly account for the style of speaking which prevails in our Congress, we believe it is in a great degree to be ascribed to the manner in which the speeches are reported. We understand, that in London a large number of reporters are employed in the service of each of the prominent political journals. These reporters accordingly relieve each other, in the task of taking notes of the debate. No one is occupied beyond a reasonable time in the house; each is allowed reasonable time to write out his notes; and in this way, the successive portions of a long debate are immediately transferred to the press. This is not done in the columns of one paper alone, but in those of three or four, and generally speaking, on an average, equally well in each; so that in those parts, where one report happens to be erroneous or defective, some one of the others is likely to be full and correct. In this way, a complete report of a debate is sent out to the public and to the world, the morning after the debate takes place.

A system of reporting essentially different prevails in our Congress. The English method, it needs not be said, is very expensive, requiring probably the service of five or six able reporters, for each house of Parliament. In fact, we have seen it stated, that as many as one hundred persons, of literary qualifications, are in the regular employment of some of the principal English journals. So large a number could scarcely be required, but for the manner in which the reporting service is attended. It has been found at Washington, that the circulation of a political journal is wholly inadequate to the support of such a host of reporters. One or two in each house, we believe, are the most that are statedly employed for any journal. It is scarcely possible, under these circumstances, that a report should be prepared for the next morning's paper, in any

considerable degree complete; although, on certain rare occasions, and by extraordinary effort, full reports in the National Intelligencer have been made to follow the debates, *pari passu.*

While it is only by extraordinary labor, on particular occasions, that this can possibly be done, the necessity of doing it, is, for various reasons, less urgent here than in England. As we have already stated, the public to be addressed is concentrated in London, and it behoves the statesman and politician to lose no time in coming before that public, with a correct report of his sentiments. If this be not done, not only does he suffer by the imperfect representations which would get abroad; but in the vast pressure of business, where subject crowds on subject like wave on wave of a rushing tide, unless the speech appear while the matter of it is fresh, it will secure no attention. In this country, the public to be affected is more or less distant, is scattered in portions remote from each other, and the march of affairs is as yet less urgent. It is of no great moment, in reference to the main objects of the maker or the reader of a speech, whether it appear to day, tomorrow, or a month hence.

This state of things, of course, fits itself to the manner, in which, as we have observed, the reporting service is furnished. There is no pressure for a contemporaneous report; there is time enough; and the member, anxious to appear in his best dress, to correct, perhaps, his inadvertencies, and take advantage of his after thoughts, undertakes to furnish his own report, or, in other words, writes his speech out for the press. If, like Galba, his *forte* lie not so much in writing as in speaking, he may, as Galba did, get a friend to write it for him. Hence, by a process exceedingly different from that of actually making a handsome speech in his place, it is possible for any member to appear in the report, as the maker of a handsome speech. The consequence may naturally be supposed to be, that some members speak, who would not otherwise do it. If the effect produced at the moment, on the house, were the only effect to be looked forward to, and the speech delivered today were followed up tomorrow by a report far inferior (as the best unrevised report must be) to the speech itself, which is thus

> 'Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd,
> No reckoning made, but sent to its account
> With all its imperfections on its head,'

it is probable, that some persons now moved to speak, would refrain.

This will appear still more probable, when we consider, that, on the English footing, the business of reporting is exclusively the affair of the proprietor of the newspaper, consulting the taste or the judgment of his readers. For this reason, he exercises a discretion in abridging and curtailing. Those speeches, which he thinks the public will wish to read, he gives at length. The speeches of those members whom he wishes to favor or to expose, he will present in such dimensions as best to answer his object. It is not to be understood, by any means, that all which is said by every member of Parliament, nor even that the substance of what is said by every member, without exception, is reported in the London journals. Still less would such be the case, were the number of speakers as great, and the speeches as long, as in the American Congress. The habitual inattention of the reporters to everything which they are pleased not to consider as important, naturally has the effect of preventing those from taking part in the debate, who have reason to think that justice would not be done them in the report. The case is wholly different in the American Congress. No such invidious discrimination has ever, that we know, been attempted. Mutually dependent on each other, as speakers and reporters to a certain degree must be, in the present manner of reporting, we presume that the speeches of every member of Congress are given at equal length and with equal fidelity, or may be, at the option of the speaker. This, of course, tends to encourage debate, in the same degree, and for the same reason, that the opposite practice in England tends to discourage it. Every member is sure that he will enjoy as good an opportunity as every other, of having what he may say presented in the most advantageous form to the public.

It would be easy to enlarge on these points, but we fear we have already approached the proper limits of such a discussion. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that we by no means intend, in all respects, to give the preference to the English manner of debating and reporting. It is true, the immediate result of the English system may be entitled to preference. The American public would perhaps prefer, without qualification, that the quantity of speaking, and the amplitude of reporting, should be reduced among us; and might look upon the English plan as a good model in this respect. But if our preceding remarks are

just, these good effects, in parliamentary oratory, are closely connected with great political abuses, which would not here be tolerated. On the other hand, some of the evils which have been pointed out in our style of congressional speaking and reporting, are incident to our free institutions, to the happy equality of personal right and consideration which prevails, and to the salutary dependence of the representative on his constituents.

A part of the evil complained of is the effect of other causes, which will be removed by time. When our population becomes much greater than it now is, particularly when the seat of government shall be a populous city, it may safely be calculated that the number of journals containing regular reports will increase; that competition will arise between them, and an extended circulation enable their proprietors to bear the burden of a more expensive system of reporting. We ought, meantime, to ask, that no part of our remarks may be considered as reflecting on the liberality, intelligence, or skill of those, by whom the public is at present, or for some time past has been, furnished with the reports of the debates in Congress. They are not responsible for the imperfections which arise from the state of the country, or the nature of our political institutions; and justly enjoy the credit of great ability and impartiality. We are quite sure they would be the first to welcome the means and opportunity of introducing an improved system.

After all, in some points, in which the American debating has been censured in comparison with the British, we ought not to overstate the facts. We are inclined, for instance, on the score of prolixity, at least, to believe, that it is not exclusively an American sin. It is stated by Prior, in his Life of Burke, that the speeches of Burke, Pitt, and Fox, on main questions, were generally three hours long. Some of those of Burke, if spoken as much at length as now found in his works, could not have been delivered in much less than double that time. Nor are the speeches of the present day, in the British Parliament, of smaller dimensions. We have been informed, by a person practically acquainted with the subject, that a speech which occupies one page of a London newspaper in the report, must generally have consumed three hours in the delivery. Such of our readers as have had occasion habitually to examine the English journals will, we think, agree with us, that, on this basis

of calculation, two or three speeches of three hours each are made in every important debate in each house, particularly in the House of Commons. The majority of what are called set speeches in Congress fall within these limits.

While we are on this topic, we may observe that we believe some error also prevails as to the length of the speeches of the great orators of antiquity. It has been remarked by a judicious contemporary writer, that the longest of Demosthenes' speeches may be read in fifty minutes, and the most diffuse of Cicero's in an hour. We believe, however, that it would be found impossible to read the oration for the Crown in three hours, although the testimony and documents, referred to by the orator, are nearly all omitted in the text of the oration. The oration against Midias is longer than that for the Crown, and that *De Falsâ Legatione* could not be read through in less than five hours.

The orations of Cicero appear to have been shorter than those of Demosthenes. Those which are known to have been spoken do not perhaps exceed, on an average, an hour and a half in length. That, however, for Publius Sextus, we think, would consume more than twice that time. The first Verrine, the only one delivered, is comparatively short. The remainder of the series against Verres, none of which according to Asconius was spoken, range from four to six hours. The oration *Pro Domo Suâ*, which is supposed to have been spoken, must have occupied nearly two hours and a half in the delivery. In the year of Rome 702, the famous law *De Ambitu* was promulgated by Pompey. This law required the pleadings in criminal causes to be finished in one day, allowing two hours only to the prosecutor and three to the accused. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 94) alludes to the labor, which this rapid succession of causes imposed upon him; and the author of the 'Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence' dates its corruption from the passage of this law, by which, in his opinion, the freedom of speech was hampered and restrained.*

We trust the foregoing observations will not be deemed wholly inappropriate to a short notice of the speeches of Mr Clay, contained in the volume before us, which are entitled to our attention as the production of one of the most eminent of American orators. In the remarks which we make upon

* De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ, c. 38.

them, we shall endeavor to bear in mind the reserve with which it is proper in all cases to speak of living personages, and the moderation with which both praise and censure ought to be awarded, by a candid critic, to those individuals who, being engaged as leaders in political affairs, are likely to be excessively commended on the one hand, and as extravagantly undervalued on the other.

Mr Clay belongs to the class of men, numerous in all free countries, and in no country so numerous as in ours,—the architects of their own fortunes, men who, without early advantages, rise to eminence by the force of talent and industry. The eloquence of such a man will partake of the merits and of the defects, which are naturally incident to a want of the best opportunities in youth, and to practice commenced and continued, not in the retreats of academic leisure, but at the bar and in the senate. The great orators of Greece and Rome learned their profession of actors, sophists, rhetoricians, and philosophers; shut themselves up in caves for solitary exercise; made voyages that they might get access to the best teachers; practised before looking-glasses, and trained their voices by declamation. These arts or means are unknown to the ardent young American, who is launched on the stormy ocean of life, with no other inheritance, than that of 'infancy, ignorance, and indigence.' As he advances to manhood, he will gradually form his own manner. It will commonly be earnest but inartificial; its alternate strains of argument and passion will succeed each other rather by accident, than in the order prescribed by systems of rhetoric. There will be fulness of matter, without exhaustion, perhaps without the most skilful disposition of topics; and vigor and impressiveness of style, connected with occasional inaccuracies of language.

Such, in general, is the character of these speeches. In connexion with some of the remarks, which we have made above, on the manner of reporting which prevails in this country, we ought not to omit to state, that the speeches contained in the volume before us are understood to be given, without subsequent revision, as they appeared originally in the National Intelligencer, from the pen of the reporter. Few orators in any country have ever been more negligent of fame than Mr Clay. Not one half of his speeches, we believe, have ever appeared in any form of report, and those reported have almost without exception been left by him to the unrevised prepara-

tion of the reporter. No person who has had occasion to make such a course a matter of experience, will refuse to admit, that it puts the reputation of the speaker to the greatest test.

In casting the eye over the list of the speeches contained in the volume, we find them to comprehend a wide and varied range of topics. They are on the subject of manufactures, on the line of the Perdido, on the charter of the Bank of the United States, on the augmentation of the military force of the country, on the increase of the navy, on the new army bill, on the emancipation of South America, on internal improvement, on the Seminole war, on a mission to South America, on the tariff, on the Spanish treaty, another speech on the mission to South America, on internal improvement, and on American industry. The reader will perceive, in this catalogue, the greatest questions in our internal policy, in our foreign relations, and in our recent history. On perusing Mr Clay's speeches on any or all of these subjects, and comparing them with those of his contemporaries in Congress, on the same or kindred topics, we presume it will be cheerfully admitted, on all hands, that he ranks second to none in the originality, power, and versatility of his intellect. In those physical qualities by which the ability and reputation of the orator are graduated, and in that general reputation of a parliamentary speaker, which is built on political standing, on intellectual talent, and external gifts, Mr Clay would probably, by a large majority of the American people, be allowed to have stood first on the roll of the eminent men, who were associated with him in Congress.

We are not sure that such would be the opinion of those who should estimate his character as a parliamentary speaker, solely from the perusal of the speeches contained in the volume before us. In point of literary execution and rhetorical finish, they are not to be considered as models. They should be regarded in justice, as what they purport to be, reports of speeches, for the most part unrevised by the author. Compared with other speeches appearing under the same circumstances, they appear to the first advantage. They ought not to be contrasted with that class of productions of ancient or modern orators, which owe their exquisite finish, their well compacted order, their faultless correctness, and harmonious proportions, not to the inspiration of the forum and the senatehouse, but to the leisure of the closet. It is recorded by Plutarch both of Pericles and of Demosthenes, that they

ever refused to speak except on premeditation, even though the assembly loudly called on them, by name, to defend their own measures; and we find by the 'Life of Sheridan,' that his *impromptus*, both of wit and passion, passed through several editions in his study, before they were uttered in Parliament, and that he even marked down beforehand the places for 'Good God, Mr Speaker.' Of this kind of preparation the orations of Mr Clay exhibit no trace. We are quite sure, that not one of them was written before it was delivered, and we perceive in the greater part of them no marks of subsequent revision.

It is a necessary consequence of this, that they contain few single passages likely to be quoted as prominent specimens of oratorical declamation. It deserves remark, that in the orations of the greatest orators of the modern world, those passages which are selected as specimens of style, as extracts for declamation, are evidently such as received either before or after delivery the benefit of the *limæ labor et mora*, and which consequently evince not so much the talent of the speaker as the skill of the writer. We suppose no one will think that the apostrophe to filial piety dropped unwritten from the lips of Sheridan. The inimitable passages on the attachment of the colonies to the mother country, in Burke's speech on Conciliation with America, and the terrific description of Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, must with equal certainty have been written. Of such passages as Curran's on universal emancipation, we are informed, that they were written beforehand, in the style of the ancient rhetorical exercises on the topics, to be used when they might happen to be wanted. Of eloquence of this kind (and some may think it the highest kind, because it gives to some brilliant idea, struck out in a happy moment of inspiration, all the advantage of judgment and meditation, in clothing it in words) the speeches of Mr Clay contain no specimens. In this respect, however, they resemble the printed speeches of the first orators of the age. The man who should read the collected volumes of the speeches of Mr Fox and Mr Pitt, with a view to the selection of the brilliant flights of oratory, would close his task in disappointment. The disappointment, we think, would be more complete in the case of Fox than in that of Pitt, although Fox is allowed to have had the finer genius. The excellence of both, as parliamentary speakers, lay in an unsurprised readiness to grapple with any subject, and in the

full flow of thought, with which any subject was taken up and pursued; added, in Pitt, to the effect of a lofty display of conscious political power, and in Fox to an ever burning zeal and intensity of feeling. Of this school is the parliamentary eloquence of Mr Clay. It is that of the debater, of the politician, the prominent leader of a powerful party, or the hearty champion of some great and favorite cause.

Before and during the war of 1812, Mr Clay was among the most conspicuous of the acknowledged leaders in Congress. On his first entrance into the House of Representatives, he was elected to the chair of that body, which, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, possessed the efficient power of the government. Several of the speeches in the volume before us date from that period, and may be considered as among those, which gave the tone to the legislation of the day. After the close of the war by the treaty of Ghent, in the negotiation of which he bore an honorable part, Mr Clay took up with great ardor the cause of South American independence. This was a cause wholly unconnected with the questions which had formerly divided the country; it was in itself, in its political principles, and in its considerations of expediency, a matter of speculation. To Mr Clay belongs the credit of having first called the attention of Congress and the people to this great subject; and of having contributed an earlier and a greater share, than any other person, to the weight of argument and the power of persuasion, by which the public sentiment on the subject was eventually fixed. In the untried circumstances of the case, the administration of Mr Monroe held itself, for some time, uncommitted, and limited its policy to measures of inquiry and observation. This gave to the efforts of Mr Clay, to obtain an immediate recognition of the independence of the new republics, the form of an opposition to the administration of Mr Monroe. His speeches on this subject, not all of which have been reported, are among the most powerful and brilliant productions of his mind, and passages of them were read with enthusiasm at the head of the South American armies. Another class of subjects, with respect to which Mr Clay has borne a part not less conspicuous, is that of internal improvement and domestic manufactures. Domestic manufactures form the subject of the first and of the last of his speeches in Congress, contained in this volume; and the latter speech wears the appearance of more careful prepara-

tion than any other which the book contains. The first of these is of the class of great constitutional questions; and in the different speeches of Mr Clay on the subject, the entire strength of the argument in favor of the constitutional power of the general government to make internal improvements will be found to be comprised.

Neither do the limits of our article admit, nor does the nature of the work under review require of us, an analysis of the several speeches which compose the volume, with extracts by way of specimen. Although it may happen, that the whole of some one speech may afford of itself a satisfactory specimen of an orator's mind and manner, such a specimen can scarcely be found in an insulated fragment, taken out of the context. Our foregoing remarks will sufficiently communicate our judgment of the quality of Mr Clay's eloquence, with which the student of American history, the politician, and the patriot will make himself acquainted by the perusal of the volume.

An interesting biographical notice of Mr Clay is prefixed to this collection of his speeches. It will enable the reader to trace his rapid ascent from poverty and obscurity, to elevated standing, wide spread fame, and some of the most honorable and arduous offices in the community. Although for this success in life he is, of course, indebted to those qualities of mind and character, which are the basis of advancement under institutions like ours, yet the immediate source of his popularity has been his eminence as a public speaker. His example accordingly is another illustration of the tendency of our free system to encourage the cultivation of the liberal arts, among the first of which the art of public speaking has in all ages been allowed to rank, and has sometimes even been placed at the head of the list. And most assuredly not even in ancient Rome, were stronger motives proposed to encourage the effort to excel in this art. The representative system is peculiarly adapted to bring the talent of public speaking into exercise, at every stage of its operation. The primary inoffi-cial meetings of the citizens, in the municipal assemblies (those miniature republics, whose organization lies at the basis of our well ordered commonwealths), our state legislatures, and lastly the councils of the nation, are so many tribunals where the people, as sovereign, seem to sit in audience to hear and judge of the reasons of what is proposed in the public service. In this view of the importance of public speaking in

our political and social system, it is matter of astonishment, that it has not yet found its place, its proper place, in our establishments for education. We are aware, that in some parts of the country, more attention has been paid to it than in others; and recently in our own neighborhood more than formerly. But it seems plain, that the space assigned to discipline in the art of speaking, in the most improved plans of education known in this country, is far beneath its importance. The objects to be promoted, and the duties to be performed by the public speaker, in this country, are as important as they were in ancient Rome. Let us see what pains were thought due by a Roman statesman and orator to the acquisition of the art. The following we translate from Cicero's treatise *De Claris Oratoribus.**

'The other chief orators of the day,' says Cicero, 'being then in the magistracy, were almost daily heard by me in their public discourses. Curio was then tribune of the people, but never spoke, having once been deserted by his audience in a mass. Quintus Metellus Celer, though not an orator, was not wholly unable to speak; Varius, Carbo, and Pomponius were eloquent, and they were continually upon the rostrum. Caius Julius, also, the curule ædile, almost daily made a set speech. My passion for listening received its first disappointment when Cotta was banished; but in diligent attendance on the other orators, I not only devoted a part of each day to reading, writing, and discussing; but extended my studies beyond the exercises of oratory, to philosophy and the law. In the following year, Varius was banished under his own law. In the study of the civil law I employed myself under Scævola, who, although he did not formally receive pupils, was willing to admit those who desired it, to be present while he gave legal opinions to his clients. The next year, Sylla and Pompey were consuls, and I formed an intimate acquaintance with the whole art of public speaking, in listening to the daily harangues of the tribune Sulpicius. At the same time, Philo, the head of the academy, having, with the rest of the aristocracy of Athens fled to Rome in the Mithridatic war, I gave myself wholly up to him and the study of philosophy, not merely from the delight I felt in the variety and magnitude of the subject, but because the career of judicial eloquence seemed for ever shut up. Sulpicius had fallen that year, and in the next, three other orators were most cruelly slain; Catulus, Antony, and Julius. The same year, I employed myself under the direction of Molo the Rhodian, a consummate pleader and teacher. I mention these things, Brutus, although somewhat aside from our purpose, that

* Cap. 89—91.

you might, as you desired, become acquainted with my course, and perceive the manner in which I followed in the steps of Hortensius. For three years, the city had respite from war, but the orators were deceased, retired, or banished; even Crassus and the two Lentuli were absent. Hortensius then took the lead as counsel; Antistius daily rose in reputation; Piso spoke often, Pomponius less frequently, Carbo rarely, Philippus once or twice. All this time, I was occupied day and night, in every kind of study. I studied with the stoic Diodotus, who, after having long lived with me, lately died at my house. By him I was trained, among other things, in logic, itself a kind of close and compendious eloquence, without which even you, Brutus, have admitted, that the true eloquence, which is but expanded logic, cannot be acquired. With this teacher, in his numerous and various branches, I was so assiduous, that I did not miss a day in oratorical exercises. I had also a declamatory discussion (to use the present phrase) with Piso often, and with Quintus Pompey or some one else every day. This was frequently in Latin, but oftener in Greek; both because the Greek language, in itself more adapted to ornament, tended to form the habit of an elegant Latin manner, and because, unless I used the Greek language, I could neither receive instruction nor correction from eminent Greek teachers. Meantime followed the tumults for the restoration of the republic; the cruel deaths of the three orators, Scævola, Carbo, and Antistius; the return of Cotta, Curio, Crassus, the Lentuli, and Pompey; the establishment of the laws and the tribunals; in a word, the restoration of the Commonwealth. Of the orators, however, Pomponius, Censorinus, and Murena, perished. I then, for the first time, undertook the pleading both of public and private causes; not, as is commonly done, learning my profession in the practice of it, but, as far as I had been able to effect it, entering the forum with my profession learned. At the same time, I studied under Molo, who had come to Rome, in Sylla's dictatorship, on business of the Rhodians. My first public cause, therefore, the defence of Sextus Roscius, was so commended, that there was none which I was not thought competent to undertake. Many causes were now put into my hands, which I brought into court, not merely diligently, but laboriously prepared.

'And now, since you seem to wish to learn my history thoroughly, I will mention some things, which might otherwise seem unimportant. At this period, I labored under extreme emaciation and weakness of body; my neck was long and slender, and my whole frame and constitution such as are usually thought to render the violent exercise of the lungs fatal. This circumstance was matter of the greater anxiety to my friends, because I was in the habit of speaking everything on a high key, without variety, with the

utmost power of voice and exertion of my body. When, therefore, my friends and physicians advised me to abandon pleading, I determined to encounter any danger, rather than give up the renown, which I hoped to acquire as an orator. Having, however, come to the conclusion, that by reducing and managing the voice, and changing my mode of speaking, I could escape the impending danger, I determined, for the sake of altering my manner, to visit Asia. Accordingly, after having been two years in the practice of my profession, and acquired a standing in the forum, I left Rome. When I came to Athens, I devoted myself six months, under Antiochus, a most noble and prudent sage of the old academy, to the study of philosophy, a study which I had early cultivated, had never lost sight of, and now renewed under this admirable teacher. At the same time, however, I practised speaking diligently, under Demetrius the Syrian, an experienced and respectable teacher of the art. I afterwards made the tour of Asia, with orators of the first celebrity, under whom, with their full assent, I regularly exercised myself in speaking. The chief of these was Menippus of Stratonice, in my opinion the most eloquent Asiatic orator of his time, and, if to be free from everything offensive or impertinent be the test of Atticism, not unworthy to be reckoned among Attic orators. I was, also constantly with Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidus, and Xenocles of Adramyttium; the principal rhetoricians at that time in Asia. Not satisfied with these, I repaired to Rhodes, and applied myself to Molo, who had instructed me at Rome, who was not only a pleader himself in real causes, and an eminent writer, but most discreet in remarking and correcting faults as an instructer. He exerted himself, as far as possible, to reduce my manner, redundant as it was, and overflowing with juvenile license and excess; and sought to bring it within proper limits. After spending two years in this way, I returned, not merely trained, but altered. The extreme effort of my voice in speaking was reduced, my style had become temperate, my lungs strong, and my general health tolerable." '

Such was the professional education of a man who was fitting himself, not for the chair of oratory in a place of education, but for the storm and bustle of active life, at the most convulsed period of the Roman Commonwealth. Not unlikely it was the course pursued by the majority of the young men at that time, who were destined to the career of law and politics. In many essential features, our political institutions resemble the Roman; at least so far as the importance of the province of the public speaker is concerned. It deserves consideration, whether the method of liberal education, so called, which prevails among us, rather by tradition than designed adoption,

be as well calculated as could be wished, to fit our young men for the duties of life; whether the greatest portion of their time is devoted to the attainments practically most important; and, particularly, whether the art of communication, in its two great branches of writing and speaking, and especially the latter, ought not to be raised from its comparative neglect to the first place among the studies preparatory to active life.

ART. IX.—*The True English Grammar; being an Attempt to form a Grammar of the English Language, not modelled upon those of the Latin, and Greek, and other Foreign Languages.* By WILLIAM B. FOWLE, Instructer of the Monitorial School, Boston. Munroe & Francis. 1827.

THE object of this manual is to rescue parents and teachers, by a summary process, from the whole tribe of grammars upon grammars, which, since the days of Lowth and Murray, have so fearfully accumulated upon them. Whether it be certainly the *True English Grammar*, which it claims to be, or not, its merits are not the less remarkable, in sweeping clean away the old cobwebs of the schools, and proving to a demonstration the English language, written and spoken as it now is, to be essentially pedantic and absurd, and quite unworthy of the tongues of the nineteenth century. But happily it has been discovered, that, 'with a very moderate reform, our language is one of the freest and simplest in the world, and may be wholly disencumbered of grammatical difficulty.' With the view, therefore, of releasing his mother tongue from scholastic fetters, and supplying one of the crying wants of the age, Mr Fowle proposes this system of rational grammar. It is his opinion, that 'a learned man, that is, a Latin and Greek scholar, was not the proper person to make an English grammar, and that, of course, Dr Lowth was disqualified' (p. 157); that, consequently, Murray, who took him for a pattern, was all in the wrong; and that our fathers have been groping for ages in grammatical darkness!

The author's objections to the old systems of grammar, are, that they needlessly embarrass the English, by forcing it into analogies with the Latin and Greek; and he proposes to form

an English grammar, 'not modelled upon those of other foreign languages.' It will be observed, that whatever analogies with the Latin and Greek may have been adopted into the English, they *now* compose an integral part of the language, and are as good Anglicisms as any Anglo-Saxon derivations. The grammar, therefore, which rejects them, it must be distinctly remembered, is no grammar of the English, as it is now written and spoken.

As the public, generally, are unacquainted with the result of Mr Fowle's labors, it is our intention to lay before them the outlines of the reforms in his grammar, which takes the English language less as it is, than as it should be. English grammar is defined to be, 'Rules for writing and speaking the English language, founded on the peculiar structure and proper use of it.' (p. 5.) The business of orthography is committed to 'dictionaries and spelling-books,' and that of prosody to 'treatises on rhetoric.' Punctuation we find to be no part of the system; and from no mention of such things as commas, colons, and periods, we conclude, that they are out of place in a system of rational grammar. Under nouns, adjectives, and verbs, are comprehended the nine sorts of words, into which custom has hitherto so inconsiderately parcelled out the parts of speech.

First come nouns. After discarding the unmeaning distinction of names proper and common, it is declared, that nouns, generally, are 'either physical or metaphysical,' to the great edification of all little masters and misses. (p. 6.) *Person*, in an English noun, is proved to be a shadowy and mistaken refinement. (p. 160.) That of *cases* is nothing better. The nominative and objective are accordingly amalgamated. Inasmuch as they both are names of a thing, it is not thought fair, that the *nominative* alone should have the benefit of this circumstance in its title. Therefore, instead of nominative and objective, they are to be called for the future *agent* and *object*. (pp. 12, 161.) A fate still worse is reserved for the possessive case, which is stripped of its name, and cashiered to an adjective; thus, Mr Fowle resolves the apostrophic *s* into the word *add*, and 'father's house,' he reads '*father add house*.' Here he protests against supposing 'father's' to be a name, and declares it to be a good adjective, only serving to distinguish one house from another. (p. 162.)

Next, the dignity of the adjective is very considerably raised. This once modest part of speech is made to assert its dominion, first, over the indefinite article *a*, *an*, because derived from *one*;

then over the definite article, *the*, because, forsooth, a contraction of *this*, once spelled *thae*, now by an easy step *the*. (pp. 171, 158.) The pronouns, next in course, are the subjects of hopeful reform. We are entertained with the following dialogue, where *who*, *what*, *whom*, are successively brought to answer to a substantive understood, and made adjectives. Thus, '*Who did it?* who *what* did it? who *person* is the answer.' '*I gave it to whom?* whom what? whom person, the object.' (p. 18.) In like manner are claimed *this*, *these*, *those*, *it*, *that*, and, of course, all possessive cases of pronouns as well as nouns; in proof of which, is cited the following expression; '*this handle is this's*, but *that is that's*,' (p. 19.) which the author says is not uncommon. The personal pronouns are sunk into demonstrative adjectives; *I*, *thou*, *he*, &c. pointing out the agent, and *me*, *thee*, *him*, &c. the object, of what is done; thus '*We*, *the author* of this grammar, (and not those authors who differ from us);' '*He*, Murray, that Murray (who perplexes.)' (pp. 19, 21). And also, the genders of *he*, *she*, *it*, are proved to be interchangeable by an aptness of illustration peculiar to our ingenious author. Thus, 'My carpenter always says of his saw, *she* cuts well; and the sailor, who never heard of rhetoric, says of the anchor, *he* holds, and of the ship, *she* brings up,' (p. 164.) which is an adherence, we are told, to 'ancient usage,' and no rhetorical flourish; figures, we suppose, being unknown in the primitive simplicity of the language, until certain rhetoricians presumed to strew their flowers. Next in this triumphant procession of the adjective, are ranked expatriated nouns, particularly possessive cases; as may be seen in the similarity of office performed by the first words in such expressions as these, '*noisy streets*,' '*Boston streets*,' and last, not least, '*Boston's streets*,' which seems to have been stripped of its nounship by the magic of the verb *add*, and means, *Boston add streets*. (pp. 23, 162.) Another decree, not less summary, hurls the harmless family of adverbs from their ancient dominion, and constrains them to become good and true adjectives, by virtue of the word *like*. 'Heroes act bravely,' that is, 'heroes act *like* brave actors;' 'kings die *humbly*,' that is, 'kings die *like* humble diers;' 'hope cheers *constantly*,' that is, 'hope cheers *like* constant cheerers;' 'wealth comes *slowly*,' that is, 'wealth comes *like* slow comers.' (p. 25.) Lastly, it is resolved, that verbs shall furnish their quota, to swell the ranks of the adjective; preserving thereby, we suppose, the balance of power,

which, since conjunctions and prepositions have been proved to be real nouns and verbs in disguise, might possibly be disturbed. Thus, '*go*-cart,' '*cling*-stones,' '*cut*-purse.' (p. 26).

The remaining grand division is *verbs;* and here we cannot forbear to congratulate all unlearned natives and foreigners, upon the prospect of the return of language to its simple elements. Mind, of whose march we hear so much, is certainly completing the circle, and approaching the point, from which it first set out. It was once supposed, that the progress of language was the result of our wants; but such notions are done away. Its perfection is no longer sought, where the multiplied necessities of life have given rise to corresponding varieties of expression, but in those simple dialects, in which one articulate sound is significant of a hundred different things. Hence the whole fashion of moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, are considered unnecessary; and they are charged upon grammarians, who, to accommodate classical 'usage,' have unreasonably thrust them into the mouths of the vulgar (p. 173), much in the same way as doctors pour physic down children's throats. Nevertheless the author graciously and somewhat inconsistently consents to retain *two* tenses, a *present* and a *past;* not that he has a whit the more faith in a past, than a future tense; for, originally, 'English verbs had but one termination' (p. 30), and no tenses to express time. Their business is to 'express what the nouns do,' (p. 29), and not the *when*. Of course it is impertinent in Father Time to meddle in the matter. But as Mr Fowle agrees, with a mental reservation, to retain, for form's sake, a past tense, he generously throws the name into the bargain. This may be very modest, but it is not quite so judicious, and is a needless embarrassment in the short cut to perfection. To be convinced of this, we have only to read the author's own words. '*Must* is the only verb in the English language, which, in spite of grammarians, has retained its primitive simplicity, having no variation on account of tense, number, and person, and yet there is nothing indefinite or obscure in its use.' (p. 69). Why then are other verbs to be deprived of this same inestimable 'simplicity'? When he has once commenced the good work of reform, upon what principle does he mince matters, and retain a past tense, which he can never regard with complacency? But instead of finishing his work, and removing every vestige of the old enormities of the schools, he not only perpetuates the evil by allowing *two*

tenses, but favors us at great length with a list of irregular verbs, which he proposes to *legitimatize*, by throwing out their obnoxious deformities and taking the regular '*ed*.' Thus 'do, doed,' 'come, comed,' 'go, goed.' (pp. 43—50.) These, according to his own principles, he ought to have brought to the standard of that perfect verb 'must,' and retrenched all but one termination. But what is worse, he actually sides with the lovers of Latin and Greek analogies, and spreads perplexity, by adding *ed* to verbs, which so nearly approximated his standard of perfection, as to have until now the same termination to express all the relations of time. Thus *present*, 'beat;' *past*, 'beat;' he proposes 'beated.' So 'cost, costed,' 'cut, cutted,' (p. 49); and why may we not add *must*, *musted*? This partial reform is undoubtedly a sorry defect. For we are to bear in mind, that, according to the *true analogy of the English language*, 'verbs had but one termination' (p. 30); that all notions of 'time must be looked for in the context' (p. 175); and further, that in a true English grammar 'any unnecessary departure from strict analogy, simplicity, or uniformity should be met and discountenanced.' (p. 173). Now, after proclaiming from the housetop such magnanimous principles, and showing to a demonstration, that moods, tenses, numbers, and persons are a flagrant violation of the genius of our language, muffled under the venerable cloak of classical usage, how Mr Fowle, as 'a fearless philologer,' can consent to deform this beautiful piece of radicalism by a salvo to any two tenses, we are at a loss to imagine!

But it is our business to take into the account only such reforms as we find, and not to murmur, that thus far they have gone, and no farther. We proceed, therefore, to the verb, or, as the author would say, 'the verbal name,' *to be*, a fruitful source of perplexity to most grammarians. If he has been less successful than usual, in settling to his satisfaction the origin of this verb, yet the curious owe him many thanks for fixing the truth beyond the hope of escape, between his own conjectures and those of Dr Gilchrist. The Doctor calls in the aid of no fewer than four languages, the Anglo-Saxon, the French, the Greek, and the Latin, to determine this doubtful point. (p. 167). But for our part we prefer Mr Fowle's solution, as by far more easy and natural. He considers it necessary to split up five several verbs, of which '*to be* and its variations are the fragments,' (pp. 51, 166); a conclusion to

which he must doubtless have been helped, by the philosophers, who have determined that meteoric stones must have been *broken up*, and whirled through space by certain convulsions in the moon; or these *fragments* of verbs may have been suggested by that noted hypothesis, which creates and explodes an immense planet, on purpose to prove that the smaller planets are some of the pieces. In the next place, we are informed, that *to be* is an active verb, but that its action lies snugly coiled up, like the spring of a watch, within the 'individual that exerts it.' (p. 168). It is dexterously made out, that the sentence, 'John *is* a fool,' means 'John *plays* the fool.' After this, if we can in conscience ask for more proof, we are exultingly referred to the imperative mood. Thus, to take the example selected, 'let light be.' This throws us upon an alarming dilemma; no less a one than to acknowledge, either that 'light' never was created, or that 'be' is an active verb. 'Either nothing,' says Mr Fowle, 'was done in obedience to this command, or what was done is expressed by the word *be*.' (p. 167). Of course, if we must choose between the two horns of this dilemma, we prefer to be tossed by the latter. Therefore, *be* is an active verb, and in plain English, 'let light be,' means, 'let light *act*,' or 'let light *make itself*.' From which we conclude, that before its creation, light *was* and *was not*. This, it will be observed, settles the old dispute, whether matter be coeternal with mind. The next thing is to bestir that proverbially drowsy race, the neuter verbs. A state of *motion or rest* is a complete sinecure, and gives them nothing *to do*. By way of showing their activity, therefore, they are made to bestride themselves, in the same manner as children ride their cockhorses. Thus, '*I sleep easy*, is *I sleep myself easy*.' (p. 169).

We ought to have mentioned before the immense gain made by changing, in the perfect tense, the helping verb *have* into a principal; and the perfect participle into a verbal adjective. Thus, 'men have abused reason,' Mr Fowle reads, 'men have reason (how?) abused,' or 'men possess reason abused.' So, 'the boy has learned the lesson;' 'the boy has the lesson learned.' Here 'learned,' according to the 'True English Grammar,' 'expresses the condition of the lesson and not of the learner.' (p. 57). Consequently the benefit of the learning rightfully belongs to the lesson and not to the boy. In the same way, '*the boy has lost his book*,' must be read, '*the*

boy possesses his book lost. Of course the loss is not felt by the boy. So, *John has broken Jim's head*, must by the same exegesis mean only, *John possesses Jim's head broken.* Nothing more than possession can be proved upon John. It was hardly to be expected, after this specimen of elevating adjectives at the expense of the perfect participle, that verbs passive should remain unmolested. Accordingly, we are told, that the whole passive voice is unconstitutional, and 'built upon a misconception of the nature and use of the perfect participle.' The following is the exposition by which passive verbs are done away, and all grammatical *passion* and *suffering* proclaimed henceforth to be at an end. '*Penelope is loved*,' ('is' has been proved already to be an active verb, and means '*exists*'), 'Penelope exists (how?) loved.' 'Loved is an adjective and qualifies Penelope, and it is just as correct to say, the phrase, Penelope is *sick*, is a passive verb, as to call, Penelope is *loved*, one.' (p. 170).

With this moderate reform, the grand division of Nouns, Adjectives, and Verbs is perfected, and the English language rebuilt upon the freest, simplest, and most natural plan in the world. About two hundred particles only remain to be disposed of, which, by the ignorance and wilfulness of grammarians, have been erected into titular dignitaries, under the names of Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions, and Interjections. It was once erroneously supposed, that they had no signification of their own, but served merely to show the relation of one thought to another; that in this they differed from other words, their office being to *cement* the several parts of the fabric of language together. But Horne Tooke has satisfactorily proved, that to contrive words on purpose to show the relation of our thoughts is a needless waste of invention, that the fabric of language stands self-supported without the cement of conjunctions and propositions; and that nouns, adjectives, and verbs are fully competent to express every action of the mind. The great work of restoring our language to its primitive simplicity, so fearlessly undertaken by our author, has thus been completely achieved, foreclosing all exercise of the talents, ingenuity, and courage of future reformers.

NOTE.

Captain Cleveland's Voyage from China to the Northwest Coast of America.

In the article on Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, contained in our last number, is the following passage. 'While he was in Canton, in 1798 and 1799, a small vessel of about one hundred tons arrived in that port from the Northwest coast of America; it had been fitted out in Macao, and had been absent but five months. The captain was an Englishman. The cargo, consisting of furs, was sold for sixty thousand dollars.' Since the above article was printed, we have ascertained further particulars respecting this voyage, and find that the statement here given is not entirely correct. The captain was not an Englishman, as mentioned by Krusenstern, but the vessel was purchased and fitted out entirely on American account, and commanded by Captain Richard J. Cleveland, a native and citizen of the United States. The mistake probably arose from the circumstance, that the vessel was English built, was bought of an Englishman, and, after the voyage had been performed, was again sold to an Englishman. The size of the vessel, and the duration of the voyage, were also not the same as stated by Krusenstern. As this voyage was one of extraordinary character, both in its prosecution and results, and evinced a degree of enterprise, perseverance, and decision, rarely to be met with, and worthy of imitation, we are happy in having an opportunity to lay a short sketch of it before our readers, abridged from Captain Cleveland's original journal, which has been preserved.

The vessel was purchased of Captain William Lay, in December, 1798, by Captain Cleveland, and sailed (under the American flag) on that voyage the following month, under his command. It is believed to have been the first successful attempt of a foreign vessel in beating up the coast of China, so as to weather the north end of Formosa during the height of the northeast monsoon. The task was indeed an arduous one, and its accomplishment he was assured by several experienced navigators was impracticable. But the success of the voyage depended on his arriving on the coast of America before other vessels, which were known to have been despatched from Boston; and a failure in this attempt would not have been less ruinous than the delay, which waiting for the favorable monsoon would have caused. The small size of the vessel, being only about fifty tons, by enabling him to keep close in with the coast, encouraged the belief, that he would occasionally meet with a favorable current; and that, when by the

reverse he was losing ground, he might find anchorage. These expectations, combined with the importance attached to effecting the object, induced him to attempt beating up, for the most part within hail of an extensive and dangerous coast, not only without either himself or any one on board having any experience a long the coast, but without even a chart, that was any guide.

'The hazardous voyage we were engaged in,' says Captain Cleveland, 'required that our numbers should be great, in proportion to the small size of the vessel, and it was not less important to our safety, that they should consist of Europeans or Americans. To procure such a crew at Wampoa was only to be done by taking the disorderly and discontented men, who had deserted from the European ships then lying there. With such a prospect before me, and with a complement of twentyone officers and men, I sailed from Anson's Bay, the tenth of January, 1799. We usually worked up close along shore while the day lasted, and endeavored to find an anchorage at night; when we failed to do so, and were compelled to stand out to sea, we invariably found, on returning to the coast, that we were losers. Our progress, the first week, was such as to afford us much encouragement; nor did we find other than a clear navigation, till the nineteenth of the month, when, being in latitude 22° 35', and going at the rate of about three knots, we ran upon a sunken ledge of rocks. The boat was immediately got out; when, on sounding, we found deep water astern; in which direction we were preparing to carry out an anchor, when, the tide having risen, the vessel slid off the rock, without having received any apparent injury. After hoisting in the boat, we stood off so far as to enable us to weather this shoal on the opposite tack. As we advanced to the north, the shallow water extended farther from the shore; and the coast was more strewed with shoals, which increased the difficulty of making a harbor, and often compelled us to stand out to sea during the night, when it was so rough, that, with all the sail we could carry, we often lost as much as we had gained the preceding twentyfour hours. This was particularly the case on the night of the twentysixth, when the wind increased so as to reduce us to our storm sails, and caused the vessel to be, for the most part, buried in water. In the morning, as we were approaching the coast, in hope of finding a shelter from the great sea, which had then risen, and when within about three leagues of it, we suddenly discovered a breaker; but, as we were going at a rapid rate, we were in the midst of the foam almost at the moment of this discovery. The vessel struck once, in the hollow of the sea, and was enveloped in the succeeding billow, but passed over without receiving any injury; her deck, at the same time, was covered with sand. By running four leagues to leeward, we succeeded in finding a harbor,

and anchored in a smooth, sandy bay, near a fleet of junks, which we found were bound north, and had put in to evade the storm.'

The gale having ceased on the twentyninth, and the weather having become favorable, Captain Cleveland got under way, in company with thirtytwo sail of junks, by keeping company with which he hoped to derive the advantage of their experience, for working in the night tides. But the day following, the junks reached their destination, running into a deep bay, where there appeared to be a numerous fleet. As they were extremely earnest that he should not follow them, and no object was to be gained by doing it, he anchored by their recommendation under the lee of a small island, and near two Chinese junks, the captain of one of which came on board, and told him, that the fleet within were lying at Amoy; that the land, about three and a half leagues to windward, was the island of Kemoy; and that he must keep the lead going all the time, as there were numerous rocks and shoals in the intermediate space. As he could not procure a pilot, he had no other resource, than following the imperfectly conveyed directions of the Chinaman, and trusting to the lead and a good look out for safety. Early on the first of February, he resumed the task of turning to windward; and, although he had frequently only two fathoms of water, and did not always deepen it by standing off shore, he yet fortunately reached the anchorage under the lee of the island of Kemoy towards evening, after having passed a day of great anxiety and fatigue. The duty had now been so arduous, the prospect of its duration so uncertain, and the dangers so appalling, that the men, unceasingly exposed to wet and cold, became quite disheartened, and during the ensuing night entered into a combination to compel a return to Macao.

'This was manifested in the morning,' says the journal, 'by a general refusal to weigh the anchor when the order was given for that purpose. The determination was so unanimous, that I did not attempt to force them, otherwise than by declaring to them, that if they would not work they should not eat, and taking the necessary precaution to prevent their getting provisions. Having prepared ourselves in the cabin to resist the attempt, which we had reason to believe was projected, to take the vessel, and kept a vigilant watch with loaded arms for twentyfour hours; it then occurred to me, that if they would consent to be set on shore, they would soon be glad to be taken on board again. When therefore I made the proposition to them, they readily acceded to it; and they were immediately landed on the beach. The curiosity of the inhabitants to see them was such, and they were so incessantly surrounded by a great crowd, that their situation became extremely irksome and uncomfortable; added to which, they could obtain no other food than a scanty supply of rice. The next morning they made

their appearance, approaching us in a Chinese boat. When within hail, I cautioned them, on their peril, to come no nearer. They said, the Mandarin had sent them off, and they durst not return. With a cannon pointed towards the boat, I threatened them with destruction, if they attempted to advance. This so alarmed the Chinamen who were at the oars, that they hastened back. I then went to the beach, and calling one at a time into my boat, took their solemn promise of future good behavior. But there were two, whom I did not intend to take again; and when they were refused, four others chose to share their fate, in the expectation, that by combining, they should compel us to take them all on board again. Finding, next morning, that they would not separate, we recommenced our arduous and hazardous duty of beating to windward, leaving six men on the island of Kemoy and determined to prosecute the voyage, even with such diminished strength.'

After an additional ten days' labor, with occasionally anchoring, he at length got out of the influence of the northeast monsoon; and on the eleventh of February had the satisfaction of seeing the north end of Formosa, bearing south, distant ten leagues. Thus, after thirtyone days of great toil, exposure, and anxiety, they had accomplished that part of the passage, which had been represented as an impossibility. With moderate winds, varying between N. N E. and N. W., they pursued their course easterly, and on the seventeenth passed between Lekeyo, and some small islands north of it, with a strong westerly gale. Their passage across the North Pacific proved clearly enough the misapplication of the term to that sea, as it was hardly possible for it to be less peaceful. The violence of the wind was such, that they could show but little sail; and the sea, in consequence, was so boisterous, that there were but few days, when they were not so enveloped by it, as repeatedly to have the fire extinguished in the caboose. The men who composed the watch on deck, never escaped a complete drenching, and had constant employment in carrying their clothes up the rigging to dry. Such exposure and privation, though not sufficient to injure the health of the crew, was so much greater than they had ever before experienced, that, not realizing that the other passages were not to be equally fatiguing, they formed the design (of which the captain had notice) of deserting as soon as they could, after their arrival. On the thirtieth of March, they descried Mount Edgcombe, and in the evening anchored at Norfolk Sound, in latitude 57° 10′ north. As it was of importance to their safety, that the natives should be kept in ignorance of their numbers, they had prepared and put up, before entering the sound, a barricado of hides, sewed together, which completely screened them from view. Several Indians came

to them the morning after their arrival, and before dark several hundreds had arrived, who encamped on the beach, near to which the vessel was anchored. Every precaution that prudence dictated was now adopted by the captain, not less against any surprise by the Indians, than to prevent the escape of his own men. They were cautioned therefore not to come off after dark, and made to understand, that any canoes which should be seen moving near the vessel in the night would be fired at. Captain Cleveland remained at this place six days, and, from his success in purchasing skins, had no doubt of his vessel being the first on the coast that season. He proceeded thence by a narrow passage, in an easterly direction, till he arrived in that extensive sound, which Vancouver has called Chatham's Straits. Arriving at the northern extremity of this inland navigation, on the sixth of May, in latitude 59° 30′, and having a strong wind from the southward, he made a harbor in a neighboring cove, and anchored within a cable's length of the shore.

'The wind blew so strong,' he observes, 'that only two canoes came to us this day; but they assured us we should have abundance on the morrow. Accordingly, in the morning they began to muster, and by ten o'clock there had arrived twentyfour canoes, many of them as long, and some longer, than my vessel, and containing, on a moderate calculation, from three hundred and seventy to four hundred people, armed with muskets, spears, and daggers; and apparently having very few skins. As it was obvious that trade was not their objeect, and as we were prevented by a calm from leaving them, I made every possible disposition to resist the attack, which there was no doubt was intended. During the day, they used every artifice to induce us to permit more than two canoes to come to us at a time, which was the number to which we had restricted them; and it was only by our pointing the cannon towards them, and threatening to fire, that they were deterred from advancing. The whole day was passed at our guns, with lighted matches, watching the motions of the canoes, and calling to them not to approach. At night they went ashore near us, made their fires, and remained quiet. The next morning early, having a breeze from the northward, and presuming we had purchased all the furs they had, we left them, notwithstanding their earnest entreaties to remain through the day, and their promise of bringing a great many skins. We had proceeded but a short distance, before we met two war canoes, each containing twentysix men, well armed, who were hastening to share in the expected glory and spoil, and for whose arrival, the attack had probably been delayed.'

Pursuing a course to the southward till he reached that branch of the sound which runs in an easterly direction, he passed on-

ward, and round those islands, which are called by Vancouver, Admiralty, Macartney's, and Duke of York's Islands. He visited the several tribes, which inhabit their shores, and purchased all the furs they had. Having also nearly expended his articles of barter, he made preparations for leaving the coast, by getting a supply of wood and water. The following incident will be related in his own words.

'On the twentieth of May, while we were steering to the westward, with a view of executing this determination, and going at the rate of about two knots, unsuspicious of danger, the vessel suddenly struck a sunken ledge, and stopped. Perceiving she hung abaft the midships, and that there were three and a half fathoms under the bows, we immediately run all the guns forward, and carried out an anchor ahead; but the tide ebbed so rapidly, that our efforts to heave her off, were ineffectual; we therefore heeled her on the side, whence she would be less likely to roll over. At low water, the position of the vessel was such, as to afford but feeble expection, that she could escape bilging. She hung by about four feet amidships; having slid about as much on the rock as the tide fell, and brought up with the end of the bowsprit against the bottom. Her keel formed an angle of fortyfive degrees with the water line; the after part of it being from fourteen to fifteen feet above the rock. This position, combined with a rank heel to starboard, rendered it impossible to stand on deck; we therefore put a number of loaded muskets in the boat, and prepared for such resistance from thence, in case of being attacked, as could be made by fifteen men crowded into a sixteen feet boat. Our situation was now one of the most painful anxiety; no less from the immediate prospect of losing our vessel, and the rich cargo we had collected with so much toil, than from the apprehension of being discovered in this defenceless state, by any one of the hostile tribes, by which we were surrounded. A canoe of the largest class, with thirty warriors well armed, had left us not more than half an hour before we struck, who were now prevented from seeing us by having passed round an island. Should the vessel bilge, there existed scarcely any other chance for the preservation of our lives, than the precarious one of falling in with some ship. That she would bilge, there was no reason to doubt, if the weather varied in any degree from that perfect calm which then existed. More than ten hours were passed in this agonizing state of suspense,—watching the horizon, to discover if any savages were approaching,—the heavens, if there were a cloud that might chance to ruffle the smooth surface of the water,—the vessel, whose occasional crackings seemed to be the seal of our destruction; and, when the tide began to flow, impatiently observing its apparently

sluggish advance,—and involuntarily consulting my watch, the hands of which seemed to have forgotten to perform their revolutions. At length, the water having flowed over the coamings of the hatches, which had been caulked down in anticipation of this event, without any indications of the vessel's lifting, I was deliberating on the propriety of cutting away the mast, when we perceived her to be rising. She soon after righted so much, that we could go on board; and at half past twelve in the night we had the indescribable pleasure of seeing her afloat again, without having received any other apparent injury, than the loss of a few sheets of copper. To the perfect calm, smooth water, and uncommon strength of the vessel, may be attributed our escape from this truly perilous situation. After having laid the vessel ashore, and repaired the damages, which extended only to the sheathing, we proceeded to the southern entrance of the straits.'

This entrance was passed on the thirtieth of May, and they were again open to the influences of the ocean, from which they had been sheltered since their arrival, at all times surrounded by lofty mountains, whose summits are most of the year covered with ice and snow. The day following Captain Cleveland anchored again at Norfolk Sound, whence he proceeded to Charlotte's Islands. Having here disposed of his remaining articles of barter, he on the twentyseventh of June departed from the coast, not less happy in the possession of a rich cargo, than in the reflection of having realized this object, without injury to the natives, or any other than the most friendly interchange of commodities with them. He arrived at Owhyhee on the seventeenth of July, under the lee of which he lay off and on till he had obtained an abundant supply of hogs, vegetables and fruit. He then continued his course for China, and arrived safely at Wampoa on the thirteenth of September, 1799, where he realized about *sixty thousand dollars* for an investment of *nine thousand.* Thus was accomplished, in about eight months, one of the most arduous, most successful, and, all things considered, most hazardous voyages of which any account has been given.

A Review of Mr Chief Justice Marshall's 'History of the American Colonies' is necessarily deferred till our next Number. Besides a critical examination of the work here mentioned, the article contains a sketch of the life and public services of that eminent jurist. We omit, also, an article on Noyes's 'Amended Version of Job;' and another on the 'American Annual Register.'

We are sorry, moreover, to be obliged to reserve for our next Number an article on the condition and proceedings of the American Mission at the Sandwich Islands. A work has recently appeared in England, purporting to be an account of the voyage of the ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, under the command of Lord Byron. This work contains many errors and misrepresentations, particularly in regard to the American Missionaries, which it is the purpose of the article to point out. We would also call the attention of our readers to a letter inserted at the end of the Seventieth Number of the Quarterly Review, signed by *Boki*, a native chief, reflecting on the conduct of the Missionaries. That this letter is a forgery, we have no hesitation in expressing our unqualified belief, founded on evidence, which will be brought forward in the article abovementioned.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

A Treatise on the Nature and Effects of Heat, Light, Electricity, and Magnetism, as being only Different Developements of one Element. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 8vo. pp. 91.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Life of Joseph Alleine, author of "An Alarm to the Unconverted." By his Widow, Mrs. Theodosia Alleine. Philadelphia.

Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence. Vols. VII. VIII. IX. Philadelphia. R. W. Pomeroy. 8vo.

The Life of Philip, the Indian Chief. Salem. Whipple & Lawrence.

BOTANY.

An Introduction to Systematic and Physiological Botany. By Thomas Nuttall. 12mo. pp. 360. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

EDUCATION.

The Epitome of History, with Historical Charts. By J. E. Worcester. 12mo. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

Original Moral Tales, intended for Children and Young Persons. Vol. I. 18mo. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn.

A Key the Colburn's Algebra. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Letters on Christian Education. By a Mother. New York. 12mo. pp. 32.

Murray's Theory of the Moods and Tenses of English Verbs; illustrated by an Emblematical Chart. By R. G. Green. 8vo. pp. 16. Portland, Me.

Outlines of Practical Geography, consisting principally of Questions on the Maps. By Joseph Muenscher, A. M., Principal of the Female Classical Seminary, Brookfield.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Tourist's Map of the State of New York, compiled from the latest Authorities. By William Williams. Utica.

This is a map for travellers, on a new plan, and of great utility to any person travelling in the state of New York. In addition to the common topographical outlines neatly drawn, it contains tables of distances, a register of stagecoaches, steamboats, and canal packet boats, and various items of statistical information useful to travellers, and all reduced within a small and convenient compass.

HISTORY.

The Early History and Present State of the Town of Quincy in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By George Whitney. 8vo. pp. 64.

Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga. By Madame de Riedesel. Translated from the Original German. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo.

This entertaining little volume we intended to examine more at large, than our limits have permitted for the present number. We shall recur to it hereafter. As a spirited description of some of the most important scenes of our revolutionary war, written by a person who narrates what came under her own observation, and in a style at once animated and perspicuous, it has more than common claims to the notice of American readers. Madame de Riedesel was the wife of General Riedesel, who commanded the Brunswick troops in the service of the British during the Revolution. She joined her husband in Canada the year after the commencement of the war, and she continued with him, sharing his various fortunes during the remainder of the contest. Her account of the events at Saratoga are touching, and given with apparent fidelity. While her husband was a prisoner she resided in Cambridge, and also in Charlottesville, Virginia. She was next with the British army in New York, and afterwards in Canada. The whole term of her residence in this country was about seven years.

The volume consists of a correspondence with her husband before she arrived, and a series of letters to her mother, written from America. It also contains a short memoir from the pen of General Riedesel on the surrender at Saratoga. The whole was originally written in German, and is now for the first time translated, although it has been for several years before the European public. A few extracts only were translated for Wilkinson's Memoirs. A well written preface by the translator is prefixed to the present volume, and in an Appendix are contained several letters, that passed between Washington, Riedesel, and Gates. The work is highly creditable to the translator, in regard both to the style in which he has executed his task, and to his own additions.

Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations. By David Cusick. Lewiston, N. Y.

The History of Dedham, from the Beginning of its Settlement in September, 1635, to May, 1827. By Erastus Worthington. Boston. 8vo. pp. 146.

Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. I. Providence. John Miller. 8vo. pp. 163.

Historical Scenes in the United States, or a Selection of Important Events in the History of the United States. Illustrated with Engravings. New Haven. Monson & Co.

LAW.

The New Rules of the Court of Errors of the State of New York, adopted the 16th Day of April, 1827. New York. Gould & Banks.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery in the State of New York. By Samuel M. Hopkins. Vol. I.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States. January Term, 1827. By Henry Wheaton. Vol. XII.

Opinions pronounced by the Hon. Judge Story, in the Case of Ebenezer Tyler and others *vs.* Abraham Wilkinson and others, at the last June Term of the Circuit Court, for Rhode Island District.

The General Laws of Massachusetts, from January, 1822, to June 1827. Edited by Theron Metcalf, Esq. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

An Introductory Report to the Code of Prison Discipline, being Part of the System of Penal Law, prepared for the State of Louisiana. By Edward Livingston. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 78.

Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed by the General Court, June Session, 1827. Boston. Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo.

Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June Session, 1827. Boston. Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo.

The Charter of the City of Boston, and Ordinances made and established by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. Boston. True & Greene. 8vo.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Philadelphia Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Edited by N. R. Smith, M. D. No. I. Philadelphia.

Medical Statistics, or a Comparative View of the Mortality in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, for a Series of Years. By Nathaniel Niles, jun. M. D. and John D. Russ, M. D. New York. Elam Bliss. 8vo.

Text Book of a Course of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic. Part Second. By James Jackson, M. D. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 8vo. pp. 227.

A Manual of Descriptive Anatomy of the Human Body, illustrated by two hundred and forty Lithographic Plates. By Jules Cloquet, M. D. Translated by John D. Godman, M. D. Boston. W. & J. Pendleton. 4to. 1827.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Summary Notice concerning Bible Societies in general, and those of France in particular. Translated by Jacob Porter. Northampton. 8vo. pp. 16.

Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society, Boston, June 1, 1827. Boston. T. R. Marvin, printer. 8vo. pp. 164.

The Merchants' Memorandum and Price Book. By Charles P. Forbes. Boston. John Marsh. 12mo.

An Introduction to the Mechanical Principles of Carpentry. By Benjamin Hale, Principal of the Gardiner Lyceum. Gardiner. P. Sheldon.

A Sketch of the Resources of the City of New York, with a View of its Municipal Government, Population, &c. New York.

An Account of Sundry Missions performed among the Senecas and Munsees, in a Series of Letters. By Timothy Alden. New York. J. Seymour. 1827.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Bond's Appeal to the Methodists. By the Rev. Asa Shinn, of the Pittsburg Conference. Baltimore.

The Manuscript. Numbers 1 and 2. New York. G. C. Morgan.

A Directory for the Village of Rochester, to which is added a Sketch of the History of the Village, from 1812 to 1827, with a Map.

A Brief Sketch of the Occurrences on Board the Brig Crawford on her Voyage from Matanzas to New York, together with an Account of the Trial of the Three Spaniards for Murder and Piracy, committed on board said Brig. By a Member of the Bar.

Letters on the New Theatre, first published in the Recorder and Telegraph. Boston. 8vo. pp. 16.

Much Instruction from little Reading, or Extracts from some of the most approved Authors, Ancient and Modern. By a Friend to General Improvement. New York. Mahlon Day. 5 vols. 12mo.

Mr. Tuckerman's Third Quarterly Report, addressed to the American Unitarian Association. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 16.

Proceedings of a Convention of Medical Delegates, held at Northampton, Mass. June 20, 1827. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

A Friendly Letter to Parents and Heads of Families, particularly those residing in the Country Towns and Villages in America. Boston. pp. 19.

The American Shooter's Manual. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

The Self-Instructer, or the Tailor's Guide in the Art of Cutting. By Andrew Ellison. Boston. Ingraham & Hewes. 4to.

The American Annual Register. For 1825–6. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo.

A Narrative of the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnson, who was made Prisoner by the Indians on the River Ohio in the year 1790. New York. J. & J. Harper. 12mo. pp. 264.

The First Report of the American Home Missionary Society, May 9, 1827. With an Appendix containing an Address to the Christian Public, &c. New York. D. Fanshaw. 8vo. pp. 120.

A Report accompanied with sundry Letters on the Causes which contribute to the Production of Fine Sea Island Cotton, read before the Agricultural Society of St. John's Colleton, on the 14th of March 1827. By W. B. Seabrook. Charleston. A. E. Millar.

Two Letters addressed to the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, on the Means of Improving the Health of the Lower Country. By Dr Joseph Johnson. From the Carolina Journal of Medicine, Science, and Agriculture. Charleston.

An Appeal to the Public, by William Vans, against the Slanders circulated by Stephen Codman. Salem. Printed for William Vans. 12mo. pp. 116.

A Visit for a Week, or Hints on the Improvement of Time. New York. A. B. Holmes.

Considerations in Favor of the Construction of a Great State Road from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. By a Citizen of New York.

The Entertaining and Marvellous Repository, containing Biography, Tales, Essays, Poetry, &c. Boston.

The Confession of Jesse Strang, who was convicted of the Murder of John Whipple, on the 4th of August, 1827. Made to C. Pepper, Esq. Albany.

Illustrations of the Four First Degrees of Female Masonry, as practised in Europe. By a Lady. Boston. 12mo.

Dialogues between the Rev. Dr Andrew Fuller and a Regular Baptist.

The African Observer. Edited by Enoch Lewis. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Vol. I. Philadelphia. J. Ashmead, Printer.

Documents laid before a Meeting of the Stockholders of the Temascaltepec Mining Company of Baltimore, convened by Public Notice, August 24th 1827. Baltimore. Printed by Thomas Murphy. 8vo. pp. 33.

The American Penman. By Perkins and Rand. Philadelphia. B. H. Rand.

NATURAL HISTORY.

American Natural History. By John D. Godman, M. D. Vol. II. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, and Carey. 8vo.

NOVELS.

Emily Parker; or Impulse not Principle. Intended for Young Persons. By the Author of 'Evenings in New England.' Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 63.

James Somers, the Pilgrim's Son. Designed for Youth. By a Lady of New Haven. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 16mo. pp. 77.

Novels and Tales. By the Author of the 'Spy.' Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey. 10 vols. 12mo.

Hope Leslie, or Early Times in Massachusetts. By the Author of 'Redwood.' New York. White, Gallagher, & White. 2 vols. 12mo.

Self-Conquest, or the Sixteenth Birth Day; a Tale for Youth. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 82.

Village Tales, or Recollections of By-Past Times. By Oliver Oakwood, Trenton, N. J. 12mo. pp. 252.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

An Address by the Hon. Thomas B. Reed of Mississippi to the Cadets at West Point, June 20, 1827. Delivered at the Request of the Board of Visitors, and published by a Resolution of the Board.

An Address on the Character and Objects of Science. Delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina. May 9, 1827. By Thomas S. Grimké. Charleston. A. E. Millar. 8vo. pp. 80.

The General Character, and Present and Future Prospects of the People of Ohio. An Address delivered during the term of the United States Circuit Court in Columbus, Ohio. December, 1826. By Caleb Atwater, Esq. Columbus. 8vo. pp. 21.

An Oration delivered before the Young Men of the Town of Providence, on the Fifty-First Anniversary of American Independence. By Albert G. Greene. Providence. Smith & Parmenter.

An Oration delivered July 4th, 1827, before the Republican Citizens of Milford. By the Rev. Adin Ballou.

An Oration on the Completion of the Clubfoot and Barlow's Creek Canal, and the 51st Anniversary of our Independence, delivered July 4th, 1827. By James W. Bryan, Esq. Newbern, N. C. Watson & Machen. 8vo.

An Oration pronounced before the two Literary Societies of Rutgers College, N. J. at their Anniversary, July 16, 1827. By William C. Brownlee, D. D.

An Address delivered in Haverhill, Massachusetts, before the Northern Association of the Second Masonic District, at the Festival of St. John the Baptist, June 25th A. L. 5827. By Gustavus F. Davis.

Oration delivered on the Fourth of July, A. D. 1827, at Newport, R. I. By Asher Robbins. Providence. Miller & Hammond. pp. 27.

An Oration delivered before the Young Men of Portland, July 4, 1827. By William Pitt Fessenden. Portland. James Adams jr. pp. 31.

A Discourse on Education, delivered in St. Anne's Church, Annapo-

lis, after the Commencement of St. John's College, February 22d, 1827. By Francis S. Key. Annapolis. 8vo. pp. 44.

An Address delivered at the opening of the Medical College in Charleston, S. C., on Monday the 13th of November, 1826. By Stephen Elliott, LL. D. Professor of Natural History. Charleston. pp. 23.

An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, May 31, 1827. By Charles Sprague. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 30.

An Address delivered July 4th, 1827, before the Supreme Executive of the Commonwealth, City Council, and Inhabitants of the City of Boston. By William P. Mason, Esq. Boston.

An Address delivered before the South Carolina Society on the occasion of Opening their Male Academy, on the 2d of July, 1827. By William G. Head. Charleston.

An Oration delivered in Haverhill on the Fifty-First Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1827. By Nathan W. Hazen. Haverhill. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Address delivered before the Inhabitants of Stratford, July 4, 1827. By Edward Rutledge. New Haven. A. H. Maltby. 8vo. pp. 15.

An Oration delivered in Person Hall, Chapel Hill, on the 27th of June, 1827, the day previous to the Commencement, under the appointment of the Dialectic Society. By Archibald D. Murphy. Raleigh. S. Gales & Son. 8vo. pp. 18.

Bishop White's Address, delivered at the Commencement of the Episcopal Theological Seminary. 1827.

POETRY.

Poems. By the Author of 'Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse.' Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 12mo.

The Southern and Western Songster, being a chosen Collection of the most Fashionable Songs, many of which are original. Philadelphia.

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The Trial of Cain, the First Murderer. In Poetry. By Erastus Brown. Boston. 1827.

Tamerlane, and other Poems. By a Bostonian. Boston.

Arlan, or the Force of Feeling; a Poem. With other Poems. By T. Bynum, Jr. Columbia. Sweeny & Sims. 12mo. pp. 99.

POLITICS.

A Sketch of the Politics, Relations, and Statistics of the Western World, intended to demonstrate the Necessity of the Grand American Confederation and Alliance. Philadelphia. Robert H. Small. pp. 200. 8vo.

THEOLOGY.

Mental Discipline, or Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual and Moral Habits, addressed particularly to Students in Theology and Young Preachers. By Henry F. Bwoder, M. A.

Infant Sprinkling not Baptism; a Letter addressed to the Rev. Daniel Baker of Washington City.

The Causes, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance, a Sermon delivered in Fitchburg, Mass. at the Annual Fast, April 5, 1827. By Rufus A. Putnam. Boston. T. R. Marvin, Printer. 8vo. pp. 33.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Channing's Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Unitarian Church, in the City of New York, December 7, 1826. By a Layman. Providence. H. H. Brown. 12mo. pp. 36.

The Essentials of Religion briefly considered in Ten Discourses. By the Rev. John Dickson, A. M., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Charleston College. Charleston.

A Sermon delivered on the Morning of the Lord's Day, July 1, 1827, at the Second Independent Church in Charleston, S. C. By Mellish I. Motte. Charleston.

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A Collection of Facts and Documents relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs in Groton, Mass., occasioned by the publication of the 'Result of an Ecclesiastical Council,' &c. Boston. Stephen Foster. pp. 44.

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ing condition of all parts of the United States is such, that important changes are perpetually occurring, and these must be kept in view and noted by the author, who would give anything like completeness to a work of this description. By pursuing this course Mr Sherwood will doubtless much enlarge and improve a future edition.

In speaking of *education* in Georgia, he says, there are about 80 incorporated Academies in this state, 64 of which have been brought into operation. The average number of pupils in each is 47, making in the whole 3008. In the northern and southern sections of the state there are probably five common schools in each county, that is, in forty counties there are 200 schools, averaging 30 pupils each, amounting in all to 6000. In the middle section are 25 counties, and about seven schools in each, containing in all 5250 pupils. So that the total number of pupils in the Academies and schools is 14,258. In the college at Athens there are 100 students.

In an Appendix Mr Sherwood gives a list of what he calls *provincialisms* common in Georgia. The following are specimens. *Tote*, for carry, bear;—*raised*, for brought up, educated;—*smart chance*, for good deal, large company, great numbers;—*disremember*, for forget;—*done said it*, for has said it;—*done did it*, for has done it;—*fauch*, for fetch;—*onct*, for once;—*scrouge*, for crowd;—*tight scrouging*, for difficult;—*get shut of*, for get rid of;—*mout*, for might;—*pertend up*, for better, more cheerful;—*wrench*, for rinse.

The author also subjoins a few instances of erroneous pronunciation; such as, *presbattery*, for presbytery;—*sarment*, for sermon;—*starrs*, for stairs;—*bar*, for bear;—*stare*, for star. And he might have added, *cheer*, for chair;—*bare*, for beer;—*far*, for fair;—and *fair*, for fear. We believe no one south of the Roanoke, who would avoid the charge of singularity, would venture to call Cape *Fear*, anything else than Cape *Fair*.

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Hilliard & Brown, Cambridge, Massachusetts, have in press, The LIFE of JOHN LEDYARD, the AMERICAN TRAVELLER; comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence. By Jared Sparks.

A few particulars in the singular character of Ledyard are well known, and have been often cited as examples of extraordinary energy and decision of mind, and as evidences of uncommon love of adventure and ardor of pursuit. But no general account of his life has been written, nor indeed anything more than a very brief and imperfect sketch, which was drawn up in England by the secretary of the African Association. This was done a short time after his death, in the year 1790, as a tribute to his memory for having sacrificed his life in promoting the interests of that society. But the writer had scanty materials, and knew hardly anything of Ledyard's history, except during the three last years

of his life. The notices contained in Biographical Dictionaries, both in this country and England, are copied from this memoir, and are equally imperfect.

It is understood, that Mr Sparks has obtained from different branches of Ledyard's family, and from other sources, his manuscript journals, and many of his original letters, which afford materials for a more full and authentic biography. From these papers the volume now promised to the public has been prepared. The incidents of his life are extremely various, and many of them excite a strong interest by the enthusiasm, perseverance, and uncommon vigor of mind, which they indicate. He was born in Connecticut, and educated first at Hartford, and then at Dartmouth College, with a view of becoming qualified as a missionary among the Indians. He travelled into the country of the Six Nations, and afterward constructed a canoe with his own hands on the banks of the Connecticut River at Hanover, in which he descended alone to Hartford. The pursuits of a missionary, and the study of theology, not proving congenial to his temper, he embarked on a voyage to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. After returning home, he visited England, joined the British navy, obtained a post in Cook's last expedition, with which he continued more than four years, till it arrived again in England. He was in the skirmish in which Cook lost his life, at the Sandwich islands, and was near the great navigator when he fell. At the close of the American war he came back to this country, having been absent eight years, and was the first to propose a voyage to the Northwest coast. In concert with Robert Morris, he planned such a voyage, but after a year spent in an unsuccessful attempt to procure a vessel and fit it out, the project failed. With letters from Mr Morris and other gentlemen he hastened to Europe, intending there to make an effort to accomplish his wish. For this purpose he visited Spain and France, and more than two years passed away in negotiations with mercantile companies and individuals, but without success. He was intimate with Jefferson (at that time our minister in Paris), with Lafayette, and with Paul Jones, who encouraged and aided him.

After encountering numerous difficulties, and not succeeding in his project of a voyage to the Northwest coast, he formed the design of going by land from Paris to Bering's Straits, thence crossing to the American continent, and proceeding homeward over the Rocky Mountains, with a determination to explore those unknown regions. Through the intercession of the Russian minister and Baron Grimm, permission was granted by the empress of Russia for him to pass through her dominions. In London he was patronized by Sir Joseph Banks and other gentlemen of eminence. He went over to Hamburg, thence to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and around the Gulf of Bothnia in the midst of winter to St Petersburg. He arrived there when the empress was on her famous tour to the Crimea, but by the aid of Count Segur and Professor Pallas he obtained a passport from the proper minister and set off for Siberia. It was so late in the season before he reached the borders of Kamtschatka, that the governor of Yakutsk would not suffer him to proceed further till the opening of spring. Meantime the empress became suspicious of his designs, and sent two Russian soldiers after him, who brought him back in the winter to the confines of Poland, a distance of more than six thousand miles, where they left him in poverty and wretchedness. He found his way to London, and was again kindly received by Sir Joseph Banks and his other friends. The Association for Promoting Travels in Africa was just at that time instituted. Being defeated in all his attempts to explore his own country, Ledyard eagerly grasped at the proposal to engage under the auspices of this society. He spent a few day in Paris, and then proceeded to Marsailles, whence he sailed for Alexandria in Egypt. At Grand Cairo he had passed several weeks in gaining an acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, who travelled in the caravans, and had made an agreement to accompany one of these to the interior, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died in January, 1790, being the first victim in the cause of African discovery, to which so many have since become martyrs.

His Siberian Journal has been preserved entire, and several letters written from Russia to Mr Jefferson and other persons. His celebrated eulogy on women, so often repeated, and so beautifully versified by Mrs Barbauld, was written at Yatkutsk in Siberia. This journal, also, contains many curious remarks on the character and customs of the Tartars, as compared with the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, whom he had before seen in various parts of the globe. His journals and letters while he was in France and Spain are hardly less curious, containing observations on men and things often original and always striking. His letters from Egypt to Mr Jefferson and the Secretary of the African Association are equally characteristic. His journal of Cook's voyage, though not a complete narrative, abounds in lively descriptions and pertinent remarks, and his account of Cook's death is drawn up with more vivacity and apparent truth, than any other that has been published. It is believed that the papers, taken together, are worthy of the effort that has been made to rescue them from oblivion, and that the delineation they will afford of the character of their author will not be unacceptable to such readers, as love to contemplate the workings of an ardent mind, engaged in noble pursuits, and encountering with fortitude the obstacles incident to great and hazardous enterprises.

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ERRATA.—Page 256, line 43, for 1794 read 1784.—Page 313, line 9, for *color* read *valor*.—Page 322, line 25, for *rational* read *national*.—Page 328, line 35, for *take* read *taste*.—Page 328, line 28, for *metal* read *mettle*.

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THE

WORKS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER I.

TO MRS MARY WASHINGTON.

Fort Cumberland, July 18th, 1755.

As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat,* and perhaps had it represented in a worse light, if possible, than it deserves, I have taken this earliest opportunity to give you some account of the engagement, as it happened within seven miles of the French Fort, on Wednesday the ninth instant.

We marched on to that place without any considerable loss, having only now and then a straggler picked up by the French and scouting Indians. When we came there, we were attacked by a body of French and Indians, whose number, I am persuaded, did not exceed three hundred men; while ours consisted of about thirteen hundred well armed troops, chiefly regular soldiers, who were struck with such a panic, that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly, in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly;

* Braddock's defeat, in which Washington served as aid-de-camp to the commander.

there being near sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion out of the number we had.

The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive. Captain Peyrouny and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left. In short, the dastardly behavior of those they call regulars exposed all others that were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them.

The General was wounded, of which he died three days after. Sir Peter Halket was killed in the field; where died many other brave officers. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aids-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the general's orders; which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness, that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days, in hope of recovering a little strength to enable me to proceed homeward, whence, I fear, I shall not be able to stir till towards September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax. Please to give my love to Mr Lewis, and my sister, and compliments to Mr Jackson, and all other friends that inquire after me.

I am, honored madam, your most dutiful son,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER II.

TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

Winchester, October 11th, 1755.

LAST night arrived an express, just spent with fatigue and fear, reporting that a party of Indians were seen about twelve miles off, at the plantation of one Isaac Inlian, and that the inhabitants were flying in the most promiscuous manner from their dwellings. I immediately ordered the town guards to be strengthened; Perkins's lieutenant to be in readiness with his companies; some recruits, who had only arrived about half an hour before, to be armed; and sent two men well acquainted with the woods, to go up that road, and lie in wait to see if they could discover the number and motion of the Indians, that we might have timely notice of their approach. This morning, before we could parade the men to march upon the last alarm, arrived a second express, ten times more terrified than the former, with information that the Indians had got within *four* miles of the town, and were killing and destroying all before them, for that he himself had heard constant firing, and shrieks of the unhappy murdered!

Upon this I immediately collected what force I could, which consisted of twenty-two men recruited for the rangers, and nineteen of the militia, and marched therewith directly to the place where these horrid murders were said to be committed. When we came there, whom should we find occasioning all this disturbance but three drunken soldiers of the light horse, carousing, firing their pistols, and uttering the most unheard-of imprecations. These we took, and marched prisoners to town, where we met the men I sent out last night, and learned that the party of Indians discovered by

Isaac Inlian, proved to be a mulatto and negro seen hunting cattle by his child, who alarmed the father, and the father the neighborhood. These circumstances are related, only to show what a panic prevails among the people; how much they are alarmed with the most usual and customary cries, and yet how impossible it is to get them to act in any respect for their common safety. As an instance of this, Colonel Fairfax, who arrived in town while we were upon a scout, immediately sent to a noble captain not far off, to repair with his company forthwith to Winchester. With coolness and moderation this great captain answered, that his wife, family, and—corn, were all at stake,—so were his soldiers; therefore, it was impossible for him to come. Such is the example of the officers; such the behavior of the men; and upon such circumstances depends the safety of our country!

I am, &c. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER III.

TO BRYAN FAIRFAX.*

Mount Vernon, July 4th, 1774.

As to your political sentiments, I would heartily join you in them, so far as relates to an humble and dutiful petition to the throne, provided there was the most distant hope of success. But have we not tried this

* The Fairfax family came early to Virginia, and purchased large tracts of land on the northern borders of the colony. Mr Bryan Fairfax was a descendant of the first settlers, and, as he resided in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon, and was nearly of the same age as Washington, an intimate friendship subsisted between them. Late in life he took orders in the Episcopal Church, and, not many years before his death, was invested with the title of Lord Fairfax. The two friends took a prompt and active part in opposing the

already? Have we not addressed the Lords, and remonstrated to the Commons? And to what end? Did they deign to look at them? Does it not appear as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness, that there is a regular, systematic plan formed to fix the right and practice of taxation upon us? Does not the uniform conduct of Parliament, for some years past, confirm this? Do not all the debates, especially those just handed to us, in the House of Commons, on the side of government, expressly declare, that Americans must be taxed in aid of the British funds, and that she has no longer resources within herself? Is there any thing to be expected from petitioning after this? Is not the attack upon the liberty and property of the people of Boston, before restitution for the loss to the India company was demanded, a plain, a self-evident proof of what they are aiming at? And does not the subsequent bill (now, I dare say, act) for depriving the Massa-

aggressions of the mother country on the rights of the colonies, but Fairfax was not prepared to go the full length, to which many patriots of that time were led. He looked with dread upon open resistance, recommended caution, and thought it impolitic to take a rash step while any hope remained, that the king and parliament would listen to the voice of reason and justice. Sentiments like these he had freely expressed to his friend, in reply to which the present letter was written. When the troubles thickened in Boston, occasioned by the ominous intelligence of the Port Bill, and of other encroachments on the liberties of the people, a universal sympathy began to pervade the colonies, and the inhabitants of numerous districts assembled to pledge their support of what they deemed a common cause. Such a meeting was held at Alexandria, composed of a large portion of the freeholders and inhabitants of Fairfax county. Washington was chosen chairman, and twenty-four resolves, drawn up with much ability, and embracing the chief grounds of complaint, were passed on the eighteenth of July, 1774. These resolves were circulated for several days among the people, before they were adopted. During this space, a correspondence on the subject took place between Washington and Fairfax, of which the letter here inserted makes a part.

chusetts Bay of its charter, and for transporting offenders into other colonies, or to Great Britain, for trial, (where it is impossible, from the nature of the thing, that justice can be obtained,) convince us that administration is determined to stick at nothing to carry its point? Ought we not, then, to put our virtue and fortitude to the severest test? With you, I think it a folly to attempt more than we can execute, as that will not only bring disgrace upon us, but weaken our cause; but I think we may do more than is generally believed, in respect to the non-importation scheme. As to the withholding of our remittances, that is another point, in which I own I have my doubts on several accounts, but principally on that of justice; for I think, whilst we are accusing others of injustice, we should be just ourselves; and how this can be, whilst we owe a considerable debt, and refuse payment of it to Great Britain, is inconceivable to me. Nothing but the last extremity can justify it. Whether this is now come is the question.

Your most obedient, humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER IV.

TO JOHN A. WASHINGTON.

Richmond, March 25th, 1775.

MR SMITH delivered me your letter of the sixteenth; but as one is generally in a hurry and bustle in such places, and at such times as these, I have only time to acknowledge it, and add, that it would have given me pleasure to meet you here. I shall refer you to Mr Smith for an account of our proceedings up to this day,*

* Washington here alludes to the first Virginia convention. He was a member from Fairfax county. This convention was assembled

and you cannot fail of learning the rest from the 'squire, who delights in the minutiæ of a tale. I am in doubt whether we shall finish here this week; but as I shall delay little time on the road in returning, I shall hope to see you on your way up, or down, from Berkeley. I am much obliged to you for the holly berries and cellen seed. My love to my sister and the children.

I had like to have forgot to express my entire approbation of the laudable pursuit you are engaged in, of training an independent company. I have promised to review the independent company of Richmond, some time this summer, they having made me a tender of the command of it. At the same time I could review yours, and shall very cheerfully accept the honor of commanding it, if occasion requires it to be drawn out, as it is my full intention to devote my life and fortune to the cause we are engaged in, if need be.

I remain your most affectionate brother,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER V.

TO JOHN A. WASHINGTON.

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

THIS is a most unfortunate affair,* and has given me great mortification, as we have lost not only two thousand men that were there, but a good deal of artillery, and some of the best arms we had. And what adds to

---

for the purpose of deliberating on the proceedings of the late continental congress; on a plan for imbodying, arming, and disciplining the militia; and on other concerns relative to the exigences and government of the colony, notwithstanding Lord Dunmore still maintained a nominal sway. Peyton Randolph was president of this convention, and Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee were likewise members.

* The capture of Fort Washington.

my mortification is, that this post, after the last ships went by it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinion, as I conceived it to be a dangerous one ; but this being determined on by a full council of general officers ; and, receiving a resolution of congress, strongly expressive of their desires, that the channel of the river (which we had been laboring to stop a long while at this place) might be obstructed, if possible ; and knowing that this could not be done unless there were batteries to protect the obstruction, I did not care to give an absolute order for withdrawing the garrison till I could get round and see the situation of things, and then it became too late, as the fort was invested. I had given it, upon the passing of the last ships, as my opinion to General Greene, under whose care it was, that it would be best to evacuate the place ; but as the order was discretionary, and his opinion differed from mine, it unhappily was delayed too long, to my great grief, as I think General Howe, considering his army and ours, would have had but a poor tale to tell without it, and would have found it difficult, unless some southern expedition may prove successful, to reconcile the people of England to the conquest of a few pitiful islands, none of which were defensible, considering the great number of their ships, and the power they have by sea to surround and render them unapproachable.

Your sincerely affectionate brother,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER VI.

TO JOSEPH REED.

West-Point, July 29th, 1779.

I HAVE a pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the fifteenth instant, and in find-

ing by it, that the author of the *Queries Political and Military* has had no great cause to exult in the favorable reception of them by the public.

Without a clue, I should have been at no loss to trace the malevolent writer; but I have seen a history of the transaction, and felt a pleasure mingled with pain at the narration. To stand well in the estimation of one's country is a happiness that no rational creature can be insensible of. To be pursued, [by one appearing] first under the mask of friendship, and, when disguise would suit no longer, as an open calumniator, with gross misrepresentation, and *self-known* falsehoods, carries an alloy, which no mind can bear with perfect composure.

The motives which actuate this gentleman can be better accounted for by himself than by me. If he can produce a single instance in which I have mentioned his name, after his trial commenced, where it was in my power to avoid it, and, when it was not, where I have done it with the smallest degree of acrimony or disrespect, I will consent that the world shall view my character in as disreputable a light as he wishes to place it. What cause there is, then, for such a profusion of venom as he is emitting upon all occasions,—unless by an act of public duty, in bringing him to trial at his own solicitation, I have disappointed him and raised his ire, or he conceives that in proportion as he can darken the shades of my character he illuminates his own,—whether these, I say, or motives still more hidden and dark, govern him, I shall not undertake to decide, nor have I time to inquire into them at present.

If I had ever assumed the character of a military genius, and an officer of experience; if, under these false colors, I had solicited the command I was honored with; or if, after my appointment, I had presumptuously driven on under the sole guidance of my own

judgment and self-will, and misfortunes, the result of obstinacy and misconduct, not of necessity, had followed,—I should have thought myself a proper subject for the lash, not only of his, but of the pen of every other writer, and a fit object of public resentment. But when it is well known that the command was in a manner forced upon me; that I accepted it with the utmost diffidence, from a consciousness that it required greater abilities and more experience than I possessed, to conduct a great military machine, embarrassed, as I knew ours must be, by a variety of complex circumstances, and, as it were, but little more than a mere chaos; and when nothing more was promised on my part than has been most inviolably performed,—it is rather grating to pass over in silence charges which may impress the uninformed, though others know that these charges have neither reason nor truth to support them, and that a plain and simple narrative of facts would defeat all his assertions, notwithstanding they are made with an effrontery which few men do, and, for the honor of human nature, none ought to possess.

If this gentleman is envious of my station, and thinks I stand in his way to preferment, I can assure him in the most solemn terms, that the first wish of my soul is, to return to that peaceful retirement and domestic ease and happiness from whence I came. To this end all my labors have been directed, and for this purpose have I been, more than four years, a perfect slave, endeavoring, under as many embarrassing circumstances as ever fell to one man's lot to encounter, and as pure motives as ever man was influenced by, to promote the cause and service I had embarked in.

With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER VII.

TO JAMES MADISON.

November 5th, 1786.

The decision of the house, on the question respecting a paper emission, is an indication, I hope, of an auspicious session. It certainly may be classed with the important questions of the present day, and merited the serious attention of the assembly. Fain would I hope that the great and most important of all subjects, the *Federal Government*, may be considered with that calm and deliberate attention, which the magnitude of it so critically and loudly calls for. Let prejudices, unreasonable jealousies, and local interests, yield to reason and liberality. Let us look to our national character, and to things beyond the present moment. No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did, and no day was ever more clouded than the present. Wisdom and good examples are necessary at this time, to rescue the political machine from the impending storm. Virginia has now an opportunity to set the latter, and has enough of the former, I hope, to take the lead in promoting this great and arduous work. Without some alteration in our political creed, the superstructure we have been seven years in raising, at the expense of so much treasure and blood, must fall. We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion.

How melancholy is the reflection, that in so short a space, we should have made such large strides towards fulfilling the predictions of our transatlantic foes, "Leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve." Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this evil? Or will their supineness suffer ignorance and the arts of self-interested, designing, dis-

affected, and desperate characters, to involve this great country in wretchedness and contempt? What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government, than these disorders? If there is not power in it to check them, what security has a man for life, liberty, or property? To you I am sure I need not add aught on this subject. The consequences of a lax or inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt on. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a liberal and energetic constitution, well checked, and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence, to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining.

With sentiments of very great esteem and regard,

I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

Philadelphia, August 15th, 1787.

ALTHOUGH the business of the Federal Convention is not yet closed, nor I thereby enabled to give you an account of its proceedings, yet the opportunity afforded by Commodore Paul Jones's return to France is too favorable for me to omit informing you, that the present expectation of the members is, that it will end about the first of next month, when, or as soon after as it shall be in my power, I will communicate the result of our long deliberations to you.

Newspaper accounts inform us, that the session of the Assembly of Notables is ended; and you have had

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our to attain. *Dryden.* Prosecution; continuance of endeavour. *Clarendon.*

PU'RSUIVANT, pŭr'-swè-vânt. 340. *n. s.* [*poursuivant*, Fr.] A state messenger; an attendant on the heralds. *Spenser.*

PU'RSY §, pŭr'-sè. *a.* [*poussif*, Fr.] Short-breathed and fat. *Shakspeare.*

PU'RTENANCE, pŭr'-tên-ânse. *n. s.* [*appertenance*, Fr.] The pluck of an animal. *Ex.* xii.

PU'RULENCE, pù'-rù-lênse. } 177. [See MUCU-
PU'RULENCY, pù'-rù-lên-sè. § LENT.] *n. s.* Generation of pus or matter. *Arbuthnot.*

PU'RULENT §, pù'-rù-lênt. *a.* [*purulentus*, Lat.] Consisting of pus or the running of wounds. *Bacon.*

To PURVE'Y §, pŭr-và'. 269. *v. a.* [*pourvoir*, Fr.] To provide with conveniences. *Spenser.* To procure. *Thomson.*

To PURVE'Y, pŭr-và'. *v. n.* To buy in provisions; to provide. *Milton.*

PURVE'YANCE, pŭr-và'-ânse. *n. s.* Provision. *Spenser.* Procurement of victuals. An exaction of provisions for the king's followers. *Bacon.*

PURVE'YOR, pŭr-và'-ŭr. 166. *n. s.* One that provides victuals. *Raleigh.* A procurer; a pimp. *Dryden.* An officer who exacted provision for the king's followers.

PU'RVIEW, pŭr'-vù. *n. s.* [*pourvieu*, Fr.] Proviso; providing clause. *Bacon.*

PUS, pŭs. *n. s.* [Lat.] The matter of a well-digested sore. *Arbuthnot.*

To PUSH §, pŭsh. 173, 174. *v. a.* [*pousser*, Fr.] To strike with a thrust. *Ex.* xxi. To force, or drive by impulse. *Job*, xxx. To force, not by a quick blow, but by continual violence. *Ps.* xliv. To press forward. *Dryden.* To urge; to drive. *Addison.* To enforce; to drive to a conclusion. *Swift.* To importune; to tease.

To PUSH, pŭsh. *v. n.* To make a thrust. *Dryden.* To make an effort. *Dryden.* To make an attack. *Dan.* xi. To burst out with violence.

PUSH, pŭsh. *n. s.* Thrust; the act of striking with a pointed instrument. *Spenser.* An impulse; force impressed. *Spenser.* Assault; attack. *Shak.* A forcible onset; a strong effort. *Shak.* Exigence; trial; extremity. *Shak.* A sudden emergence. *Shak.* [*pustula*, Lat.] A pimple; an efflorescence; a wheal; an eruption. *Bacon.*

PU'SHER, pŭsh'-ŭr. 98. *n. s.* One who pushes back. One who pushes forward.

PU'SHING, pŭsh'-ing. 410. *a.* Enterprising; vigorous.

PU'SHPIN, pŭsh'-pĭn. *n. s.* A child's play, in which pins are pushed alternately. *L'Estrange.*

PUSILLANI'MITY, pù-sĭl-lân-ĭm'-mè-tè. *n. s.* [*pusillanimité*, Fr.] Cowardice; meanness of spirit. *Bacon.*

PUSILLA'NIMOUS §, pù-sĭl-ân'-nè-mŭs. *a.* [*pusillus* and *animus*, Lat.] Meanspirited; narrowminded; cowardly. *Bacon.*

PUSILLA'NIMOUSLY*, pù-sĭl-ân'-nè-mŭs-lè. *ad.* With pusillanimity. *Sir T. Herbert.*

PUSILLA'NIMOUSNESS, pù-sĭl-ân'-nè-mŭs-nĕs. *n. s.* Meanness of spirit.

PUSS, pŭs. 173, 174. *n. s.* The fondling name of a cat. *Watts.* The sportsman's term for a hare. *Gay.*

To PU'STULATE*, pŭs'-tshù-lâte. *v. a.* [*pustulatus*, Lat.] To form into pustules or blisters. *Stackhouse.*

PU'STULE §, pŭs'-tshŭle. 463. *n. s.* [*pustula*, Lat.] A small swelling; a pimple; a push; an efflorescence. *Arbuthnot.*

PU'STULOUS, pŭs'-tshù-lŭs. *a.* Full of pustules; pimply. *Cockeram.*

To PUT §, pŭt. 173, 174. *v. a.* [*pwt*, *pwtian*, Welsh.] To lay or reposit in any place. *Gen.* ii. 8. To place in any situation. *St. Mark*, v. To place in any state or condition. *Job*, xvii. To repose. 2 *Kings.* To trust; to give up: as, He *put* himself into the pursuer's hands. To expose; to apply to any thing. *Locke.* To push into action. *Milton.* To apply. 1 *Sam.* viii. To use any action by which the place or state of any thing is changed. *Shak.* To cause; to produce. *Locke.* To comprise; to consign to writing. 2 *Chron.* To add. *Ecclus.* iii. To place in a reckoning. *Locke.* To reduce to any state. *Shak.* To oblige; to urge. *Bacon.* To incite; to instigate; to exhort; to urge by influence. *Clarendon.* To propose; to state. 2 *Chr.* ii. To form; to regulate. To reach to another. *Hab.* ii. To bring into any state of mind or temper. *Knolles.* To offer; to advance. *Dryden.* To unite; to place as an ingredient. *Locke.*—*To put by.* To turn off; to divert. *Bp. Taylor.* To thrust aside. *Sidney.* *To put down.* To baffle; to repress; to crush. *Shak.* To degrade. *Spenser.* To bring into disuse. *Bacon.* To confute. *Shak.* *To put forth.* To propose. *Judges.* To extend. *Gen.* viii. To emit, as a sprouting plant. *Bacon.* To exert. *Milton.* *To put in.* To interpose. *Collier.* To drive; to harbour. *Chapman.* *To put in practice.* To use; to exercise. *Dryden.* *To put off.* To divest; to lay aside. *Nehem.* iv. To defeat or delay with some artifice or excuse. *Bacon.* To delay; to defer; to procrastinate. *Wake.* To pass fallaciously. *Swift.* To discard. *Shak.* To recommend; to vend or obtrude. *Bacon.* *To put on* or *upon.* To impute; to charge. *To put on* or *upon.* To invest with, as clothes or covering. *Shak.* *To put on.* To forward; to promote; to incite. *Shak.* *To put on* or *upon.* To impose; to inflict. 2 *Kings*, xviii. *To put on.* To assume; to take. *Shak.* *To put over.* To refer. *Shak.* *To put out.* To place at usury. *Psalm* xv. To extinguish. *Judges*, xvii. To emit, as a plant. *Bacon.* To extend; to protrude. *Gen.* xxxviii. To expel; to drive from. *Spenser.* To make publick. *Dryden.* To disconcert. *Bacon.* *To put to.* To kill by; to punish by. *Bacon.* To refer to; to expose. *Bacon.* *To put to it.* To distress; to perplex; to press hard. *Shak.* *To put to.* To assist with. *Sidney.* *To put to death.* To kill. *Bacon.* *To put together.* To accumulate into one sum or mass. *Burnet.* *To put up.* To pass unrevenged. *Shak.* *To put up.* To emit; to cause to germinate, as plants. *Bacon.* To expose publickly: as, These goods are *put up* to sale. To start from a cover. *Addison.* To hoard. *Spelman.* To hide. *Shak.* *To put upon.* To impose, to lay upon. *Shak.* *To put upon trial.* To expose or summon to a solemn and judicial examination. *Locke.*

To PUT, pŭt, or pŭt. *v. n.* To go or move. *Bacon.* To shoot or germinate. *Bacon.* To steer a vessel. *Addison.* To push with the head. To stumble. *Grose.*—*To put forth.* To leave a port. *Shak.* To germinate; to bud; to shoot out. *Shak.* *To put in.* To enter a haven. *Pope.* *To put in for.* To claim; to stand candidate for. *Abp. Usher.* *To put in.* To offer a claim. *Brown.* *To put off.* To leave land. *Chapman.* *To put over.* To sail cross. *Abbot.* *To put to sea.* To set sail; to begin the course. *Bacon.* *To put up.* To offer one's self a candidate. *L'Estrange.* To advance to; to bring one's self forward. *Swift.* *To put up with.* To suffer without resentment: as, to *put up with* an affront. To take without dissatisfaction: as, to *put up with* poor entertainment.

☞ The common pronunciation of the capital [London] is the first sound given to this word; but in Ireland, and the different counties of England, it is generally pronounced regularly so as to rhyme with *hut*, *nut*, &c. W. Johnston has adopted this sound, and Mr. Perry gives it both ways, but seems to prefer the regular sound. Mr. Nares is decidedly in favour of this sound; and, as this word, when a noun, is always so pronounced, it seems a needless departure from rule, and an embarrassment to the language, to have the same word differently pronounced. This is an inconvenience to which, perhaps, all languages are subject: but it ought in all languages to be avoided as much as possible.—See BOWL.

Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Elphinston, Mr. Scott, Dr. Kenrick, and Mr. Smith, adopt the first sound. *W.*

PUT, pŭt. 175. *n. s.* An action of distress. *L'Estrange.* A rustick; a clown. *Bramston.* A game at cards. *Warton.*—*Put off.* Excuse; shift. *L'Estrange.*

PUT *Case**. An elliptical expression of former times for *suppose that it may be so; state a possible or probable case. Burton.*

PU'TAGE, pū'-tĭdje. 90. *n. s.* [*putain*, Fr.] [In law.] Prostitution on the woman's part. *Dict.*

PU'TANISM, pū'-tā-nĭzm. *n. s.* [*putanisme*, Fr.] The manner of living, or trade of a prostitute. *Dict.*

PU'TATIVE, pū'-tā-tĭv. 157. *a.* [*putatif*, Fr.; from *puto*, Lat.] Supposed; reputed. *Ayliffe.*

PU'TID §, pū'-tĭd. *a.* [*putidus*, Lat.] Mean; low; worthless. *Bp. Taylor.*

PU'TIDNESS, pū'-tĭd-nĕs. *n. s.* Meanness; vileness.

PU'TLOG, pŭt'-lŏg. *n. s.* *Putlogs* are pieces of timber or short poles, to bear the boards they stand on to work, and to lay bricks and mortar upon. *Moxon.*

PUTRE'DINOUS, pū-trēd'-ĕ-nŭs. *a.* [*putredo*, Lat.] Stinking; rotten. *Floyer.*

PUTREFA'CTION, pū-trē-fāk'-shŭn. *n. s.* [*putrefaction*, Fr.; *putris* and *facio*, Lat.] The state of growing rotten; the act of making rotten. *Quincy.*

PU'TREFA'CTIVE, pū-trē-fāk'-tĭv. *a.* Making rotten. *Brown.*

To **PU'TREFY**, pū'-trē-fī. 183. *v. a.* [*putrefier*, Fr.; *putrefacio*, Lat.] To make rotten; to corrupt with rottenness. *Bacon.*

To **PU'TREFY**, pū'-trē-fī. *v. n.* To rot. *Isaiah*, i. 6.

PUTRE'SCENCE, pū-trĕs'-sĕnse. 510. *n. s.* [*putrescco*, Lat.] The state of rotting. *Brown.*

PUTRE'SCENT, pū-trĕs'-sĕnt. *a.* [*putrescens*, Lat.] Growing rotten. *Arbuthnot.*

PUTRE'SCIBLE*, pū-trĕs'-sē-bl. *a.* That may grow rotten, or putrefy. *Philos. Transact.* P. I. [1798.]

PU'TRID §, pū'-trĭd. *a.* [*putride*, Fr.; *putridus*, Lat.] Rotten; corrupt. *Arbuthnot.*

PU'TRIDNESS, pū'-trĭd-nĕs. *n. s* Rottenness. *Floyer.*

PUTRIFICA'TION*, pū-trē-fē-kā'-shŭn. *n. s.* State of becoming rotten. *Confut. of N. Shaxton.*

PU'TRY*, pū'-trē. *a.* Rotten. *Marston.*

PU'TTER, pŭt'-tŭr. 98. [See PUT.] *n. s.* [from *put*.] One who puts. *L'Estrange.—Putter on.* Inciter; instigator. *Shakspeare.*

PU'TTINGSTONE, pŭt'-tĭng-stōne. *n. s.* Stones laid at the gates of great houses, for trials of strength. *Pope.* Stones thrown from the uplifted hand, or above hand, as commonly expressed. *Feevnant.*

PU'TTOCK, pŭt'-tŭk. 166. *n. s.* [*buteo*, Lat.] A kite. *Spenser.*

PU'TTY, pŭt'-tē. *n. s.* A kind of powder on which glass is ground. *Newton.* A kind of cement used by glaziers.

PUY*. See POY.

To **PU'ZZLE** §, pŭz'-zl. 405. *v. a.* [*pussa*, *putsa*, Icel. and Su. Goth.] To perplex; to confound; to embarrass; to entangle; to gravel; to put to a stand; to tease. *Shak.* To make intricate; to entangle. *Addison.*

To **PU'ZZLE**, pŭz'-zl. *v. n.* To be bewildered in one's own notions; to be awkward. *L'Estrange.*

PU'ZZLE, pŭz'-zl. *n. s.* Embarrassment; perplexity. *Bacon.*

PU'ZZLEHEADED*, pŭz'-zl-hĕd-ĕd. *a.* Having the head full of confused notions. *Johnson.*

PU'ZZLER, pŭz'-zl-ŭr. 98. *n. s.* He who puzzles.

PYE*. See PIE.

PY'EBALD*. See PIEBALD.

PY'GARG, pī'-gärg. *n. s.* [*πύγαργος*.] A kind of eagle, having a white back or tail.

PYGME'AN, pĭg-mē'-ăn. [pĭg'-mē-ăn, *Perry*.] *a.* Belonging to a pygmy. *Milton.*

☞ This word has the accent on the penultimate for the same reason as *epicurean*. It is derived from *pygmæi*, *pigmies*: and its adjective, if it had one, must have had the diphthong in it, which would necessarily fix the accent on that syllable.—See EUROPEAN.

"They less than smallest dwarfs in narrow room
"Throng numberless, like that *pygmean* race
"Beyond the Indian mount." *Milton.* *W.*

PY'GMY §, pĭg'-mē. *n. s.* [*pygmé*, Fr.; *πυγμαῖος*, Gr.] A dwarf; one of a nation fabled to be only three spans high, and after long wars to have been destroyed by cranes; any thing little. *Bentley.*

PY'GMY*, pĭg'-mē. *a.* See PIGMY.

PYLO'RUS, pē-lō'-rŭs. 187. 503. *n. s.* [*πυλωρος*.] The lower orifice of the stomach.

PY'OT*. See PIET.

PY'RACANTH*, pīr'-ă-kănth. *n. s.* [*pyracantha*, Lat.] A kind of thorn. *Mason.*

PY'RAMID §, pĭr'-ă-mĭd. 109, 180. *n. s.* [*pyramide*, Fr.; *πύραμις*, Gr.] A solid figure, whose base is a polygon, and whose sides are plain triangles, their several points meeting in one. *Harris.*

PYRA'MIDAL, pē-răm'-ē-dăl. 187. } *a.* Having the
PYRAMI'DICAL, pĭr-ă-mĭd'-ē-kăl. } form of a pyr-
PYRAMI'DICK*, pĭr-ă-mĭd'-ĭk. } amid. *Wotton.*

PYRAMI'DICALLY, pĭr-ă-mĭd'-ē-kăl-ē. *ad.* In form of a pyramid. *Broome.*

PY'RAMIS, pĭr'-ă-mĭs. *n. s.* A pyramid. *Bacon.*

PYRE, pīre. *n. s.* [*pyra*, Lat.] A pile to be burnt. *Glanville.*

PYRI'TES, pē-rī'-tēz, or pĭr'-ē-tŭz. 187. *n. s.* [from *πῦρ*.] Firestone. *Woodward.*

☞ This word is accented on the second syllable by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Sheridan, Barclay, Bailey, and Fenning; [Jones, Fulton and Knight,] and on the first by Dr. Kenrick, Dr. Ash, Mr. Perry, and Entick. *Pyrites* is the analogical pronunciation; for, as the word is derived from the Greek *πυρίτης*, and the Latin *pyrites*, (both with the accent on the penultimate, and preserving the form of their originals,) it ought to have the accent on the same syllable.—See *Principles*, No. 503. *W.*

PYRO'LATRY*, pē-rŏl'-ă-trē. *n. s.* [*πῦρ* and *λατρεία*.] Adoration of fire. *Young.*

PY'ROMANCY §, pĭr'-ō-măn-sē. 519. *n. s.* [*πυρομαντία*.] Divination by fire. *Ayliffe.*

PY'ROMANTICK*, pĭr'-ō-măn-tĭk. *n. s.* One who practises divination by fire. *Sir T. Herbert.*

PYRO'METER*, pē-rŏm'-ē-tŭr. *n. s.* [*pyrometre* Fr.; *πῦρ* and *μέτρον*, Gr.] An instrument to measure the alteration of the dimensions of metals, and other solid bodies arising from heat. *Chambers.*

PYROTE'CHNICAL, pĭr-ō-tĕk'-nē-kăl. 530. *a.* Engaged or skilful in fireworks.

PY'ROTECHNICKS §, pĭr-ō-tĕk'-nĭks. *n. s.* [*πῦρ* and *τεχνη*.] The act of employing fire to use or pleasure; the art of fireworks.

PY'ROTECHNIST*, pĭr'-ō-tĕk-nĭst. *n. s.* One who understands pyrotechnicks. *Steevens.*

PY'ROTECHNY, pĭr'-ō-tĕk-nē. *n. s.* [*pyrotechnie*, Fr.] The art of managing fire. *Hale.*

PYRO'TICKS*, pē-rŏt'-ĭks. *n. s.* pl. [*pyrotique*, Fr., from *πυρόω*, Gr.] [In medicine.] Causticks.

PYRRHONISM, pĭr'-rō-nĭzm. *n. s.* [from *Pyrrho*, the founder of the skepticks.] Skepticism; universal doubt. *Bolingbroke.*

PY'RRHONIST*, pĭr'-rō-nĭst. *n. s.* A skeptick. *Marston.*

PYTHAGORE'AN*, pē-thăg-ō-rē'-ăn. [See EUROPEAN.] *n. s.* A follower of Pythagoras the philosopher. *Addison.*

PYTHAGORE'AN*, pē-thăg-ō-rē'-ăn. } *a.* Of, or
PYTHAGO'RICAL*, pĭth-ă-gŏr'-ē-kăl. } belong-
PYTHAGO'RICK*, pĭth-ă-gŏr'-ĭk. } ing to, the philosophy of Pythagoras. *More.*

PYTHIA'GORISM*, pē-thī'-ă-gō-rĭzm. *n. s.* The opinions and doctrine of Pythagoras. *More.*

PY'THONESS*, pī'-thō-nĕs. *n. s.* [*pythonissa*, Lat., from *Πύθων*, Gr.] A sort of witch. *Bp. Hall.*

PYTHO'NICK*, pē-thŏn'-ĭk. *a.* [*πυθωνικὸς*.] Pretending to foretell future events. *Ricaut.*

PY'THONIST*, pī'-thō-nĭst. *n. s.* [from *Python*.] A conjurer. *Cockeram.*

PYX, pĭks. *n. s.* [*pyxis*, Lat.] The box in which the Romanists kept the host. *Abp. Cranmer.*

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